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DIRECT QUOTES IN SPANISH NEWSPAPERS

Literality according to stylebooks, journalism textbooks and linguistic research

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The journalist usually introduces the voices of different people —sources, witnesses, and protagonists— into the writing of the news. This makes studying how oral discourse is translated into writing, along with the consequent ethical implications that this implies a very interesting field within journalism. This article, limited to Spain, shows that while newspaper stylebooks and news writing manuals require that direct quotes be textual transcriptions of the words of the person quoted research done by Spanish scholars whose background is in linguistics shows that direct quotes in the print media sometimes change with respect to the actual words used by the quoted speaker. This creates two problems: first, the risk that some readers may interpret erroneously the direct quotes in the news, as literal transcriptions of the words said, when that is not always the case. Second, that news writing textbooks do not train journalists for the use of others’ voices in the news they report.

KEYWORDS journalism quotes; journalism practices; stylebooks; journalism texts; newswriting; reported speech

Introduction

The wording of direct quotes taken from oral speeches made by public figures is very important in journalism, because either it supplies the journalist with information about an event, or it supplements the information obtained directly by the journalist, or the quotes themselves become the actual piece of news. It is obvious that newspapers and news programs on radio and television abound with declarations made by important celebrities in press conferences, lectures, round tables and other oral speeches made in public offices (for example, parliaments, town councils...). They are also rife with words uttered to the media by important sources, by protagonists or witnesses who are involved in various newsworthy situations. In short, discursive news tends to proliferate; which makes the study of reported speech¹ relevant.

In the case of television or radio journalism, the words of others are reproduced with the gestures, voice, tone, rhythm and intonation of the person. However, in the case of written journalism, whether printed or electronic, there is a process of translation from the spoken word to the written, between the words expressed by the celebrity or the source and those attributed to that figure in the journalistic text. Thus, in addition to learning reporting techniques and the strategies for obtaining information, the main criteria for handling different types of quotes skilfully and with ease (i.e., the way a person’s words are introduced into the text), should be an important part of the rudimentary education in the journalistic trade.

The use of quotes in written journalism raises many questions, some of them of an ethical nature (Cf. Turovsky, 1980; Lehrer, 1989; Leslie, 1986; Clayman, 1990, Doreen Carvajal, 1991; Killenberg and Anderson, 1993, Stimson, 1995; Elizabeth Fakazis, 2006). For example, should a newspaper clean up the poor grammar of the people it quotes? Can a

journalist edit a direct quotation? What authorises a journalist, when writing an article, to alter the chronological order of an oral account or to omit parts of it? Why does something said as a secondary comment in a public speech become the focus of an article written by a journalist, making it more relevant than the speaker intended? What are the implications of taking someone's words out of their original context and integrating them into a new context, namely, in a new text written by the journalist and presented in alongside other news appearing on the same page? How competent does a journalist have to be to cover a discursive event without falling into the trap of thinking that everything is of equal importance, thereby becoming incapable of arranging or selecting information, or understanding only partially what is said? Obviously, this article cannot deal with all these aspects and in all the journalistic cultures, which, as it is well-known, have their own peculiarities (cf. Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Josephi, 2005). For those reasons I will tackle the issue of the literality of direct quotes in Spanish journalism and only in one genre: the news².

Narrowing the scope of this article by geographic area and by journalistic genre, we will turn to the publications in which the profession explicitly states its procedures and rules: the newspaper stylebooks³ and journalism writing manuals. Then we will analyse the conclusions drawn by the few existing studies –all of them within the field of discursive analysis– which deal with the practice of quoting in Spanish journalism. This method will allow us to answer three questions:

- a) What do newspaper stylebooks and journalism textbooks say about literality of direct quotes in the news, i.e., about the literal transcription of others' words?
- b) What indications are given in journalism writing manuals about the use of direct quotes in the news and their ethical implications?
- c) In the practice of everyday journalism, is the literality of direct quotes respected?

Each issue is addressed in a different epigraph: After the analysis of the most representative stylebooks (epigraph 1) and of a significant sample of textbooks (epigraph 2), I will analyse the articles published by Spanish linguists who have converted quotes in the field of journalism into the subject of their research on reported speech. These contributions from linguistics will be complemented with a reference to the only empirical research in Spanish that compares the direct quotes which appear in a body of 12 news articles with the oral transcripts from which the quotes were taken. Finally, some conclusions are extracted which pose ethical challenges to journalism professors in Spain and to professionals themselves.

