

Doing “Authentic” News: Voices, Forms, and Strategies in Presenting Television News

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Unlike print news that is static and mainly composed of written text, television news is dynamic and needs to be delivered with diversified presentational modes and forms. Drawing upon Bakhtin’s heteroglossia and Goffman’s production format of talk, this article examined the presentational forms and strategies deployed in *BBC News at Ten* and *CCTV’s News Simulcast*. It showed that the employment of different presentational elements and forms in the two programs reflects two contrasting types of news discourse. The discourse of *BBC News* tends to present different, and even confrontational, voices with diversified presentational forms, such as direct mode of address and “fresh talk,” thus likely to accentuate the authenticity of the news. The other type of discourse (i.e., *CCTV News*) seems to prefer monologic news presentation and prioritize studio-based, scripted news reading, such as on-camera address or voice-overs, and it thus creates a single authoritative voice that is likely to undermine the truth of the news.

Keywords: authenticity, mode of address, presentational elements, voice, television news

The discourse of television news has been widely studied within the linguistic world. Early in the 1970s, researchers in the field of critical linguistics (CL; e.g., Fowler, 1991; Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1993) paid great attention to the ideological meaning of news by drawing upon a kit of linguistic tools such as modality, transitivity, and transformation. After CL’s approach, practitioners in the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) began to critique news as both discourse and social practice. Some of them (e.g., Fiske & Hartley, 2003; Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001; Lorenzo-Dus, 2009; Scannell, 2014; van Leeuwen, 1991, 2005) inquired into the linguistic and nonlinguistic form and structure of news to explicate the ideological meaning and power relations embedded in the news. Meanwhile, conversation analytic scholars (e.g., Clayman, 1992; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Greatbatch, 1988; Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991) related the discourse of television news interviews with institutional meanings latent in the news text, such as journalistic neutrality, double articulation of talk, preallocation of turns, and so on. These studies focus

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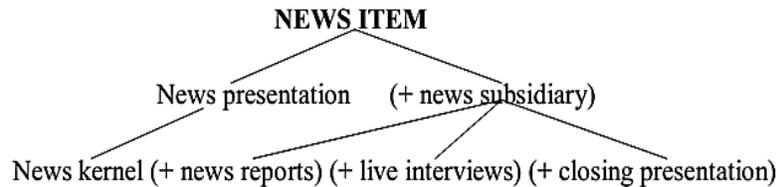
primarily on linguistic (or semiotic) forms and language use in the news. The critical approaches, such as CDA, for instance, tend to focus on the macrosociological meaning, whereas social semiotic approaches, such as MDA, prioritize intersemiotic relations between different modalities such as language, sound, and image. Most of them appear to have overlooked how the linguistic (and/or nonlinguistic) forms are presented and delivered for the news to be effectively disseminated and accepted. It is, of course, important to examine the form and structure of news discourse to expound the underlying messages expressed in the news. However, it is equally important to look into the production format of discourse if we wish to figure out how such messages are (re)presented in the news. As a result, this study aims to examine the presentational forms and strategies deployed in (re)presenting meanings and messages in the news. The study covers sections as follows: to define and identify the presentational elements commonly used in television news; to compare and describe the forms of those elements and their distribution, based on two contrasting television news programs, namely, *BBC News at Ten* and *CCTV's News Simulcast*;² and to analyze and discuss the potential implications for using different presentational forms and strategies between the two news programs by drawing upon Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossia and Goffman's (1981) production format of talk.

Presentational Elements in the News

According to Montgomery (2007), television news can be divided into two types of discourse structures in terms of news presentation: one concerns the 24-hour running news program, where "temporal constraints are relatively relaxed," and it may be regarded as "open discourse structures"; the other is the half-hour news program where the news broadcasting is rigidly "scheduled," hence characteristic of "closed discourse structures" (p. 39). The latter type of television news consists of two levels of discourse structure (i.e., overall and specific). The overall structure covers the following elements that may transcend most news programs: opening visuals + headlines (+ signature visuals) + news items (1 - n) + closing visuals (Montgomery, 2007, p. 39). *Opening visuals* involve the logo and visual music that serves to establish the tone, theme, and atmosphere of the program. *Headlines* present a trailer-like introduction to the news items. *Signature visuals* cover the sign-in of the program and presenter(s)' greeting to the audience. *News items* refers to the presentation and reporting of the news events, and it makes up the main body of the program. The *closing* concerns the sequences acting to sign off and wind up the entire news program.

The specific level of structure concerns that of news items, which can be schematized as shown in Figure 1.

² *BBC News at Ten* may be regarded as one of the most watched news programs on the BBC, a public service broadcaster in Britain that is independent of any governments or commercial organizations, whereas *CCTV's News Simulcast* is a flagship news program on China Central Television (henceforth CCTV), which is one of most privileged official media in China.



Source: Montgomery, 2007, p. 40.

Figure 1. The discourse structure of news items.

A news item consists of a *news kernel* and a *news subsidiary*. A news kernel concerns the main point of the upcoming news report. It is essential and often realized by studio-based news presentation. A news subsidiary is the detailed presentation of the event in support for the news kernel. It includes news reports, news interviews, and closing remarks, though not every item involves closing remarks.

All the structures, linguistically, consist of news subgenres, such as news presentation, news reports, and news interviews, that are realized by various discourse acts and practices (Montgomery, 2007), which, in turn, need to be presented by a set of orderly arranged presentational elements (or forms). *Presentational element* here can be seen as a production format with which news is presented and delivered. Different presentational elements reflect different modes of address, which, according to Chandler (2007), are "the ways in which relations between addresser and addressee are constructed in a text" (p. 186). The producer of a text needs to adopt appropriate modes of address based on their assumption about the intended audience, which can be determined in terms of "directness," "formality," and "point of view" (Chandler, 2007, p. 190). By directness, the mode of address can be either direct (e.g., face-to-face communication) or indirect (e.g., third-person narration). By formality, the mode of address can be either formal (e.g., a public speech) or informal (e.g., a daily conversation). By point of view, the mode of address can be either third-person narration or first-person narration. Third-person narration can be presented by either an omniscient narrator or selective point-of-view characters. Omniscient narrator can be either intrusive (e.g. a storyteller) or self-effacing (e.g., the God who tells stories without making any interpretations). Based on these criteria, we can classify presentational elements into the following categories:

- *On-camera address*: referring to the presentational mode in which the presenter or reporter³ makes direct visual address to the camera so that the audience can see his or her performance on the screen.
- *Off-camera presentation (or voice-over)*: referring to the way in which the presenter or reporter presents the news in the third person, with his or her voice over the news footage.

³ *Reporter* here refers to the journalist who reports from the news field, including correspondent, editor, and the like.

- *Stand-upper*: a subtype of on-camera address made by a reporter in the news field or sometimes in the studio.
- *Live two-way*: referring to a live interview between the interviewer (usually the presenter) in the studio and the interviewee in the field (e.g., a correspondent, expert, public figure, or ordinary person). It is presented in a first-person, direct mode of address.
- *Sound-bite*: referring to a fragmentary talk extracted from a longer monologic speech or talk that is presented in a first-person, direct mode of address.
- *Interview fragment*: referring to a fragment of prerecorded interview that is presented in a first-person, direct mode of address. It is much like the sound-bite, but differs in that the latter concerns an interview fragment whereas the former concerns a segment of monologic speech or talk.
- *Sign-off*: referring to the way a reporter closes a news item, usually with a relatively fixed structure such as “[reporter’s name] + [news institution] + [place].” It is realized by either on-camera addresses or voice-overs.

An orderly sequence of presentational elements forms the overall structure of the news program. The opening, greeting, and news headlines, for instance, may be realized by the visual music presentation and presenters’ on-camera address. The news kernel may be realized by either studio-based on-camera address or voice-overs, whereas the news subsidiary may be realized by field-based voice-overs, stand-uppers, live two-ways, sound-bites, interview fragments, and/or sign-offs.

Voice Presentation in the News

In television news, voice is probably one of the most prominent factors in representing different, and even confrontational, positions and attitudes among the participants. In most television news shows, different voices coexist, orchestrate, or even conflict with one another in a single news story, thus forming a discourse of “heteroglossia.” Bakhtin (1981) defines heteroglossia as “*another’s speech in another’s language*, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way” (p. 324). This does not simply mean the multiplicity of languages but it also refers to the ideologies inherent in languages with which we express ourselves as social beings, including, for example, the ideology of professional status, age group, social class, geographical region, family, memberships, beliefs, and so on. My utterance may reflect other’s utterance even though it is my utterance and my voice. It thus creates a “dialogue” between me and the other (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986). As Bakhtin (1981) put it,

it serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are dialogically interrelated, they—as it were—know about each other (just as two exchanges in a dialogue know of each other and are structured in this mutual knowledge of each other); it is as if they actually hold a conversation with each other. (p. 324)

In terms of a formalist type of analysis, the voices employed in a novel in a general sense might be classified as those of the author, the narrator, and the character. The novel, in Bakhtin's view, gains its power through coexistence of, and conflict among, these voices. They may become overlapped in terms of the ideology expressed in the text. The narrator's speech that expresses a character's inner world, for example, belongs to both the category of narrator voice and the category of character voice.

Television news is a multivoiced, hybridized discourse wherein three general types of voice may coexist—namely, institutional voice, journalistic noninstitutional voice, and nonjournalistic voice. Institutional voice refers to the journalistic stance or position expressed on behalf of the news institution. It primarily comes from the news presenter's studio-based on-camera addresses or voice-overs, or from the field-based voices of the news editors (or correspondents). Journalistic noninstitutional voice concerns the journalist's personal stance or position. It may come from an editor, correspondent, or reporter who delivers news from the news field by either stand-uppers or voice-overs. Nonjournalistic voice refers to the opinion or position from a nonjournalistic participant (such as a witness, an expert, or a public figure) who voices his or her views personally or on behalf of the institution to which he or she is affiliated.

Voices can be direct or indirect in terms of discourse presentation. In a direct mode, "the words represented are in quotation marks and the tense and deictics . . . are those of the 'original'" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 107). In an indirect mode, the voices between the reporter and the reported are "less clearly demarcated," and "the words used to represent the latter's discourse may be those of the reporter rather than those of the reported" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 107). In terms of television news, however, such direct/indirect voices are not simply represented by way of quotation marks, tenses, or deictics, but more frequently with different types of presentational forms.

This can be explained by drawing upon Goffman's (1981) production format of talk. According to Goffman, when producing a talk, there involves not only the process of speaking at large, but a complex system of production format wherein the speaker may simultaneously play three different roles, namely, animator, author, and principal. *Animator* refers to "the sounding box from which utterances come," *author* refers to "the agent who puts together, composes, or scripts the lines that are uttered," and *principal* refers to "the party to whose position, stand, and belief the words attest" (p. 226). By direct presentation, the voice is authored and animated by the nonjournalist him- or herself, and this very speaker is responsible for the accounts he or she utters. Journalists, for instance, may create a "live," direct presentation of the original person's voice by inserting an interview fragment or a video-based sound-bite into the news report. By contrast, a news participant's voice may be presented in a "refracted," indirect fashion through a news presenter's on-camera address or voice-over. Such voices can be seen as animated by the presenter, though they were originally authored by the nonjournalistic participant. They are, therefore, the voices belonging not only to the presenter (because he or she delivers them) but also to the nonjournalistic participant (as they originated from this participant). A correspondent's voice-over about a nonjournalist's inner experience belongs to both the category of journalistic (non)institutional voice and the category of nonjournalistic voice. Likewise, a journalist's voice may ventriloquize the voice of a nonjournalist (Montgomery, 2007)—for example, the studio-based presentation of a governmental proclamation. For such presentations, the journalist is only the "animator," rather than "author" or "principal" of the voice.

In addition, most broadcasts are presented in a scripted fashion; that is, the journalists deliver news in accordance with a prepared script. They read aloud the script by looking at the autocue or written script, or by memorizing/reciting the words, even though they pretend to make unscripted, informal talk. Sometimes, of course, unscripted, impromptu talk can also be found in news broadcasts, such as the presentation of on-the-street interviews.

As a result, we can classify voices into different groups in terms of presentational forms and modes of address, as specified in Table 1.⁴

Table 1. The Relationships between the Voices and the Presentational Elements.

Presentational elements	Speakers	Modes of address	Types of voice
On-camera address	Presenter	Direct, scripted	Institutional
	Presenter	Direct, extempore	Noninstitutional
Voice-over	Presenter/reporter	Indirect, scripted	Institutional
	Presenter/reporter	Indirect, extempore	Noninstitutional
Interview fragment	Interviewer	Direct, extempore	Institutional
	Interviewee	Direct, extempore	Nonjournalistic
Live two-way	Interviewer	Direct, extempore	Institutional
	Interviewee	Direct, extempore	Institutional
Sound-bite	Interviewee, speaker, etc.	Direct, extempore or scripted	Nonjournalistic
Stand-upper	Reporter	Direct, scripted	Institutional
	Reporter	Direct, extempore	Noninstitutional
Sign-off	Reporter	Direct, extempore	Institutional

The *on-camera address* occurs within the studio wherein the presenter makes direct visual address to the camera in a scripted or extempore fashion. The former indicates that he or she presents the messages on behalf of the news institution. The latter indicates that the presenter voices his or her own views, thus, a noninstitutional voice. The *voice-over* may come from either the presenter (or a news reader) in the studio or from the reporter in the news field. The *interview fragment* concerns both the interviewer (usually a journalist) and interviewee (usually an expert or public figure). Both express their words in a direct, extempore mode, but the interviewer usually does it on behalf of the news institution (thus, an institutional voice) whereas the interviewee does it personally or on behalf of the institution he or she belongs to—thus, a nonjournalistic voice. The *live two-way* concerns the live interaction between the presenter in the studio and the reporter in the news field (Montgomery, 2007, 2008). Both the interviewer and interviewee perform the news on behalf of the news institution, though they voice their views often in an extempore mode. The *sound-bite* can be seen as a fragment of the talk made by a nonjournalist who makes his or her own voice (hence, nonjournalistic voice) in a direct, *extempore* fashion,

⁴ This is just an operational classification of the relationships between the voices and the presentational elements; more empirical evidences are needed in future studies.

such as in the interview, or the speaker does so in a direct, scripted fashion, such as making a prepared public speech. The *stand-upper* is a type of on-camera address made by the reporter. It is often an impromptu talk, though sometimes it is scripted, too. Either way, the voices tend to be institutional, though the reporter may occasionally add some personal opinions to the news (hence, noninstitutional). The *sign-off* comes from the reporter who acts to close the report in a direct and extempore mode of address, thus representing an institutional voice, too.

Data Description

This study draws upon a body of news broadcasts from two news programs—*BBC News at Ten* and CCTV's *News Simulcast*—broadcast mainly during January 9–13, 2012.⁵ On average, each BBC News program covers about 11 news items and lasts about 25 minutes, whereas CCTV News covers about 23 news items and lasts around 30 minutes. Though the number of news items on CCTV doubles that of BBC News, nearly half of its items are dubbed as "brief news," with each one lasting less than 20 seconds. In other words, another half of its items takes about 25 minutes, each lasting around two minutes, just like that of BBC News. Based on the data, I identified nearly all the presentational elements employed in the two news programs in terms of time length, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The Duration of Presentational Elements in Item 1, BBC News at Ten, January 9, 2012.

Starting and ending time	Presentational elements	Time length
01:51–02:18	(News kernel) studio-based on-camera address	(27")
02:18–02:51	(News subsidiary) field-based voice-over	(33")
02:51–03:10	(News subsidiary) field-based interview fragment	(19")
03:10–03:25	(News subsidiary) field-based voice-over	(15")
03:25–03:43	(News subsidiary) field-based stand-upper	(18")
03:43–03:53	(News subsidiary) field-based voice-over	(10")
03:53–04:08	(News subsidiary) field-based interview fragment	(15")
04:08–04:38	(News subsidiary) field-based voice-over	(30")
04:38–04:57	(News subsidiary) field-based interview fragment	(19")
04:57–05:11	(News subsidiary) field-based voice-over	(14")
05:11–05:29	(News subsidiary) field-based interview fragment	(18")
05:29–05:38	(News subsidiary) field-based voice-over	(9")
05:38–05:40	(News subsidiary) field-based sign-off	(2")

The following examines first the overall organization of the presentational elements deployed in the BBC and CCTV News programs. Followed up is a detailed analysis of the presentational forms and discourse strategies deployed in presenting the news. The results will be discussed in terms of voice (re)presentation and truth claim expressed in the news.

⁵ This study originated from a prestudy of four editions on *BBC News at Ten* and CCTV's *News Simulcast* broadcast on June 6 and July 29, 2011. Our examination showed that there were few differences in the distribution of the presentational elements between the previous data and those drawn upon by this article.

Overall Presentational Structure of News Programs

The overall presentational structure of *BBC News at Ten* can be summarized as follows: opening as headlines + music visual sign-in/greeting + news items $(1 - n)$ + coming up headline + news items $(1 - n)$ + closing. This program begins with a heavy drumbeat and a piece of urgent, rhythmic background music, during which a presenter appears on the screen in a medium close-up shot and carries out a direct visual address, as if communicating face to face with the audience (see Figure 2). After the drumbeat, the presenter starts to deliver news headlines, with voices over the news footage, each separated by another drumbeat, thus creating "a sense of urgency and . . . a declaration of immediacy for the newscaster's larger claim to authoritativeness" (Allan, 2010, p. 114).



Figure 2. Presenter's direct visual address in opening the news headline, BBC News at Ten, January 13, 2012.

Right after the headlines is the presenter's greeting to the audience or the presenter's sign-in of the program. At first, the presenter appears on the screen in a full-shot, standing posture, and then his or her image moves in gradually to a medium-shot portrait, as if the presenter is walking slowly into the audience's sight (see Figure 3). During this process, the presenter articulates "good evening," and then jumps immediately to the first news item.



Picture 1

Picture 2

Figure 3. The change of presenter's images during the sign-in/greeting, BBC News at Ten, January 13, 2011.

Each news item consists of a news kernel (realized by the presenter's on-camera address) and a news subsidiary (realized by some diversified presentational elements, such as reporters' voice-overs, stand-uppers, and sign-offs, and nonjournalists' sound-bites or interview fragments). In the middle of news items is a coming-up headline, which serves as a trailer for the subsequent news pieces.

The closing is a live, studio-based presentation that serves to close the program, during which the presenter tends to orient him or herself to the news institution. The presenter first forecasts the upcoming program with expressions such as "there's more on BBC news channel," and then he or she identifies the institutional identity with expressions such as "BBC One." In the end, the presenter says good-bye to the audience, with expressions such as "good night."

CCTV's *News Simulcast* features a similar overall presentational structure, as follows: music visual opening + sign-in/greeting + headlines + domestic news items $(1 - n)$ + music visual break + international news items $(1 - n)$ + closing. This program starts with a piece of music and a spinning-in CCTV logo (see Figure 4), which functions to set a solemn and authoritative tone for the program.



Figure 4. The program logo of CCTV's news simulcast, CCTV's News Simulcast, January 13, 2012.

After the music visual, two news presenters appear on the screen, sitting behind the desk. Possibly due to the pressure of the audience rating, the presenters tend to create an informal and friendly atmosphere to engage the audience by wearing smiles on their faces. But their smiles look intentionally posed instead of naturally expressed (see Figure 5).



Picture 1: During Greeting



Picture 2: During Headlines

Figure 5. Presenters' facial expressions in the greeting and headlines, CCTV's News Simulcast, January 13, 2012.

