Invisible Ideology: The Analysis of Reported Discourse in CNN News Reports on the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" Movement

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Abstract

This study employs critical discourse analysis and heteroglossia theory to analyze discursive strategies in news reports in order to discover the hidden ideology in reported discourse beyond the surface signs of language. To achieve this, the study focuses on 674 discourses selected from CNN's reports about the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement published between 26 September 2014 and 26 October 2014. Suggesting the opponents and supporters of the movement represent centripetal and centrifugal forces respectively, the study analyzes news sources, reporting verbs, and reporting modes of the two sets of forces to show that the reported discourse has become an effective weapon for CNN to convey ideology. The strategy of using reported discourse appears to be objective and impartial, but by setting different character frameworks for different quoted speakers, using reporting verbs selectively, and applying pragmatic functions of different reporting modes, ideology is implicitly conveyed. Through an in-depth analysis of linguistic signs, the findings reveal significant social and ideological positions behind news discourse. The study deepens the understanding of reported discourses, widens the scope of CDA, and enriches the research of heteroglossia theory.

Keywords

News discourse, ideology, reported discourse, critical discourse analysis, heteroglossia.

1. INTRODUCTION

In August 2014, the Chinese government decided that candidates running for the election of the 2017 Hong Kong chief executive would first have to be approved by a nominating committee. Activists have argued that this does not amount to true democracy. On 28 September 2014, an associate professor at the University of Hong Kong announced the launch of the "Occupy Central" movement, forcing Hong Kong's top officials to step down and the government to accept more democratic means to elect future leaders. The mobilization of 150 people who, incited by student protest leaders, headed to Hong Kong government headquarters two days earlier, is seen as the prologue to the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement. During the movement, tens of thousands of pro-democracy protesters were blocking Hong Kong's streets, resulting in traffic jams, shops closure, and school classes being suspended. It not only caused hundreds of millions of economic losses to Hong Kong and affected the livelihoods of many citizens, but also damaged the basis of Hong Kong's rule of law, democratic development, social harmony, its international image, and its relationship with Mainland China.

Western media outlets paid much attention to the movement and produced a vast amount of timely news reports. Cable News Network (CNN) is one of the most prominent media agencies among these. CNN attaches great importance to international news reporting and has set up a production center in Hong Kong. Although CNN has always labelled itself as a practitioner of

journalistic professionalism, it is not difficult to discover their ideological tendencies in China-related news reports such as the "Tibet Riot" in 2008 (Huang, 2008) and "Kunming Railway Station violence" in 2014 (Deng, 2015). In order to examine whether ideological prejudice is hidden in CNN news reports on the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement, this study focuses on reported discourse, which occupies a crucial place in news reporting.

Discourse is organized systematically to reflect the meaning and values of a social group. These social groups restrict, describe, and control what can be said and what cannot be said about themselves, whether marginal or central (Foucault, 1971). Through a systematic description of discourse as a unit of language use, we can gain a deep understanding of how discourse is constructed and how unequal power relations among different social strata are produced and reconstructed. When reporters convey words and figures or other sources of information, these are permeated with their voices and those of the news organization in various ways, which implicitly delivers ideological tendencies to the audience. Employing both qualitative and quantitative research methods, this study intends to reveal how CNN conveys ideology through reported discourse in the news coverage of the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement and attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. How has CNN selectively chosen their news sources, reporting verbs, and reporting modes in the media coverage of the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement?

2. Do these choices imply ideological tendencies? If there are ideological tendencies being implied, what strategies are used to express them?

This paper comprises six parts. The introduction lays out the background, significance, and purposes of the research. The literature review presents related research encompassing news discourse, reported discourse and heteroglossia. The methodology outlines the data sources, coding categories, and analytical framework. The findings and analysis section presents various detailed strategies for identifying ideologies through reported discourse. The discussion part highlights the research significance and reasons explanations, and shows the limitations of the research and its possible future directions. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the paper's findings.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. News Discourse

Since the 1970s, scholars have used different research approaches to examine newspaper, radio and television, and online news discourse. Scannell (1998:251-267) divides the analysis of news discourse into an ideological approach and a practical approach. The former is a skeptical hermeneutical approach, with a principled doubt of reality, and the latter is a trusting hermeneutics, accepting and acknowledging the reality as such.