Before getting into the analysis, it is appropriate to summarize the rules on direct quotes collected in *Ortografía de la Lengua Española* (Spelling Rules of the Spanish Language), the book published by the Real Academia Española, the institution devoted to establishing the spelling rules of the Spanish language. In this book, the only reference to the reproduction of someone's literal words in a text is found in the indications about the use of inverted commas, which it says serve "to reproduce the direct quotes to whatever extent" (p. 79). There is no further explanation. Therefore it is logical that unprepared readers interpret the quotes between speech marks in as if they were literal in all types of written text in Spanish. Since the grammar manuals hold a similar view about literal reproduction (Cf. Casado Velarde, 2005), we will now turn our attention to what the stylebooks and journalism writing manuals say.

1. Literality and direct quotes in stylebooks

The first stylebooks were born within Anglo-American journalism with a very practical aim: helping journalists to write properly, solving linguistic doubts and achieving uniformity amongst the different types of text in a newspaper (Cf. Gibbs and Warhover, 2002, p. 53). Some of the Spanish stylebooks⁴ also look for the "best use of the language in all

senses, unification of the rules of writing and, as a consequence the standardisation of style” (Fernández Beaumont, 1987, p. 215)⁵. For instance, the author of *ABC*’s introduction to its 1993 edition defines itself as “a reminder of the basic grammatical rules and journalism style in Spanish” and of the rules of the newspaper, (*ABC*, 1993, p. 11); and in the second edition (2001), the newspaper’s editor says that the “primary aim is to preserve the expressive personality that has always characterized *ABC*” (2001, p. XIV)⁶.

Also, the editor of *La Voz de Galicia*’s understands the stylebook as “a guide, a code, which allows us to clean up our written expression on a daily basis” (2002, p. 13).

It is obvious that if the stylebooks were to limit themselves to carrying out these functions⁷, they would not be of any use for the intentions outlined in this study. But at least in the case of a second type of stylebook, that they do not limit themselves in this way may be seen in **Table 1**.

Insert Table 1 about here

The stylebooks of the second type attribute other functions of deeper significance to themselves, understanding them to be a professional tool for journalists and an instrument that can serve to control quality on behalf of the readers. They are created, therefore, to shed some light into writing procedures. Journalists are obliged to carry out these procedures, which are also useful for readers as a measure of the quality of a newspaper. Thus, the instructions collected in the stylebooks about what direct quotes are and how professionals should handle them make explicit the terms of the pact between journalists and readers.. Readers know what journalists understand by direct quotes and, consequently, will interpret the quotes they find in journalistic texts. For the purpose of this study it is especially useful to analyse the instructions taken from these guides.

In most cases, stylebooks only explain how to introduce direct quotes into a text in a grammatically correct way. Apparently, they take their strict literality for granted. *El Mundo* only accepts changes such as eliminating hesitations, repetitions, syntactical errors and coarse words (except in extraordinary circumstances) (pp. 22 and 24)⁸. *El País* also limits the corrections to “diction mistakes or to the idiomatic construction of an interviewee –because of stuttering, or because of being foreign or for other similar reasons (p. 27)–. The same standard is applied by the stylebooks of *Vocento* (p. 21), *La Vanguardia* (p. 44) and *El Periódico* (p. 67).

ABC allows some changes that go a little further than those mentioned by the other two newspapers. Specifically, it states that:

all the words, declarations or opinions which are literally transcribed in a news article will be placed between speech marks without distorting the meaning or intention with which they were used. This will not impede the writer from selecting the most interesting quotes nor, occasionally, from changing the order of the original (2001, pp. 166 and 167).

Selecting the most interesting quotes is something that can be taken for granted, but it is not clear what is meant when referring to altering the order. For example, can a journalist put a sentence before another and hold that this does not change the meaning of a quote? Can sentences said in an unconnected way be merged together to create a single quotation? *ABC*’s stylebook does not answer these questions.

2. Literality and direct quotes in journalism writing manuals

The manuals for teaching purposes are addressed to journalism students. They are supposed to describe in detail the most habitual journalistic operations, those we could define

as professional routines (Brennen, 2000). In this way, they are supposed to make the inner world of writing more transparent than the stylebooks. It is worth reviewing what they say about direct quotes and their use because of the following two stated objectives:

- To check if there are any significant differences from what is stated in the stylebooks, in which case we would have to ask why.
- To know how future journalists are trained and what knowledge of linguistic practices is provided to them in order to interpret rightly the words of others and to quote them properly in their texts.

In the United States, many journalism manuals dedicate at least one chapter to explaining the technique of using direct quotations: to whom the quote should be attributed, how to do so, and where it should appear in a paragraph...; and to giving students some clear criteria on how to obtain good direct quotations from a source or an interviewee. In addition, they also deal with what a direct quote should be, when paraphrasing should be preferred or when to use partial quotations (cf. Itule and Anderson (2003): the chapter “Quotations and Attributions”, pp. 99–108; and The Missouri Group: Brian S. Brooks... [et al.] (2002), pp. 78–86). They also discuss some of the ethical implications that exist with regard to handling direct quotes.

In Spain, no manual addresses the problem of the advisability or possibility of modifying quotes with regard to their literal transcription. In **Table 2** a relevant sample⁹ has been collected of what Spanish teachers of journalism say in their manuals about direct quotations. And **Table 3** shows the assertions of two journalists who are both authors of journalism writing manuals.

Insert Table 2 and Table 3 about here

As shown, the coincidence of views is so obvious that it is not worth elaborating on it. Their main points can be summed up as follows:

- 1) The authors, involved in the teaching of professional skills, explain the several types of quotations and provide practical indications about how to use them. This way, they accomplish the objectives they have set themselves: to instruct the student of journalism in the art of using quotations.
- 2) Not one book tones down the *word for word literalness* of the direct quotation at all. It is enough to re-read the expressions marked in bold and italics in the column *Definition of the direct quotation*.
- 3) They share the idea that direct quotes give a voice to others. Fontcuberta (“The journalist ***allows the interviewee to speak*** for himself”) and Bastenier (“Inverted commas are the journalist’s lethal enemies, because when we use them *we are* giving up our own voice; we are withdrawing ourselves and allowing ***the other person*** to appear in the first position. ***He or she is then the one that controls the news***, although what is between the speech marks has been chosen by the author”).

Despite this apparently uniform consensus, two authors adopt a different stance. The first one (both chronologically and because of the profundity of his analysis) is Núñez Ladevéze (1991), who underlines the importance of indirect speech in journalism by dealing with it in different sections in his *Manual para periodismo*.

With regard to direct quotes, he affirms that journalists

are not so interested in literality as much as in the clear expression of the speaker's idea. It is obvious that in spontaneous speech syntactical errors are made, and changes in the direction of the speech also occur. At the utterance these errors do not hinder but can rather illustrate the idea or thought which the speaker tries to convey. However, the errors, literally selected outside the circumstances, are more an obstacle and do not serve to transmit the speaker’s thought (1991, p. 281).

And he understands the task of journalist as

a collaborator with of the idea of the speaker. A collaborator is more an interpreter than a camera. However, he is a hidden interpreter, for he should not appear as an interpreter as such. The author of the text is not expressed in the article, except for the signature, if it has one (p. 281).

The second author, López Pan (2004a and b), deals with this problem in *Redacción para periodistas: informar e interpretar*, a collective work in which two chapters are devoted to quotes employed in journalistic texts, one about discursive news and the other about the art of quoting. In the latter, he discusses the functions of quotations, types of quotations, the technique of quoting directly and the criteria for selecting direct quotes. He reminds his readers of the debate that occurred in the United States about whether direct quotes should be a literal reproduction –a mere transcription– of the words of the person appearing in the news, or whether it is advisable to correct them and tidy them up. He holds the same opinion as Núñez Ladevéze: the journalist is an interpreter who collaborates with the speaker and, as such, can arrange, correct, supplement and present the words uttered by the speaker as a direct quote in journalistic texts. In addition, López Pan, regarding the debate in the United States, proposes a series of guidelines that have to be respected when using direct quotes.

The analysis of the most relevant stylebooks and a significant sample of journalism writing textbooks ends here. Although they allow some slight modifications to the words of the speaker when converting them into direct quotes, they are so irrelevant that the conclusion is clear. Apparently, for the manuals and stylebook writers, the word for word literality direct quotes in news reports is understood in the strictest and most rigorous sense. It seems as if, to them, the transformation of the spoken word into a written text does not pose problems, still less those of an ethical nature. Neither do they think that journalists need special training in interpreting the words from their sources or how to use them in order not to distort their meaning.

3. Literality and direct quotes in journalism in the light of linguistic studies

Journalistic discourse has revealed itself as an area of great interest to the analysts of discourse given the variety of voices that appear in newspaper articles. In Spain, some linguists, because of their preoccupation with the reported speech (cf. Graciela Reyes, 1982, 1984, 1993 and 1994; Méndez García de Paredes, 1999y 2000; Calsamiglia y López Ferrero, 2003; Palau Sampio, 2005; Casado, 2008), have studied the use of quotations in written journalism. In a brief summary, presented in **Table 4**, three Spanish linguists who have paid the most attention to the question of literalness of direct quotations in journalism offer some observations on the subject (for a larger sample, cf. López Pan, 2002b).

Insert Table 4 about here

The table leaves no doubts; the linguists declare emphatically that literalness in the strictest sense does not exist in journalism and they make their claims based on solid grounds. Méndez García compares news about the same event published in different newspapers, while Bruña reaches his conclusions from the changes made in the phrases highlighted as direct quotes in the headline and the same sentences from the text.

In any case, in order to reach an even more irrefutable conclusion, comparative empirical studies need to be carried out between an original discourse and a reproduced one. And that is precisely the sort of analysis carried out by Johnson Barella (2005). The Chilean specialist outlined the objective of her study as comparing “the reported speech, RS, with

original speech, OS, to study the literality of direct quotes in press news articles” (p. 112). She selected a body of 12 news articles published in two local dailies from Pamplona (Spain): the *Diario de Navarra* and the *Diario de Noticias*. Prior to studying published material, she went to press conferences or speeches that would give rise to news, recorded the entire speeches and gathered all the documentation distributed where the discursive event took place. In the second phase, she compared the direct quotes of the published news with the original material that she had collected. Although it is only one study, which needs to be completed with later ones of the same type, her results are relevant for the subject of this article. Of the conclusions she reaches, it is worth mentioning these four here:

- Only 21% of quotes that appear as direct quotes in the collection of news of both newspapers are absolutely word for word – or that is to say an exact transcription of the words of the speaker – and a large percentage (14.8%) is attributed to partial quotes (very brief quotes, of three or four words).

- The grades of variation of direct quotes in the news with respect to the original vary within a margin that ranges from small changes to careful elaboration. In the latter case, which accounts for some 16% of the material surveyed, “the majority of lexical elements in the initial message are replaced by others which represent a free interpretation of the declarations carried out by the journalist, but which are attributed to the speaker as direct quotes. The organisation of the ideas and the concepts are different from the original, although it does preserve the content and sense” p. (127). And it is exemplified, amongst other things, by this case (p. 128):

In a press conference the managing director of Tele 5, Paolo Vasile, said:	<i>Diario de Navarra</i> published
“We defend the idea that more than one platform of prepay television cannot exist at the moment...when there is not a sufficient market for two eeehhh...which means there is only a market for one and it may be that there is not even enough market for one”.	“The current market does not have enough room for two platforms; perhaps it may not have enough room for one”.

- The variations in the direct quotes published with respect to the original also emerge when the original text is a written one distributed to journalists: of the 12 direct quotes from written documents, only three are strict word for word transcriptions.

- There are some cases in which, following the criteria applied by newspapers, citations that appear as indirect quotes could in fact be direct quotes, while others that appear as direct ones could be presented (are often presented?) as indirect quotes.

The conclusion of these studies is clear. Contrary to what the authors of stylebooks and the majority of journalism writing manuals state, the research carried out by linguists and the only field study to date demonstrate that word for word literality in Spanish written journalism appears in very few cases. The most common practice is to introduce changes – often significant ones – in the quotes with regard to the words actually spoken. This is so true that Méndez García states that the journalist is

a manipulator, in every honest and etymological sense of the word: He takes fragments, discursive snippets of complex enunciative situations and constructs his own textual structure over them. The selection and disposition of these snippets is not based on the OD [original discourse], which may be more or less literal or may also be paraphrased, but on the commentator-reproducer’s necessities (which can be expressive, argumentative, informative, etc.). This might imply a full identification with what the other says, in order to provide better support of an affirmation: citation of authority. It can also be used (amongst other things) to inform of the speech acts of a person simply because they are news” (2000, pp. 165 and 166).

The same author also puts forward the following dilemma: either the notion of literality will have to be redefined or, for reasons that are clear, the use of direct quotes in journalism will have to be avoided.

Conclusions

As we have seen, stylebooks and the majority of manual writers propose a word for word transcription of direct quotes. Not only does this correspond to the characteristics of the news genre, it is also what readers expect. In this regard, it is very to find that *La Vanguardia's* stylebook affirms that the direct style “is, for the reader, the equivalent of an audiovisual or voice recording.” Al respecto, es muy ilustrativo que el libro de estilo de *La Vanguardia* afirme que el estilo directo “para el lector es equivalente a una grabación de voz o audiovisual” (p. 44). However, the reality confirmed by studies in the field of discourse analysis is that direct quotes in the news usually change a speaker’s original pronouncements in varying degrees.

It is surprising that neither stylebooks nor the majority of manuals have made these margins of publication in which journalists operate explicit. This omission is most difficult to comprehend in the case of the manuals¹⁰. Manuals, after all, present professional practices and standards to students who in the future will carry out journalistic tasks, chief amongst which is that of handling the words of others and the use of direct quotes.

In the case of stylebooks, one could justify this deficiency by saying that newspapers consider stylebooks to be general compendiums, of limited space, that can only explain the procedures and not the details of professional processes exhaustively. This justification is unsatisfactory, however, precisely because –as was demonstrated in epigraph 1– the books are also published searching for transparency, which means, in this case, that they should also make clear to readers how to interpret what appears in inverted commas. Failing to do so creates confusion for readers (or students?). To some degree, what Stimson (1995) suggests happens in the case of journalism in the United States also occurs in Spain, where professionals lay with two definitions of direct quotes: “One which treats spoken words as facts which, like statistics, are to be used but not changed by the writer, and one which treats them as dialogue to be messaged for effect along with all the other words in an article” (p. 69). But as the same author points out, this double definition is not logical because the readers have the right to know “what a particular punctuation mark is supposed to mean” (p. 70), though he also concludes that this situation has not caused problems because “readers apparently assume they are hearing a person’s actual words within quotation marks, and journalism is happy to let them think so” (p. 70). But this incoherence does not seem to be honest because it bases the relationship between the reader and the journalist on deception – perhaps only partially, but it is deception nonetheless since one of the parties lacks the keys to adequately interpreting the text offered by the other party¹¹. As a result, it betrays the pact between journalist and reader; not making the keys to the interpretation of journalistic texts public creates an ethical problem of transparency.

Certainly, if stylebooks were more explicit there would be a risk of readers calling into question the objectivity of the journalist and thus his or her credibility (as well as the credibility of the entire system). However, this risk must be confronted for two reasons: firstly, because with the appropriate explanations such transparency would become a factor that enhances credibility, and secondly, because it is the best way for the stylebooks to achieve their objectives, given that, as *El País's* stylebook states, “only by making explicit the principles that inspire the work of writing, will the public possess the tools to judge a complex and always delicate daily task” (p. 10).

In any case, one of the features of Spanish journalistic culture is that it has never seriously considered the problem of the translation of the spoken word into writing. Reality demonstrates that, beyond what the stylebooks and manuals might say, a speaker's original words are submitted to a process of transformation during writing. In any case, in addition to the contributions of Núñez Ladevéze and López Pan, it seems convenient that the literal nature of direct quotes be debated in the professional field, and above all, in the university. Journalism specialists in Spain should deal with why strict literalness is not respected, if this is in fact the case, and if so, the reasons why this occurs. In addition, what a journalist should take into account when transforming spoken words into written should be clarified. It would be advisable if the research carried out by teachers of journalism and discussions with journalists gave rise to procedural protocols so that professionals have at their disposal clear indications as to how much room they have to manoeuvre. Stylebooks could also describe these procedures with more transparency. However, this transparency would not be enough. Newspapers should make an effort so that readers will be aware of these procedures, because the publication of stylebooks does not guarantee either that the public understands how newspapers function or that the readers know about these procedures.

The work of manual writers does not take into account the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic operations a journalist carries out as an interpreter of the words of another when writing news reports¹², nor do they deal with the ethical implications of the use of reported speech in journalistic texts. In this sense, lecturers in schools of journalism should familiarise themselves with the contributions of discourse analysis to the appropriation of the words of others in texts. Within the field of journalism studies in Spain, only Núñez Ladevéze has taken steps in this direction. However, further steps must be taken before the study of journalism can take full advantage of the contributions offered by discourse analysis, which continue to develop the operations that entail the reproduction of the discourse of third parties in written form¹³. If professors of journalism applied these contributions by linguists to their field, they would be prepared to train students in linguistic competences that extend beyond grammatical correction or good writing to allow them to accurately interpret the words of their sources or the protagonists of current events in the news.

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NOTES

1. Reported Speech "studies the way words attributed to different persons other than the principal speaker are presented in discourse" (Maingueneau and Charaudeau, 2005, p. 184). Although the analysis of discourse devotes some attention to hybrid forms (i.e., small textual fragments enclosed in parentheses or summaries that include quotations), the classical forms of presenting the words of third-party speakers in a text are the indirect, direct and free styles of citation (Maingueneau and Charaudeau, 2005, voz Discurso referido)

2. Journalistic writings group themselves by genre, which opens distinct possibilities for the journalist and generate different expectations in the readers. For the purpose of this article, reports, interviews, profiles and all the spectrum of non-fiction journalism are not included.

3. Other names are also used to refer to these newspaper publications; for example, *Manual de Estilo* (Style Manual) (*Diario Vasco*), *Manual of Style and Usage* (*The New York Times*), *Libro de Redacción* (Manual of Newsroom) (*La Vanguardia*). The more general title of Stylebook is opted for in this article.

4. The stylebooks' sample used in this article is almost exhaustive. There are two other stylebooks published by Spanish newspapers of general information: los de *El Correo Español* *ElPueblo Vasco* (1986) y *El Diario Vasco* (1994). But both newspapers are owned by *VOCENTO*, the media group which published in 2003 the stylebook

for all of their newspapers. Two newspapers which are no longer running –*Diario 16* and *El Sol*– also had stylebooks, but just for newsroom use.

5. In fact, the preoccupation with the correct use of language led to the publication of the first stylebook in Spain, the *Manual de Español Urgente* by the EFE news agency (1975), and it maintains an important place among the stylebooks currently in use (Martínez Albertos, 1997, pp. 335-336; 2008)

6 There is a fact that confirms the book's main objective: the consultants. Fernando Lázaro Carreter, at that moment, the Real Academia's Director, worked on the first edition; and Vígara Tauste, a professor of Spanish, was the coordinator of the team that worked on the second edition.)

7. Muñoz Torres (2000, 2007) has compellingly argued for the importance of newspaper stylebooks that “bear on issues relating to professional judgement, that is to say, on underlying criteria which are the basis of journalistic work” (2007, p. 224). They are rife with many underlying assumptions that show that some of the main usual procedures of the newsmaking process lack theoretical soundness. This is also true of many linguistic assumptions that lie behind the ways of quoting, wrongly presented as unproblematic.

8. Outside the usual news field, the *El Mundo* stylebook allows the freedom of reconstructing quotes in reports: “Reconstructed or compound quotes by the same author about the source of data obtained from the participants in conversations or meetings in which the same author was not present have become a frequent resource in journalistic books on both sides of the Atlantic. This practice is forbidden in *El Mundo* when they are news or reports about events. It might be allowed in wider reports only if it is stated clearly and in the introduction of the same text about the nature of these reconstructed dialogues, which can be understood partially as a literary text and partially as an informative one” (*Libro de estilo*, pp. 102-103).

9. I have selected the manuals most frequently used in introductory courses to journalism and journalistic writing. The list could be expanded (for a larger sample, cf. López Pan, 2002b), but they are generally in agreement with one another, with some exceptions indicated later in the study. There are some classic manuals (Gomis, 1989 y 1991; Casasús Guri, 1988, Diezhandino, 1994) and other more recent ones (López García, 1996, Moerno, 1998; Vilamor, 2000) which do not raise questions relating to the use of quotations even indirectly.

10. Journalists might not be conscious of the changes to which they subject the quotes of their sources; perhaps, in the daily routines, they think they are writing a “literal transcription” of a phrase. It is also possible that the younger journalists become accustomed to this way of working and adopt it without a critical examination of the process. . This, however, is only a hypothesis that would have to be tested.

11. It is reasonable to assume that the reader interprets as an exact reproduction whatever direct quotes appear in a journalistic text; however, as a hypothesis, this needs to be confirmed through research. We would have to ask a significant sample of readers from a particular community how they interpret the direct quotes they read in newspapers. Although it is from 1976 and based on research in the United States, it one study showing that more than 80% of people think that speech marks mean literal transcription appears to be significant. Cf. Culbertson & Somerick, 1976.

12. As mentioned previously, indications and explanations/studies? of other genres (particularly the interview) have not been taken into account here., Although the subject of this article is separate, the study carried out by Vidal (1998) about interviews, taking into account professional practices and linguistic contributions– is especially revealing.

13. Keeping the focus in Spain, cf. Lozano, Peña-Marín & Abril, (1989) and Casalmiglia & Tusón (1999).

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TABLES

TABLE 1

STYLEBOOK FUNCTION OF STYLEBOOK SPANISH NEWSPAPERS WITH THE LARGEST AUDIENCE

NEWSPAPER	STYLEBOOK FUNCTION (apart from linguistic correctness)
<i>El País</i>	“The commitment to information in a newspaper is maintained by the respect for the readers. Only by making the principles which encourage the work of writing explicit, will the public have tools to judge a daily, complex and always delicate task” (p. 10). And in the prologue to the second edition: “(...) We understand that some guidelines have to exist which compromise the newspaper, a type of quality control which defines who we are and how we work” (p. 12).
<i>El Mundo</i>	“The most important motive” to “make this stylebook official and publicise it” is that of “raising the level of our own self-exigency and offering our procedures as an instrument at the service of the reader as a critical conscience. From now on they can measure us using this measuring stick: this is our Constitution, our Civil Code and our Penal Code, although only the offences and not the punishments will be counted” (p. 14).
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	It “completes a system of guarantees for readers and for journalists” (p. 24).
<i>El Periódico</i>	The newspaper’s editor notes as one of the stylebooks’ objectives to establish “the working methods and ethical procedures to give the media its own personality and (...) to facilitate understanding by readers and their identification with the product they purchase ”(p. 7).
<i>VOCENTO</i> Media Group with 14 newspapers with a distribution of 1.7 million copies daily.	In the prologue it says that it establishes the boundaries of “journalistic ethics and the techniques of the different styles” (p. 10)
<i>El Manual de Estilo del Instituto de Periodismo de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa</i> <i>The Institute of the InterAmerican Press Society’s Style Manual.</i> Although aimed at Spanish-speaking American journalists, it has been included because the authors, Martínez Albertos and Luisa Santamaría, are Spanish.	Quotation marks are used to attribute to a person “the exact words that have been written or spoken by the aforementioned source”; and the journalist should be certain that he has “ irrefutable evidence that the words reproduced correspond completely with those written or spoken” (p. 130).

TABLE 2
REFERENCES TO QUOTATIONS IN JOURNALISM WRITING MANUALS

AUTHOR /YEAR	REFERENCES TO QUOTATIONS	DEFINITION OF A DIRECT QUOTE	REMARKS
MARTÍNEZ ALBERTOS/ 1983 (1992)	Scarcely makes reference to quotations: it only refers to them when explaining how to report quotations or interviews.	“The <i>literal</i> words of the person interviewed” (p. 308).	None of the manuals clarify further the literality of a direct quote.
FONTCUBERTA 1981	Chapter 6 is dedicated to this area (“The use of quotes”). It distinguishes between direct and indirect quotes, explains the technique of single quotations and quotations from press conferences and lectures (pp. 103-124).	“The direct quote is one that <i>reproduces exactly</i> the terms expressed by the subject of the news” (p. 103).	It mentions the following functions of direct quotations (cf. p. 104): - Greater contact with the subject - Injects credibility (mediation appears to be eliminated) - It gives agility to the text - It breaks up the linearity of the text “The <i>journalists allow the interviewee to speak for himself and limit him/herself to reproducing word for word</i> his or her declarations (p. 103).
CAMINOS y ARMENTIA 1997	They include an epigraph titled “The news with quotations” – with a sub-epigraph about the technique of quoting (pp. 96-100).	“A direct quote is a phrase which the journalist has reproduced in a <i>literal way and word for word</i> the declarations made by the speaker” (p. 97).	Alongside direct and indirect quotes they speak about the possible intention of the speaker. They qualify the objectivity of the quotes, “taking into account that a quote can extract itself from its context and thus easily be manipulated” (p. 97).
BEZUNARTEA 2000	Title of Chapter 11 “The use of quotations” (pp. 211-221). It explains when to use them, when to do without them and how to write them.	It does not go into definitions and understands quotation to mean direct quotation. But the epigraph “How to write quotations” begins with these words: “On the other hand, we cannot forget that, for the time being, the Real Academia Española has not changed any rules regarding punctuation marks. When <i>exact words</i> are quoted, a colon has to be used before the first word of the quote, which usually begins with a capital letter” (p. 216)	

NOTES: Bold and Italics are mine.

TABLE 3
REFERENCES TO QUOTATIONS IN MANUALS WRITTEN BY JOURNALISTS

AUTHOR /YEAR	REFERENCES TO QUOTATIONS	REMARKS
GRIJELMO 1997	It refers to them when mentioning news based on declarations.	It gives some advice about how to use them and how not to become attached to them.
BASTENIER 2001	Explains the conditions in which one should resort to inverted commas.	“Inverted commas are the journalist’s lethal enemies, because when we use them <i>we are giving up our own voice</i> ; we are withdrawing ourselves and allowing the <i>other person</i> to appear in first position. He or she is then <i>the one that controls the news</i> , although what is between the speech marks has been chosen by the author (p. 72).

NOTES: Bold and Italics are mine.

TABLE 4
LITERALITY OF DIRECT QUOTES IN JOURNALISM ACCORDING TO THREE SPANISH LINGUISTS

AUTHOR /YEAR	REMARKS	
REYES/ 1984	<p>“Dialogues reconstructed by the speaker or by the journalist are inauthentic dialogues because they are not complete enunciations, however carefully <i>they are reconstructed</i>, nor are they stating reality when we read or hear them” (p. 146).</p> <p>And a little before this one can read: “In spoken language, and in certain uses of the written word (amongst them, the press) this convention (that words in indirect style have been pronounced so by a person) <i>does not exist</i>”(p. 14).</p>	
BRUÑA/ 1993	<p>It begins by saying that the majority of linguistic studies turn to the journalistic direct style as a “literal way of referring to discourse”. To this is added that “the veracity that we expect from the professionals of journalism makes whatever reader believe that the DS are literal, given that all newspapers – at least those we have consulted – usually place them between inverted commas – sometimes in italics as well. These speech marks are hence interpreted as a sign of literalness, of truthful reproduction of the original words. (p. 42).</p> <p>On the other hand, it adds, it is recognised as such in style manuals.</p> <p>However, it concludes, although it is an “eagerly expected feature for readers and demanded by the laws of the genre” <i>it does not carry out this literalness</i> either (p. 42).</p>	<p>It would be enough, as he says in the note, having been interviewed by the press to realise the changes made to what has been said. Beyond this direct experience, he alludes to other proof:</p> <p>A phrase is used as a headline or front page which later does not coincide word for word with the phrase as it appears in the text (cf. p. 43).</p>
MÉNDEZ GARCÍA/ 2000	<p>It rejects literality as a word for word reproduction of what is said.</p>	<p>He demonstrates his theory by comparing how several journalists report the same speech act by the use of different lexis, syntactic structures, changes to the order of words, and missing words. He concludes that all of them are formal variants which refer to the same original discourse, apparently with literalness, although in reality this is not the case (cf. pp. 157-165).</p>

NOTE: Bold and Italics are mine.

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