Right after the sign-in/greeting, the two presenters take turns delivering news headlines with on-camera addresses, during which they sometimes look at the written script and sometimes make a direct visual address to the camera, articulating each word clearly and calmly. Following the headlines are news items. The first eight to 10 items concern mainly domestic political and current affairs, and the rest are often dubbed as "brief news," domestic or international. Each item is independent of adjacent ones, with no sign-off remarks.

The closing sequence is similar to its opening sequence, wherein the two presenters create simulated interaction by reading the words in turns, during which they start a preclosing act with terms such as "各位观众" [everybody], followed by a simple thank-you remark, such as "感谢您的收看" [thank you for watching]. Then they wind up the program immediately with utterances such as "今天的新闻联播节目播送完了" [that's all for today's News Simulcast] and "再见" [bye-bye].

Distribution of Presentational Elements in News Items

As discussed previously, a news item consists of a news kernel with or without a news subsidiary. A news kernel can be realized by presenters' on-camera addresses or voice-overs. A news subsidiary can be realized by various presentational elements such as newsreaders' voice-overs, reporters/editors' stand-uppers (or on-camera addresses), voice-overs, sound-bites, interview fragments, and sign-offs. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the distribution of the presentational elements employed in both the BBC and CCTV News programs. Generally, *BBC News at Ten* employs diversified presentational elements and at the same time keeps balanced between studio-based presentation and field-based reporting. By contrast, CCTV's *News Simulcast* seems to prefer studio-based news presentation while playing down the field-based news reporting. Specifically, their differences center on the following four aspects:

(1) On-camera addresses versus voice-overs in the news kernel. Most news kernels in the BBC and CCTV News programs are studio-based on-camera addresses. Table 3 shows that on BBC News this type of presentation accounts for about 14.37%, nearly seven times the average share of studio-based voice-overs (2.36%). By contrast, CCTV News seems to prefer studio-based voice-overs. As Table 4 shows, on-camera addresses in this program account for only 12.26%, much less than that of studio-based voice-overs (19.63%).

(2) Field-based voice-overs versus studio-based voice-overs in the news subsidiary. A voice-over can be either field-based or studio-based. A field-based voice-over is the delivery from a reporter in the news field, whereas a studio-based voice-over is the delivery from a presenter/newsreader within the studio. Because the speaker's visual image is invisible on screen when performing his or her voice-over, it is difficult to tell whether the voice comes from a presenter/newsreader in the studio or from a reporter/editor in the news field. However, it is possible to detect it from the shift of the addresser's voice. Usually, a studio-based voice-over can be detected by comparing it with the presenter's on-camera address. Similarly, a field-based reporter's voice-over can be detected by comparing it with this reporter's on-camera address. The analysis demonstrates that both of BBC and CCTV News contain studio-based and field-based voice-overs, but they distribute quite differently. BBC News employs mainly reporters' field-

based voice-overs, occupying about 39.45% on average, compared with a smaller slice of studio-based voice-overs. By contrast, CCTV News relies heavily on the studio-based voice-overs, which account for 53.82% of the news items of the program, a far bigger share compared with that of the field-based voice-overs (4.92%).

(3) The use of sound-bites/interview fragments and stand-uppers. BBC News deploys sound-bites/interview fragments and stand-uppers more frequently than CCTV News does. On average, there is 7.18% for field-based stand-uppers and 7.94% for sound-bites and/or interview fragments in BBC News, whereas in CCTV News there is only 1.43% for field-based stand-uppers and 7.94% for sound-bites and/or interview fragments (see Tables 3 and 4), showing that the former pays more attention to the diversified field-based news reporting than the latter does.

(4) The use of sign-offs. Sign-off refers to the practice in which the reporter makes closing remarks at the end of the news item. By doing so, the reporter “not only identifies him or herself by name but simultaneously situates him or herself in the space of the broadcast” (Montgomery, 2007, p. 104). This property, together with deictics, present tense, and visual-verbal synchronous presentation, underpins “the presumption of overlapping or complementary reference between the verbal and the visual [messages]” (Montgomery, 2007, p. 105). Table 3 shows that *BBC News at Ten* sees sign-off as an essential practice; nearly all the news items contained a sign-off, either from within the studio (accounting for 0.42%) or from the news field (1.18%). By contrast, there were almost no sign-offs in CCTV’s *News Simulcast* (see Table 4).

Table 3. The Frequency of Presentational Elements in BBC News at Ten (Unit: Second).

Episode	Item (n)	News kernel		News subsidiary							Total	
		On-camera addresses	Studio-based voice-overs	Voice-overs from field	Stand-uppers from field	Live two-ways/interviews	Stand-uppers in studio	Studio-based voice-overs	Sound-bites/interview fragments	Sign-off from field		Sign-off from studio
1/9/12	13	233	47	628	77	137	0	0	319	20	5	1,466
		15.89%	3.21%	42.84%	5.25%	9.35%	0.00%	0.00%	21.76%	1.36%	0.34%	100%
1/10/12	9	195	7	558	145	167	0	0	336	23	4	1,435
		13.59%	0.49%	38.89%	10.10%	11.64%	0.00%	0.00%	23.41%	1.60%	0.28%	100%
1/11/12	12	191	49	481	89	258	24	0	284	13	10	1,399
		13.65%	3.50%	34.38%	6.36%	18.44%	1.72%	0.00%	20.30%	0.93%	0.71%	99.99%
1/12/12	11	206	55	595	105	77	0	0	343	15	3	1,399
		14.72%	3.93%	42.53%	7.51%	5.50%	0.00%	0.00%	24.52%	1.07%	0.21%	99.99%
1/13/12	9	196	10	541	94	150	24	0	371	13	8	1,407
		13.93%	0.71%	38.45%	6.68%	10.66%	1.71%	0.00%	26.37%	0.92%	0.57%	100%
Total	54	1,021	168	2,803	510	789	48	0	1,653	84	30	7,106
		14.37%	2.36%	39.45%	7.18%	11.10%	0.68%	0.00%	23.26%	1.18%	0.42%	100%

Table 4. The Frequency of Presentational Elements in CCTV's News Simulcast (Unit: Second).

Episode	Item (n)	News kernel		News subsidiary								Total
		On-camera addresses	Studio-based voice-overs	Voice-overs from field	Stand-uppers from field	Live two-ways/ interviews	Stand-uppers in studio	Studio-based voice-overs	Sound-bites/inter view fragments	Sign-off from field	Sign-off from studio	
1/9/12	19	71	336	0	10	0	0	1276	0	0	0	1,693
		4.19%	19.85%	0.00%	0.59%	0.00%	0.00%	75.37%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
1/10/12	23	241	331	102	10	0	0	916	131	0	0	1,731
		13.92%	19.12%	5.89%	0.58%	0.00%	0.00%	52.92%	7.57%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
1/11/12	25	290	322	129	54	0	0	777	110	0	0	1,682
		17.24%	19.14%	7.67%	3.21%	0.00%	0.00%	46.20%	6.54%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
1/12/12	26	263	385	94	0	0	0	697	213	0	0	1,652
		15.92%	23.31%	5.69%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	42.19%	12.89%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
1/13/12	24	170	283	90	47	0	0	877	216	0	0	1,683
		10.10%	16.82%	5.35%	2.79%	0.00%	0.00%	52.11%	12.83%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
Total	117	1,035	1,657	415	121	0	0	4,543	670	0	0	8,441
		12.26%	19.63%	4.92%	1.43%	0.00%	0.00%	53.82%	7.94%	0.00%	0.00%	100%

Strategies in Presenting Voices

Based on two news items extracted from *BBC News at Ten* and *CCTV's News Simulcast*, this section examines how different types of voices are presented through different presentational elements. Both items covered the same event concerning the U.S. Marines, who were reported urinating on the dead bodies of Taliban fighters. In January 2012, a sensational video about this event was posted on the website, and it immediately spread all over the world, inflicting tremendous outrage and condemnation from within Afghanistan and around the Middle East. *BBC News at Ten* reported this event on January 12, 2012. The report covered three types of primary voices with diversified presentational modes and forms, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. The Presentational Elements and Voices Used in BBC News.

Presentational elements	Voices	Mode of address
(1) News kernel: Studio-based on-camera address	(a) Presenter's institutional voice	Direct, scripted
	(b) The American and Afghan authorities' voices	Indirect, scripted
	(c) Hillary Clinton's voice	Indirect, scripted
	(d) An former U.S. Military officer's voice	Indirect, scripted
(2) News subsidiary: Field-based	(a) Correspondent's personal voice	Direct, extempore

voice-over	(b) Correspondent's institutional voice	Direct, scripted
(3) News subsidiary: Recorded interview fragment	(a) Hillary Clinton's voice on behalf of the federal government	Direct, extempore
(4) News subsidiary: Field-based voice-over	(a) Correspondent's personal voice (b) Correspondent's institutional voice	Direct, extempore Direct, scripted
(5) News subsidiary: Recorded interview fragment	(a) The former U.S. Military officer's voice on behalf of the U.S. troops	Direct, extempore
(6) News subsidiary: Field-based stand-upper	(a) Correspondent made his comments on behalf of the news institution	Direct, scripted/ extempore
(7) News subsidiary: Field-based sign-off	(a) Correspondent's institutional voice	Direct, extempore

The first slot of this item is the news kernel realized by the presenter's on-camera address. It contains four different nonjournalistic voices, including the condemnations from the American and Afghan authorities, the comments of the U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, and of a former U.S. Military officer, James Joyner. These voices were presented in an indirect, scripted fashion because they were delivered by the presenter rather than by the original voice producers. The presenter obviously delivered the voices on behalf of the news institution, thus representing an institutional voice. The second slot concerns the correspondent's field-based voice-over wherein he first expressed his personal viewpoint (i.e., he evaluated the act of urinating as "appalling violation" and a "distasteful show"), and then detailed the event for the audience on behalf of the news institution (hence, an institutional voice). The third slot concerns a fragment of interview in which Hillary Clinton was criticizing the behavior of the U.S. Marines, and at the same time she tried to defend the image and the value of the U.S. and of its Army. The fourth slot involves, again, the correspondent's voice-over with which he first expressed his personal opinion in an extempore fashion, then recalled how the U.S. troops had acted when facing such a scandal, and finally introduced an interview fragment on behalf of the news institution. The fifth slot concerns another interview fragment addressed by former U.S. officer James Joyner, in which he commented on the Marines' inhumane behavior and tried to defend their misconduct by resorting to the terrible war situations. The sixth slot is the correspondent's field-based stand-upper in which he commented on the possible consequences of this event. Such comments, though animated by the individual correspondent, represented the position of the news institution. The seventh slot involves the correspondent's sign-off of this report ("Ian Pannel, BBC News, Washington"). In so doing he identified his name, institution, and the location of the news event.

Let us now find out how CCTV News reported the same event. CCTV News covered the entire event from within the news studio. It first summarized, when doing the news kernel, the event with the presenter's studio-based on-camera address, and then detailed the event in the news subsidiary part with, still, the studio-based news presentation, though it was in the form of voice-over instead of on-camera address. All the voices were presented in an indirect mode of address. Table 6 shows how this report presented different voices with different presentational modes and forms.

Table 6. The Presentational Elements and Voices Used in CCTV News.

Presentational elements	Voices	Mode of address
(1) News kernel: Studio-based on-camera address	(a) Presenter's institutional voice	Direct, scripted
	(b) The U.S. defense secretary's voice	Indirect, scripted
(2) News subsidiary: Studio-based voice-over	(a) Reporter's institutional voice	Direct, scripted
	(b) The U.S. defense secretary's voice	Indirect, scripted
	(c) The U.S. military authorities' voice	Indirect, scripted
	(d) Afghan government's voice	Indirect, scripted
	(e) Afghan president's voice	Indirect, scripted
	(f) Afghans' voice	Indirect, scripted
	(g) The analysts' voice	Indirect, scripted

CCTV News presented this news item with only two types of presentational elements. The first is the presenter's on-camera address for the news kernel, which contains two different types of voice. One is the presenter's institutional voice. The other is the U.S. Defense Secretary, Leon Panetta's voice, which was presented in an indirect mode of address. The main part of this item used the second presentational element, that is, the presenter's studio-based voice-over, which involves two types of voice. One is the reporter's institutional voice, and the other is the voice from nonjournalists. The latter includes four different types of nonjournalistic voice: one is Leon Panetta's statement on the issue of the Marines' misconduct, in which he condemned the Marines' behavior and ordered an investigation into this event; the second is a statement from the Afghan Government, in which the Afghan President Hamid Karzai condemned the behavior of the Marines; and the third and fourth are the Afghans' anger at and the analysts' comments on this inhumane misconduct.

From the previous analysis we found that BBC News seems to present different, and even confrontational, voices with various presentational forms. For example, Hillary Clinton's voice in defending the U.S. Marines is quite inconsistent with the voices of the Afghan Government's condemnation against and the Afghan people's outrage over the U.S. Marines' inhumane misconduct. These voices came not only from the news institution (as expressed by the presenter and the correspondent) but also from other parties that hold different, and even opposite, viewpoints, thus forming a type of multivoiced, dialogic discourse. By way of using different presentational elements, especially the stand-uppers, interview fragments, and sound-bites, BBC News seems to present the voices visually and directly. Such voices can be seen as "fresh talk" (Goffman, 1981). As we have seen, the production of talk does not simply involve the role of speaker at large, but it may simultaneously involve three different roles (i.e., animator, author, and principal). The congruence or separation of these three roles determines "three main modes of animating spoken words," that is, "memorization," "aloud reading," and "fresh talk" (Goffman, 1981, p. 171). Fresh talk is spontaneous, unscripted and naturally occurring speech that "presents congruence among animator, author, and principal" (Goffman, 1981, p. 229), and thus can be seen as "the most authentic type of talk" (Montgomery, 2001, p. 400).

Admittedly, we cannot simply say that the above-mentioned sound-bites and stand-uppers are "fresh talk," because the speakers in these utterances may not be the real author or principal. We can, of course, generally attribute, for example, the utterances of "stand-uppers" to the journalistic team rather than to the specific correspondent who is doing the animation work. Nevertheless, we can regard these utterances as *simulated* "fresh talk" because they sound natural and unscripted, and are presented in an extempore fashion. As Goffman (1981) notes,

much radio and TV talk is not addressed (as ordinary podium talk is) to massed but visible grouping off the stage, but to imagined recipients; in fact broadcasters are under pressure to style their talk as though it were addressed to a single listener. Often, then broadcast talk involves a conversational mode of address, but, of course, merely a simulated one. (p. 138)

Such simulated fresh talk can of course accentuate the authenticity of the news, at least on the surface, because it sounds natural, informal, and unscripted. More importantly, it is a type of live presentation wherein the production and reception of the talk nearly occur at the same time, so much so that it may create a sense of copresence between the speaker and the audience. Such talk is also an example of "conversationalization" of the public discourse, or a way of "synthetic personalization" (Fairclough, 1992) with which an ethos of "democratization" is implied.

Unlike BBC News that used various presentational forms in presenting the voices, CCTV News seemed to present different voices mainly with studio-based voice-overs. Those voices, though from different parties, were all constructed as if showing "strong" anger at and condemnation on the U.S. Marines' inhumane misconduct, thus forming an overarching one-sided position over the event and the participants concerned. In addition, because the entire report was delivered by the presenter from within the studio, all the voices were presented in an indirect, refracted, and scripted mode of address; those voices were not uttered by the original concerned speakers but ventriloquized, recited, and read aloud by the news presenter. Goffman (1981) regards such modes of utterance production as "memorization" or "aloud reading." Memorization means reciting the scripted information word by word. As he specifies, "memorization seems likely to present an animator who is not the author or principal, although poets (and signers) can present their own work, and moreover be taken to stand behind what gets said" (Goffman, 1981, p. 229). Likewise, aloud reading means the mode of articulating loudly the information that does not necessarily belong to the articulator. Both memorization/recitation and aloud reading can be regarded as a way of scripted reading. Scripted reading means that the news is primarily read in a written form, rather than in a colloquial, informal fashion. As a result, the talk may sound unnatural and unauthentic, on the one hand, and formulaic and authoritative, on the other.

Conclusion

This study has identified some typical presentational forms and discourse strategies employed in the presentation of television news. Drawing upon Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossia and Goffman's (1981) production format of talk, this study examined how the presentational forms in *BBC News at Ten* and

CCTV's *News Simulcast* can be deployed to present different voices, and ultimately, accentuate the authenticity of the news. The analysis showed that *BBC News at Ten* tends to present news with diversified field-based presentational forms, whereas CCTV's *News Simulcast* tends to prioritize studio-based on-camera addresses and voice-overs. By using diversified presentational forms, BBC News seems to present different, and even confrontational, voices (and positions) simultaneously, showing that journalists tend to maintain a neutral (or neutralistic) position in presenting the news (Clayman, 1988; Tuchman, 1972). BBC News can be seen as a type of multivoiced discourse. Because it contains various presentational forms, such as on-camera addresses, voice-overs, stand-uppers, live two-ways, sound-bites, and interview fragments, different voices may become coexistent, orchestrated, and even conflicted with one another in the news. By contrast, CCTV News seems to present most of the voices by way of studio-based news presentation (such as voice-overs or on-camera addresses). In this way, most voices do not come directly from the original authors but are ventriloquized or selectively paraphrased by the news presenter, though each of the utterances may dialogue with different voices (Bakhtin, 1981). As a result, such voices are presented as if orienting to a single institutional authoritative voice.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) regard the organization of visual elements such as layout, reading path, framing, and salience as the compositional dimension of visual images. These elements can effectively explain the structure of a static multimodal text, such as a newspaper article, but they cannot adequately address that of dynamic text, such as television news. A television news program cannot be laid out like written text, e.g., newspaper front pages discussed by Kress & van Leeuwen (1998). It is, of course, organized in accordance with the discourse structure, such as the opening, news headlines, news items, and the closing (Montgomery, 2007). But, on the other hand, the layout of television news can also be seen as the composition of presentational elements, which not only demonstrate the reading path of the news but also reflect the potential and institutionalized practice of the news broadcaster. BBC News, for example, organizes presentational elements in a diversified way, stressing much more the liveness and directness of news through presentational elements such as sound-bites, stand-uppers, and interview fragments. Such organizational practice reflects BBC's emphasis on news values such as recency, timeliness, and proximity. CCTV News, on the other hand, seems to organize the presentational elements around the studio-based news presentation, showing that it tends to present the information from within the studio so that it can easily control the information flow. What is more, the foregrounding or backgrounding of certain presentational elements may reflect different communicative purposes. The emphasis of one interview fragment rather than another, for example, may suggest that the news attempts to present a journalistically preferred position or stance.

Previous studies tend to focus solely on the language of discourse rather than its production format. Language itself can, of course, represent and reflect the meaning and structure of an event and of the society expressed in the text (e.g., Fairclough, 1992; Fowler, 1991; Fowler et al., 1979; Sinclair, 1994; van Dijk, 1988). But the production format of discourse can equally demonstrate the social order and social structure. This point can be evidenced especially from the presentational modes and forms of television news. Because television news is a double-tracked news presentation, it is important for journalists to decide on which production format to use in presenting the news. BBC News obviously tries to adopt the production format of "fresh talk" (Goffman, 1981). In so doing, it manages to present different, and even confrontational, voices by employing diversified presentational forms. Such

presentation is likely to create not only a type of dialogic discourse in which different positions are heard but also a type of authentic talk through which the news becomes informal and personalized, and it thus appears more easily accepted. By contrast, CCTV News tends to adopt the production format of "memorization" or "aloud reading." Its presentation is constrained as if to a well-written and carefully controlled script, and it thus becomes monologic and authoritative. Such authoritative discourse is less natural and less trusted than that of BBC News.

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