Teun A Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Stuart Allen are all representative figures who study news discourse through the ideological approach. Van Dijk studies the relationship between social structure and discourse structure in an interdisciplinary approach of discourse and cognition. He regards text and context as two main perspectives of discourse analysis, and elaborates that the research scope of news discourse includes not only the text structure but also the production and acceptance process of news discourse in communication contexts and socio-cultural contexts (Van Dijk, 2003:32). Van Dijk carries out discourse analysis, which integrates theory and practice, from three dimensions of text, discursive practice, and events, and regards discourse practice as the intermediary dimension between text and social practice. By analyzing the programme "Today", broadcast on BBC Radio 4, Fairclough (1998:142-162) found that the "life discourse" in the dialogue part deviated from the authority and distance typical of BBC news. He thought that it seemed to be a democratization movement, but at the

same time it was a democratization of institutional control: the voice of ordinary people was "imitated" rather than issued directly. It further illustrates the "negotiation" of contemporary political discourse, that is, the modelization of public discourse in daily negotiations. Based on Hall's "coding/decoding" model, Allan (2008:106-114) focuses on the coding moment, text moment, and decoding moment of TV news through the analysis of the discourse strategies of BBC News at Nine and ITN News at Ten, and explores how TV news discourse can be embodied as a natural consensus through self-presentation to serve leadership.

To sum up, this ideological approach will lead to the neglect of some unique media phenomena, so some scholars study news discourse from a practical approach. John Heritage, Steven E. Clayman and David Greatbatch jointly pioneered the application of conversation analysis to radio and television news, emphasizing the details and partial manifestations of conversation. Through careful analysis of audio and video material of BBC TV and radio interviews, they described the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees, including not only pause, stress, tone, and volume in speech, but also behaviors, such as direction of gaze and posture, to examine how interviews are constructed (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1993:93-137). Richardson (1998:220-250) links news discourse analysis with audience acceptance. Through discussing the interpretative discourse from different groups of audiences on TV news discourse, Richardson pointed out that we can comprehend how "understanding" comes into being and how it is used in the information and evaluation framework dominated by audiences. The dual consideration of "news discourse" and "interpretative discourse" is a supplement to the research of simple texts, which makes text analysis more open. Meaning does not inherently exist in the text but should be regarded as the product of interpretation (Corner, 1991:267-284).

Both approaches have their own hermeneutics and thus one should not rely only on one as a way of thinking. A variety of approaches are encouraged to explore the relationship between media, language, and the world. Compared with linguistics, news discourse analysis applied to journalism and communication is still in its infancy, and the available research is scattered and unsystematic. However, discourse analysis not only possesses the objective and scientific nature of micro-technical analysis, but also the vertical and in-depth nature of macro-social and cultural anatomy (Zhao, 2008), so it has gradually been incorporated into the study of journalism and communication.

2.2. Reported Discourse in News Discourse

Volosinov (1973:115) regards reported discourse as "speech within speech, utterance within utterance, but at the same time also speech about speech, utterance about utterance". Previous studies on reported discourse are mostly confined to literary discourse, focusing on such topics as reporting structure, information function, narrative perspective, narrative strategies and narrative text characteristics. However, the nature and function of the reported discourse vary with the type of discourse (Xin, 2014). Therefore, since the 1970s, some scholars began to pay attention to the study of reported discourse in news reports. Fishman (1980:92) believes that the basic principle of news can be expressed as "something is so because somebody says it". Reported discourse occupies a very important position in news reporting and has become a significant part of news discourse research. The relationship between reported discourse and social power has become an essential topic in news discourse research.

Reported discourse in news discourse is not objective, but ideologically biased (Davis, 1985:44-59). The media's choice of news sources, quotation modes, and content will be influenced by many factors. First of all, it is linked to the ideology of the media. Sai-hua Kuo (2007) compared the reportage of Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian's "one country on each side" statement in the pro-unification United Daily News and the pro-independence Liberty Times. It was found that the two newspapers chose different reporting content and object. Even when

using the same reporting object, they chose very different reporting content according to their respective ideological tendencies. Secondly, it is related to the social status of the reported object. In Racism and the Press, Van Dijk (1991:151-175) shows through empirical research that the media tends to exclude minorities. Even though news topics are directly related to minorities, and although there are many minority experts who can provide relevant opinions, news reporting is still dominated by the discourse of the Whites in power. Teo (2000) also found that, in the reporting of a Vietnamese gang in Australia, two Australian newspapers presented detailed coverage of police activities and frequently used direct quotations from senior officials. While, with regard to criminal activities, they tended to use police and so-called "experts" as sources. Such a mode of reporting corresponds to Van Dijk's findings that the media tends to marginalize minorities (Van Dijk, 1991:174). Thirdly, it is connected with the social status of the quoted speakers. Based on a study of British television news, the Glasgow University Media Group (1980:228) believes that the presentation of media discourse is related to the identity of the speakers. The higher their social status, the more likely they are quoted verbatim. Last but not least, it is also in relation to the psychological cognition of journalists. One of the reasons why journalists use direct quotations is that they do not want readers to think that they support an opinion expressed in a news report (Sai-hua Kuo, 2007). The use of indirect speech can enable reporters to express their views and positions implicitly and indirectly through discourse representation. Zeng and Liu (2006) acknowledged that, sometimes, journalists' actions, horizons, and even thoughts and emotions are limited by the cooperation with news informants. For example, in the Iraq war, the US government "embedded" journalists into the ranks of the US military. Some journalists admitted that it was difficult to write critical articles because they were "my protectors" (Zhang, 2004:62).

2.3. Heteroglossia

Bakhtin, an early twentieth-century Russian literary analyst and language philosopher, has put forward dialogic theory, polyphonic theory, carnival theory and speech genre theory, promoting awareness of "discourse" and "text" in linguistic circles. Furthermore, he coined the term "heteroglossia" in his essay Discourse in the Novel in the 1930s. Ivanov (2001:259) pointed out the term covers two levels of meaning: one is the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs; the other is the tensions and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations they carry with them. The distinction of heteroglossia is not the stress on different kinds of linguistic forms or signs, but the emphasis of the social and political tensions inherent in language. The primary tension appears in utterance when centripetal forces (representing unitary language, standardization and linguistic hegemony) and centrifugal forces (representing the presence of heteroglossia, stratification and decentralization) are brought to bear (Bakhtin, 1981:271). Bakhtin (1998:206) holds that languages of heteroglossia, like mirrors that face each other, each reflecting in its own way a tiny corner of the world, forces us to guess and grasp for a world behind their mutually reflecting aspects. One that is broader, more multi-leveled, containing more and varied horizons than would be available to a single language or a single mirror. For Bakhtin, language is a medium that is alive and moving with the consciousness and practices of people. It is essentially a social phenomenon, in which issues of form and ideology are inseparable. (Bailey, 2012: 499-507).

Based on the theory of heteroglossia, numerous scholars explore identity, power and ideology through analyzing literary language in novels (London, 1996; Duggan, 2006), anti-language and multiaccentuality about dress and textile (Heath, 1992), bilingual segments of talk (Bailey, 2007: 257-274; Sultana, 2014), multi-ethnic speaking styles (Rampton, 2011), the heteroglossic music and lyrical practice of a hip-hop group (Lin, 2014: 119-136). The type of mediums that have been analyzed include papers, hearings, taped conversations, music videos and so on.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Data and Coding

The data was collected from CNN's news reports on the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement published between 26 September 2014 and 26 October 2014. The news coverage of the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement, CNN's performance is thorough in terms of both the number of reports and timeliness. Through its former reports, it can be seen that CNN represents the national interests and values of the United States rather than absolute objective justice, and its news reports can provide a representative corpus of resources for this study.

After discounting news brief, reviews, videos, repetitive reports, and reprints of news reports, this study selected 29 news reports with 674 discourses. After reading and analyzing the whole text, the coder coded the quoted speakers and their attitudes, reporting verbs and modes, and then built a small corpus. Since the current corpus analysis software cannot meet the needs of automatic coding and retrieval in this study, the corpus involved in this study was coded manually. Based on heteroglossia theory, this study regards the Chinese government and its officials, the Hong Kong government and its officials, Hong Kong police, anti-protest groups as centripetal forces, who were against the protests. In contrast, protestors and protest organizations who participated in the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement are centrifugal forces.

In order to ensure the reliability and validity of the coding, two trained coders coded five news reports which were randomly selected from the corpus before formal coding. In this study, Scott's Pi index was used to calculate the inter-coder reliability, with this reaching more than 0.85 for each coding category, which is acceptable.

3.2. Analytical Framework

Different from non-critical discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) defines discourse as a form of social activity, not only just describing discursive practice, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effect that discourse has upon social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants (Fairclough, 2003:12). In the view of critical linguists, language is not a completely objective and transparent medium, but one used as a form of social practice. There is a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situations, institutions, and social structures which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). CDA focuses not on language itself, but on complex social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2014:3). CDA presupposes that there may be unequal power in spoken and written languages, aiming at revealing the implicit ideological tendencies in discourse through text analysis, which is a problem-oriented research perspective. This paper employs critical discourse analysis to examine the pragmatic function of reported discourse in CNN's news reports on Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement. Through analysis of this particular discursive event, it attempts to present CNN's choice of quoted speakers, reporting verbs and forms, and then reveal its implicit ideological tendency.

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Based on the corpus analysis, CNN mainly has three strategies for presenting ideologies through reported discourse: setting character frameworks for different quoted speakers, using reporting verbs selectively, and applying pragmatic functions of different reporting modes.

4.1. Setting Character Frameworks for Different Quoted Speakers

There have been mainly three ways to describe information sources: specific and accurate, implicit, and seemingly untrue (Zhang, 2009:27-29). Specific and accurate sources of information often directly give the names of relevant institutions, organizations, and individuals. The specific and accurate sources of information, especially the words or opinions from important individuals and authoritative departments, can not only enhance the credibility and authority of news reports, but also sometimes hide the subtext of "you should know", attracting the attention of readers. Implicit sources of information are usually presented anonymously. The use of implicit sources of information may be due to, on the one hand, an attempt to protect the privacy of the information providers or, on the other, to them not being well-known, in which case mentioning their identity or that of the organizations they represent is more important than referring to their names. Although implicit sources of information can be accepted by readers, they will lead to them not being able to "judge the importance and credibility, because they do not know the specific sources of quotations" (Xin, 2005:113). The seemingly untrue sources of information refer to the fact that journalists use some idiomatic phrases to explain the sources vaguely and euphemistically, in order to display rigorous attitudes, or to show objectivity and impartiality, or because the source itself is not very clear (Zhang, 2009:29). The news from seemingly untrue sources may be true, or it may only be hearsay from journalists. In the case of false information, journalists can shirk their responsibilities. Specific and accurate information sources have the highest credibility, followed by implicit information sources, while seemingly untrue information sources have the lowest credibility.

Overall (see Table 1), CNN attempts to balance the number of quoted speakers with different opinions and attitudes in the choice of source types. The number of supportive and negative sources on the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement was 285 (42.28%) and 290 (43.03%) respectively. The accuracy of the source selection was also noted. The proportion of specific and accurate information sources was the highest, reaching 54.45%.

Table 1. Source Type Statistics

Types of sources	Number of supportive sources	Percentage (%)	Number of negative sources	Percentage (%)	Number of neutral or ambiguous sources	Percentage (%)	Total	Percentage (%)
Specific and exact sources	161	23.88	142	21.07	64	9.5	367	54.45
Implicit sources	124	18.4	146	21.66	31	4.6	301	44.66
Seemingly untrue sources	-	-	2	0.3	4	0.59	6	0.89

However, among the specific and accurate sources which have the highest credibility, CNN gave the most space (23.88%) to the sources that support the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong. If the sources are further subdivided, the ideology hidden in the news discourse will be more obvious. The quoted speakers who support the "Occupy Central" movement include university students in Hong Kong, pro-democracy activists, members of the Civic Party, artists, lawyers, parliamentarians, the US Secretary of State, members of international human rights organizations, etc. This illustrates that the "Occupy Central" movement has not only won general support from local intellectuals, democrats and elites, but has also obtained recognition from internationally influential organizations and politicians. Among them, the proportion of sources

from students, individuals, and organizations in Hong Kong who participated in the protests is as high as 78.95% (225). In the news reports, CNN describes them as "pro-democracy", "well-organized", of "solidarity & cooperation", "non-violent", "unarmed", "notably orderly", "not be scared", "calmed" and so on.

The quoted speakers who oppose the "Occupy Central" movement, as shown in Figure 1, include the Hong Kong government and its officials account for the largest proportion. They are described as hypocritical and indifferent, on the one hand telling the protestors to remain calm, not to obstruct traffic and interfere with government affairs, and on the other hand "failing to protect" innocents during the movement, "not listening to" public opinions, and to have "unilaterally terminated dialogue and call[ed] off talks".

The second largest percentage of negative sources comes from the Hong Kong police. They fight with demonstrators, and are associated with "violence", "brutality" and "abuse of police power". Moreover, the Chinese government and its officials, who are labeled as authoritarian regimes, constitute more than 13 percent. CNN emphasized in its news reports that information was "heavily censored", "restricted", "blocked" by the Chinese government and its officials and that they were involved in "heavy handedness", and "suppression". Furthermore, the counter-protesters which included taxi drivers, businessmen, the retired and elderly, pro-Chinese government groups and individuals, take the fourth largest proportion. In CNN's news reports, they "tore down tents" in a scuffle, "cursing" the students, "sexual assault", and described as "mob" and "triads". It shows that the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong is mainly opposed by the ruling class, ideological conservatives, the ignorant and self-interest groups.
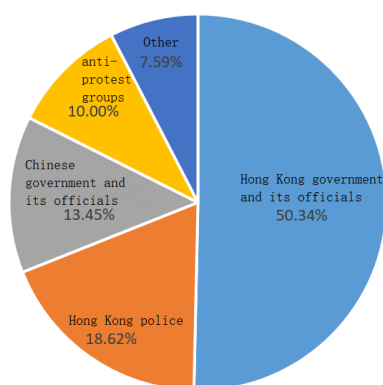

Figure 1. Distribution of negative sources in Hong Kong's "Occupy Central" movement

Neutral or ambiguous sources take 14.71% (99), mainly from CNN reporters, which indicate that CNN journalists do not seem to be subjective in the news reporting, but they convey ideological tendencies implicitly by setting different character frameworks for quoted speakers according to different classes, groups and ages.

4.2. Using Reporting Verbs Selectively

Reporting verbs are an important means of linking source and quotation. The choice of reporting verbs implies journalists' attitudes towards factual information or other people's discourse and the extent of their responsibility (Lai, 2016:54). Coulthard (2012:60) classifies reporting verbs into five types: the first is neutral structuring verbs, such as say, tell, ask, etc. Such verbs often have the discourse function of quoting the original discourse of the speakers, and do not make a directional evaluation of the subsequent connected quotations; the second is metapropositional verbs, often implying journalists' interpretation of a speaker, which can be divided into assertives, directives and expressives. