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THE MIXING OF MODES AS A MEANS OF RESOLVING THE TENSION BETWEEN INVOLVEMENT AND DETACHMENT IN NEWS HEADLINES

This article sets out to explore the application of the linguistic strategies of involvement and detachment in news discourse in general and in news headlines in particular. It notes the opposed tendencies of relating detachment phenomena with the need for objectifying the presented information and utilizing involvement phenomena in order to increase the readers' engagement in a more personal form of communication. The tension between these two tendencies becomes manifested on the level of the mixed modes: the written form of anonymous mass communication comes to rely on linguistic features evoking the oral mode, adding a synthetic "personal touch" to the discourse. This resulting mix is derived from the media's aims both to inform and to attract the readers; such aspects may be labelled with reference to Halliday's functional grammar as ideational and interpersonal.

1. Introduction: Involvement and detachment as linguistic categories

The categories of involvement and detachment have been used by Chafe (1982) in his analysis of the differences between written and spoken language. Generally speaking, he claims that the differences can be outlined with the help of two complementary pairs of categories: involvement and detachment, and integration and fragmentation.

Integration and fragmentation refer to the degree of the compactness of a text—they are 'surface features of a text' (Tannen 1982). In Chafe's view, written language tends to be more "**integrated**"—more information is packed into an idea unit than in spoken language—while spoken language tends to be more "**fragmented**." The devices which enable integration include nominalizations, genitive subjects/objects, participles, attributive adjectives, conjoined phrases, series, sequences of prepositional phrases, complement clauses, and relative clauses. The role of nominalizations and participles in contributing to the further integration of a text has been repeatedly treated in Czech Anglicist studies in a cross-linguistic perspective under the name of **complex condensa-**

tion—the above-mentioned forms (in addition to infinitives and gerunds) "condense" underlying subordinate clauses and dispose of them. By dispensing with finite verb forms, they make the text or utterance more compact (Cf. Mathesius 1975 on complex condensation, Vachek 1960 on the compactness of the Modern English sentence, Hladký 1960 on the reduced dynamism of the English verb manifested on a contrastive study of English and Czech complex condensation phenomena).

The vague idea of "packing more information into an idea unit" might imply a false affinity with the concept of **lexical density**; the two, however, should not be equated. Integration/fragmentation is a more complex phenomenon which is apparent on the structural level; lexical density is a property of the lexical make-up of a text—a high lexical density may be viewed as one of the devices which contribute to a higher integration, i.e. compactness of a text. (Although, it should be pointed out, lexical density is only of a limited importance in characterizing the written/spoken cline; e.g. Stubbs (1996: 74) notes, while discussing lexical density, that there are fewer differences between the written and the oral modes in this respect than between e.g. different genres of spoken language. See also McCarthy (1998: 45), who plots the differences between various spoken genres on a complex graph with the following variables: low/high lexical density, low/high shared knowledge, low/high deixis, directness/indirectness).

Involvement and detachment are connected with the relation of a speaker/writer towards the proposition (Chafe 1982: 52; Tannen 1982: 2 adds the material or content). **Involvement** is typical for a speaker and is manifested through more frequent references to the speaker him/herself, references to the speaker's mental processes, devices for monitoring the flow of information, the use of emphatic particles, fuzziness, and the use of direct quotes. **Detachment**, on the other hand, is typical for written language, and is characterized by the use of passives and nominalizations, which contribute not only to a greater integration of the resulting text but also to its 'abstract reification' (Chafe 1982: 49).

As noted above, the distinction is not absolute. Chafe (1982: 49) specifies that these categories hold for the extreme ends of a continuum, claiming that 'there are other styles of speaking which are more in the direction of writing and other styles of writing which are more like speech.' Similarly Tannen (1982: 13) has noted the existence of literature which 'combines the involvement of spoken language with the integration of writing.'

1.1 Taking into account the receiving end of communication

While involvement and detachment concern the manner of presentation of a text (they refer to the characteristics on the part of the speaker/writer) and integration and fragmentation relate to the qualities of the text (message) itself, it may also be useful to consider the receiving end of the communication, too: the reader/hearer as a participant in the discourse.

The consideration of the receiving end of the communication is a necessary motivating factor for the selection of involvement/detachment phenomena in the encoding process. Such a consideration of the **readers' (anticipated) participation in the discourse event** is, for instance, crucial in advertising: among meeting other requirements, an effective advertisement must get attention on the part of the audience (Bennett 1988: 564); marketing analysts sometimes invoke the AIDA model of marketing communication in this context ('attention, interest, desire, action'; cf. Bovée and Thill 1992: 531, 569). The focus on the receiving end of the communication is probably strongest in advertising but is likewise present in other registers and discourse types.

The need for perceiving involvement and detachment in relation to the audience's engagement/participation stems from the functional view of communication, which takes into account not only the sender but also the receiver of the information. The communication need not necessarily be reciprocal (i.e. allowing for direct and immediate feedback or the change of the sender/receiver roles, cf. Wahlstrom 1992), although it is two-way (i.e. originating at a particular source and directed towards an audience), purposive and contextualized.

As these variables feature so strongly in the theoretical analyses of media communication (cf. Dominick 1993, Black and Bryant 1995, McQuail 1994: 281), it may be beneficial **to extend the original meaning of Chafe's "involvement" to include the receiving end of the communication**, too—namely as the means of increasing the audience's engagement in the discourse. A similar approach is offered by Vassileva (2001: 84), who notes that Chafe's modified categories of commitment and detachment exclude the "author audience" axis and focus solely on the "author knowledge" axis.

2 Printed news discourse and the relation between impersonality and detachment

News discourse is a highly institutionalized communication between a paper which holds power (both institutional and that of having information and the choice of the manner of encoding it) and mass audience. For the most part, 'readers as communicative partners are present only indirectly and implicitly' (Van Dijk 1988: 75).

The indirect and implicit presence of the audience typically finds its expression in impersonal language, which is a device of detachment. The **link between impersonality and detachment** is made by e.g. Urbanová (1998), who shows that the former is one of the linguistic manifestations of the latter. Basing her results on a research of spoken language, she concludes that detachment is used for a variety of discourse effects, most typically for mitigation and non-commitment. Although the "canonical" use of the spoken language exhibits fragmentation and, by implication, also involvement, she notes that detachment and involvement are in fact complementary in spoken language as detachment can be strategically used to suit the speaker's purposes.

As regards news discourse, the institutionalized source of information and the mass audience on the respective ends of the communication scheme would therefore seem to imply a high degree of detachment as the result of the existing impersonality of the communicative event in a split context (cf. Vachek 1976 [1948]: 122 on the impersonality of printed language as opposed to written language). However, this is not always so, as the data show.

Impersonality in news (and headlines in particular) is driven by the requirement of the register of hard news: it is connected with the **ideal of objectivity**. The personal voice has the connotation of being subjective, cf. e.g. Fowler's (1991: 64) observation about the frequency of occurrence of modal expressions—'if modal expressions are frequent and highlighted, subjectivity is enhanced, the illusion of a "person" with a voice and opinions; conversely, writing which strives to give an impression of objectivity, such as scientific reporting..., tends to minimize modal expressions.'

Subjectivity, however, is an unwelcome quality in news reporting. The proclaimed aim of the voice of the paper is different: to provide objective information. However, that is not the sole function; the news also have to relate to the audience. This function is most obvious in headlines which not only inform the readers but also raise the interest of the readers to continue reading (cf. Bell 1991—headlines are a 'part of news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader;' the rest of the article needs to sustain this interest). These complementary and simultaneous functions may be described as **"ideational" and "interpersonal"** respectively (cf. Chovanec 2000a, 2001; they are supplemented by the equally important "textual" function of headlines), or more traditionally, as **semantic and pragmatic functions** (on the critique of the latter, see Dor 2003: 698).

In connection with impersonality, there is another way which is stereotypically used to increase the impersonality of headlines: their linguistic coding in the form of block language. **Headlines as block language** (cf. Quirk et al. 1985) are in the written mode but their conventions remove them **further from general grammar** of English (cf. Halliday 1985: 372, who deals with them separately under 'the grammar of little texts'). Such a characteristic departure from the grammar of continuous discourse is apparent in the following examples:

Example 1
Elderly left in NHS beds as nursing homes close (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Example 2
Irish forgers caught out by Euro spelling error (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Block language is manifested in the examples above in the absence of articles (*elderly*), the ellipted auxiliary ([*are*] or [*have been*]), and the complex nominalization (*Euro spelling error*).

When discussing the linguistic manifestation of impersonality in spoken language, Urbanová (1998) introduces a chart of formal and informal elements (see Figure 1) arranged in the order of increasing impersonality. This is the result of her finding that 'Impersonality arises when the roles of the speaker and the addressee are backgrounded, being closely connected with the shift towards formality' (1998: 111). The far right-hand end of the scale concerns "formal impersonal manner of presentation" (i.e. indeterminate with regard to the speaker's identity; Urbanová 1998: 112).

Figure 1 Range of informal to formal elements with regard to pronominal use and syntactic structure (Urbanová 1998: 112)

I – you – you (anybody) > we – they > one – people > passive voice, there is

It may be speculated that block language in headlines is still further to the right. There are several reasons for this assumption. First, canonical headlines tend to avoid any reference to the discourse participants (writer/reader) and they are, in this sense, indeterminate with regard to their identity. Second, passivizations, used to background less significant participants (e.g. the agents of "*left*" and "*caught out*" in Examples 1 and 2 above) frequently omit finite verbs. The resulting non-finite clause is then more impersonal than its possible finite counterpart. Thirdly, a significant number of sentence types in headlines (approximately one third in a previous research reported in Chovanec 2000a) are non-finite clauses and sentence fragments—agentless and tenseless nominalizations (cf. Examples 4 and 5 below). Cf. also Fowler and Kress (1979: 207) who claim that nominalizations 'make for "impersonality" in style; this is an effect of the deletions of participants.' Impersonality and formality are thus pushed into the extreme.

Example 3
Foot and mouth eradicated (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Example 4
'Mental disorders' ecstasy link (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Example 5
Work deal for ministry chief (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Thus, in Example 3, the already highly impersonal and formal passive (see Figure 1) *[*is/was/has been] eradicated* is used without the auxiliary. Consequently, a potential full-sentence statement is turned into block language and this structure moves one step further to the right towards the extreme end of the formality scale. Similarly, Example 4 is a nominal phrase expressing the mere static existence of a phenomenon. This headline opts for the non-realization of the possible underlying verbal predication **Ecstasy linked to 'mental disorders'*

(presented in the non-finite form due to headline conventions). Instead, it encodes the information in the form of a rather complex nominal phrase, which is another characteristic feature of block language in general and headline conventions in particular. In Chafe's terms, the headline in Example 4 exhibits a high degree of integration, which is characteristic of detachment. Example 5, unlike Example 4, is a pure nominal headline, whose corresponding non-conventional sentence describing the same information would most probably be construed with the existential **there is/was/has been* or the predicate **has been concluded/agreed on*, etc. (cf. Halliday 1985: 375 on unattached nominals). The absence of this potential element in the headline points in the same direction as Example 3, namely towards even greater detachment.

Figure 1 might thus be extended further to the right by the addition of linguistic elements that increase formality and detachment by presenting the utterance a) without any pronominal use, and b) using incomplete syntactic structures, namely non-finite clauses with conventionally ellipted finite verb forms (Examples 1, 2 and 3) and nominalizations (Examples 4 and 5):

Figure 2 Range of structures expressing a growing level of impersonality/formality in headlines

I – you – you (anybody) > we – they > one – people > passive voice, there is > non-finite clause, nominalization

The sentence structures on the far right-hand end of the scale increase impersonality in two ways: First, by avoiding personal reference (to the author) and second, by eliminating temporal deixis through non-finiteness. Avoiding personal reference is preferred because it could taint the news item with subjectivity, while the avoidance of commitment to any spatio-temporal setting (no reference to the here & now, unlike the structures to the left of the scale) helps the utterance achieve something of a universal character. The abandonment of temporal reference may be carried out intentionally (as e.g. Halliday 1985: 374 hints) and it may paradoxically be even easier for the reader to relate to the newsworthiness of the non-finite headline (as finite headlines typically exhibit the conventional shift of tenses into the present simple which enhances the relevance of the item—cf. e.g. Schiffrin (1981), McCarthy and Carter (1994: 94), McCarthy (1998: 94), Chovanec (2000a: 94, 134) and (2001: 88)).

Involvement phenomena in headlines as a means of bridging the discursive gap

The conventionally impersonal language and structures of headlines may, however, be problematic in connection with the multiple function of headlines (see above). As a result, there is a contrast between the impersonality and detachment

and the need to communicate with the audience in a more personal manner—the discursive gap.

The notion of the **discursive gap** has been elaborated by Fowler (1991). He notes the **impersonality of the printed news text and** observes **the necessity of relating to the readers in a different manner**: 'The basic task for the writer is to word institutional statements ... in a style appropriate to interpersonal communication, because the reader is an individual and must be addressed as such' (1991: 47).

Fowler also feels the need for narrowing such a discursive gap. This narrowing is enabled by the adoption of the conversational style in the papers because 'conversation implies co-operation, agreement, symmetry of power and knowledge between participants.' The ultimate goal is the enhancement of the interpersonal function of the communication: 'The reasons for adopting a conversational style have partly to do with the construction of an illusion of informality, familiarity, friendliness' (1991: 57).

The resulting **mixing of the written and the oral modes** is manifested by numerous linguistic features (which serve as "cues" of the modes or even other registers). Among such features, Fowler (1991: 62) lists typography and orthography, registers (choice of lexis and naming labels), syntax and morphology (contractions, elisions), deixis, modality, and speech acts. Their role is to 'contribute to an illusion of conversational style' (1991: 65).

As far as headlines are concerned, one may witness the tendency to use a number of certain involvement phenomena in order to bridge the discursive gap between the institutional writer and the anonymous audience. The headline writers, however, need to find a suitable balance between involvement and not destroying the (illusion of) objectivity.

There are several different ways of relating to the audience and bridging the gap. However, they are closely dependent on a number of variables, such as the character of the newspaper and the genre of the article.

3.1 Character of newspaper—strategies of the popular press

The type of the publication is the most apparent characteristic motivating the use of some involvement phenomena. Namely, their application frequently depends on whether the paper concerned is a popular press or a "quality" paper.

The difference between the traditionally distinguished tabloids and "quality" papers is not absolute: they use similar forms. Both tabloids and quality papers use headlines in the form of canonical block language which satisfies the requirements of the genre of headlines. However, there are certain forms and structures which quality papers tend to avoid (at least in hard news reporting, cf. the section on genre differences below). In this sense, tabloids appear to offer a **much wider scope of headline types**.

Tabloids, apart from relating to the readers on the level of the choice of the subject matter of articles (more domestic news, crime, human interest, scandal, sex, etc.), try to foster their greater involvement by the following strategies (while it is not atypical for them to co-occur):

- Lexical choices—the vocabulary is often emotional and evaluative. See *stampede* in Example 6 and *thug* in Example 12 further below:

  Example 6
  Sangatte stampede. Britain now asylum capital of the world (*Daily Express*)

- Word play, imitation of sounds, unusual or non-standard spelling: .

  Example 7
  T'wit tshoo! (*Daily Express*)

- Use of personal pronouns referring to the discourse participants. These are the forms which directly do away with the "impersonal" character of the discourse (cf. Figures 1 and 2 above). Thus Examples 8 and 9 below directly refer to the reader by means of the second person pronoun *you*. This is an instance of **synthentic personalization** (Fairclough 1989, Talbot 1995, Stoll 1998). Such a simulated personal address, in Fairclough's words (1989: 128), 'has a wide currency in advertising and elsewhere, presumably as an attempt to remedy increasing impersonality.' (Apart from addressing the audience, there also occurs direct address to the other discourse participants—namely the writers themselves, who sometimes self-refer with the first person plural *we* as in Example 10. On this issue, see Fowler and Kress (1979: 202) and Fairclough (1989: 127)).

  Example 8
  Shopping's bad for you. Stores make blood pressure soar. (*Daily Express*)

- Full evaluative statements instead of reporting the mere facts of a news item. Instances of such evaluative comments are to be found in Examples 8 and 9. In both instances, we witness the co-occurrence of several involvement strategies (simulated personal address, evaluative language/statements, comment rather than statement of facts).

  Example 9
  A good job you lied... (*Daily Express*, 14 Sept 2002) (report on a research which has revealed that most British workers lie on their CVs)

- Wider range of various sentence structures and their more frequent use—exclamatives (Example 7), interrogatives (often combined with a direct appeal to the discourse participants—Example 10):

  Example 10
  Haven't we seen Sophie's dress before? (*Daily Express*)
  Who is to blame? (*Daily Express*)

- Close connection between the verbal and visual channels—headlines sometimes provide a commentary of the accompanying picture (at other times they may even be subservient to the picture). This is linked with the trend towards making headlines more narrative—in both content and structure (note the absence of block language from the structure of the headline in Example 11 and the use of the past tense form in the relative clause of time specifying the noun *moment*):

  Example 11
  The moment Andrew was picked up in front of Fergie (*Daily Express*)

- Preference for actional predication. E.g. in Example 12, it is the action which is chosen to be reported rather than the final state (i.e. not **Rod Stuart's son jailed*, as might be expected). The quality papers would also most likely try to avoid the attributive label *thug*, which is evaluative (and thus subjective) but increases the newsworthiness of the story:

  Example 12
  Rod Stuart sees his thug son jailed (*Daily Express*)

These are some of the typical ways in which involvement can find its way into headlines in the popular press. Their common denominator is the fact that they reduce the impersonality of the text and reduce the effect of block language (leading towards greater detachment) by returning the headlines closer to ordinary speech and common sentence types (albeit preserving some of the features of block language). As shown in Section 3.3, the quality press achieves a very similar effect through slightly different means.

3.2 Genre

Within the genre of hard news in quality papers, the widespread application of the involvement phenomena, as outlined in Section 3.1 above, tends to be avoided, because the forms (personal pronouns, evaluative lexical items, evaluative statements, exclamatives and interrogatives, etc.) mostly connote subjectivity. It is argued that **objectivity for those papers which consider themselves**

"quality" is too precious to be sacrificed in exchange for an increased engagement of the audience.

However, the strict application of the ideal of objectivity is obviously loosened in case of genres other than hard news. Editorials and opinion sections of "quality" papers need not adhere to the strict requirements of the genre of the hard news and, consequently, involvement phenomena do find their more common expression in these sections. Classic example is the 'editorial *we*' used to gather public support and appeal to shared values (cf. Fowler 1991).

Such is the headline in Example 13: it is laden with evaluative language (*bad*) and it is more conversational in the sense that it does not fully observe headline conventions (the definite article is used), and it provides a comment (perhaps appealing to shared values and knowledge) rather than supplying any new information:

Example 13
The bad old days (*Electronic Telegraph*, opinion section)

The more personal character of the opinion section (typically it is also the individuality of the author which matters considerably) also makes it possible to discontinue the canonical headline conventions. By using full sentences, such headlines effectively dismantle the detaching effect stemming from the essentially impersonal block language. This is apparent in Example 14:

Example 14
The NHS needs more money, but it needs new ideas, too (*Electronic Telegraph*, opinion section)

3.3 Hard news in the quality papers

The discursive gap described in Section 3 above can be bridged by the utilization of features of the spoken mode in the written text which function as Fowler's (1991) cues of the oral mode. Such **mixing of modes** (this may, for instance, take the form of a simulated dialogic structure, which Stoll (1998) identified in her study on female teenage magazines), results in the introduction into the discourse of involvement phenomena which typically characterize the spoken mode. In this way, the discourse satisfies the requirements of the ideational function by transmitting information while simultaneously doing justice to the interpersonal function by relating to the audience—drawing on the linguistic resources of or approximating to the discursive mode most characteristic of it.

On the level of headlines, such mixing of modes is realized by means of **mixing voices**. By voice is meant a stretch of a text which is presented as the coding of the reality by a particular participant. In this way, we may distinguish **the voice of the paper and the voice of other participants, namely news actors**. This phenomenon also helps to explain the genre-induced departure from headline

conventions discussed in Section 3.2: in opinion sections, the institutional voice of the paper yields to the personal voice of a commentator. And once the commentator encodes his point of view (even in the headline), he/she is not bound by the strict objectifying impersonal conventions which the voice of the quality paper has to observe as far as the headlines of hard news are concerned, and becomes relatively free to encode his/her thoughts in a form closer to the spoken mode and containing the characteristic involvement phenomena (see Examples 13 and 14 above). While in the genre of opinion sections and commentaries we are concerned with the **change of a voice**, in the instance of mixing the voices in hard news we are faced with **multiple voices**—typically two voices occurring in a close sequence (the stretch of discourse thus becomes **heteroglossic**).

Mixing voices in headlines is manifested in the form of accessing another voice. This can take the following forms:

- Ascription of identity to the voice—the news actor is either named or identified in some other way. Following a semicolon (Example 15), a reporting verb (most typically "says," Example 16) or some other conventional indicator (Example 17—the possessive form combining with quotation marks), there is a quote of such an identified news actor:

  Example 15
  Frank Field: NHS needs more money and ideas (*Electronic Telegraph*)

  Example 16
  NHS is worse than ever, says public (*Electronic Telegraph*, 14 Jan 2002)

  Example 17
  Tory peers attack Duncan Smith's '80pc elected' Lords plan (*Electronic Telegraph*)

The juxtaposition of two voices in the headline (the voice of the paper and the accessed voice of a news actor through a quote) makes the headline **dynamic**. If pursued throughout the article, it can, however, be used as **a strategy of non-commitment** on the part of the paper to the truth of the proposition (e.g. potentially libellous statements, which the paper prefers to air through the voice of someone else, cf. Chovanec 2000a: 159).

- Non-ascription of identity to the voice—the juxtaposition of voices in headlines may be achieved by a quotation of several words without providing their source. The source is usually to be found in the first paragraph (the lead) of the story proper. The use of quotation marks is a conventional device indicating the points where another voice is directly accessed:

Example 18
Kray wife death inquiry 'would waste resources' (*Electronic Telegraph*)
Thai police officer 'may have killed backpacker' (*Electronic Telegraph*)

The resulting headline becomes **heterogenous**: not only does it combine two juxtaposed voices (thus adding to the dynamism of the headline) but it also exhibits two distinct linguistic patterns—the block language in the voice of the paper (the complex nominal phrase *Kray wife death inquiry*) becomes juxtaposed with the ordinary sentence structure including an auxiliary (*'would waste resources'*) in the voice of another (unspecified) news actor. Cf. Fairclough (1999: 185) 'texts may be linguistically heterogeneous, i.e. made up of elements which have varying and sometimes contradictory stylistic and semantic values.'

The introduction of a quote (or whatever is presented as a quote—direct, indirect, semi-direct) into the headline may lead to the **discontinuation of headline conventions** (cf. Chovanec 2000a: 209). The stretch of text reserved to another voice may thus cease to satisfy the conventional requirements of block language and exhibit a wider range of elements which are dispreferred if aired through the voice of the paper itself (e.g. auxiliaries—Example 18, articles—Example 19, evaluative words, a greater variety of tenses including the past tense, more varied sentence types). **Thanks to the discontinuation of headline conventions, the paper may use many more features of involvement which it otherwise would not be able to do**—most likely for the fear of compromising on objectivity and coming close to the involving headline strategies of the popular press (cf. Section 3.1 above).

Example 19
TV broadcasters 'scraping the barrel' for entertainment (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Quoting the precise words in the manner illustrated in Example 19 is sometimes done when the phrase is colloquial, unexpected, memorable, or, for some reason, worthy of attention. In such a case, the **foregrounded expression** tends to be repeated in the article itself (cf. the text that follows the headline in Example 19: ... *Reeves, one half of the BBC's comedy duo Reeves and Mortimer, said broadcasters were "scraping the barrel" to find comedy and entertainment shows.*) The foregrounded facticity of this type should be differentiated (although it may not always be possible) from the foregrounded semblance of facticity discussed below:

- Semblance of an accessed voice—It must be noted, however, that quotation marks are frequently used to convey the semblance of an accessed voice rather than a direct access to that voice. In other words, they present the **paper's summarizing interpretation** of the position/announcement/verbal comment/etc. of another news actor:

Example 20
Gibraltar vows to fight British 'betrayal' over sovereignty (*Electronic Telegraph*)

Thus in Example 20, the quotation marks enclosing the word *betrayal* do not necessarily mean that this was precisely the word which was used by the Gibraltar authorities. If that were the case, the word would tend to occur again in the following text, which does not happen (cf. *The Gibraltar government yesterday condemned British plans to sign an agreement with Spain granting joint sovereignty of the Rock as "profoundly undemocratic"*). Rather, the word *betrayal* is the paper's interpretation in the form of a nominalization (i.e. a form of complex condensation) of the predication '*condemned... as "profoundly undemocratic.*"' The motivation for such a rewording is to be found in the structural make-up of a news story (cf. Chovanec 2000a: 204, for headlines as the macropropositions of the text, see van Dijk 1988).

Nevertheless, by enclosing the word *betrayal* in quotation marks, the paper actually makes the status of the word ambiguous as regards its voice: a reader may understand it either as the direct access to the voice of the Gibraltar authorities (which is not the case) or as a rough description of the concept by the paper (equivalent to saying 'it's not exactly a "betrayal" but it might be seen as such'—see also below). The seeming access to another voice has a further advantage—the paper may **put forward an emotive or an evaluative expression** (which it could not do within a text in its own voice as such a usage could be deemed too personal and thus subjective), whereby it manages to increase the involvement—through a single word. (In fact, this could also be seen as a subtle form of synthetic personalization.)

Quotation marks can be used for other purposes, as well, such as the following:

- Quotation marks to identify an alternative point of view—scare quotes (Fairclough 1989). A strategy of distancing from someone else's opinion, a way of indicating that a particular coding of the reality is not the paper's but someone else's (in this way, the mixing of voices is achieved once more). This interpretation may also underlie the quotation marks in Example 20 above (regardless of the fact that the British act is lexicalized as a *betrayal* by the paper rather then the Gibraltar authorities themselves).

- Quotation marks to indicate colloquial or ad hoc expressions—similarly to scare quotes above, quotation marks may be used as a distancing means (not necessarily indicating another voice, though—this usage is similar to that classified as "semblance of an accessed voice" above). The meaning is, once more, that of "something like/what could be described as":

Example 21
Bolshoi sues 'pirate' tours (*Electronic Telegraph*)

The mixing of the voices is a suitable way of interspersing a written text with elements of the spoken mode and thus effect a mixing of the two modes. The resulting text contains juxtaposed elements, often embedded in the heterogeneous discourse norm of headline conventions of block language and the standard form of ordinary language (i.e. non-block), characteristic of both involvement and detachment. In this way, the requirements of the register to relate to the audience are satisfied.

To conclude, it needs to be added that the above-described instances illustrate only some of the strategies available. It has been shown in previous studies (Chovanec 2000a, 2000b) that the assumption of a shared context (e.g. cultural) may also be seen as a form of involvement as it draws intertextually on the audience's familiarity with previous texts. This may, for instance, take the form of proper name reference in the headline by which the paper indicates that it assumes the news actor to be known by the audience (as the proper name is more newsworthy than a potential descriptive label—see Examples 11, 12 and 13 above).

4. Conclusion

The present study has shown that the genre of hard news in news discourse is driven by the ideal of objectivity, which favours impersonal constructions connoting a high degree of detachment, manifested on the level of integration of the language and the conventional block language. Nevertheless, one of the goals of news discourse is also to relate to the audience, and thus news writers have to seek ways of increasing the engagement of the audience in the discourse.

News discourse is thus faced with the necessity to reconcile the tension between the ideational and the interpersonal functions: the much-needed objectivity can be connoted through impersonality and detachment, yet certain personal features of involvement are required to bridge the discursive gap and to effectively communicate with the audience. A compromise solution, then, is offered by the above-mentioned mixing of the oral and written modes.

Using headlines to illustrate the ways the discursive gap can be bridged by the introduction of some involvement phenomena, the paper notes some of the strategies of relating to the readers used in the popular press and in opinion sections of papers. It notes the tendency of the press to simulate closeness—to connote "synthetic personalization" by directly addressing the audience and employing a wide range of structures and sentence types.

In hard news headlines in quality papers, the discursive gap is bridged primarily by means of mixing modes—elements of the spoken mode are introduced into the detached formal language of the written mode. A highly useful device used for this purpose is the mixing of voices. It allows the access to the voice of another news actor by means of a quote, in which the strict conventions of block language may be discontinued, subjective and evaluative expressions may occur and more varied sentence types and structures become available. A similar effect

is achieved by scare quotes, pseudoquotes and quotation marks used for the semblance of an accessed voice. Such mixing of voices and/or forms increases the dynamism by creating a juxtaposition between the words of the paper and another news actor or another point of view on the issue under discussion.

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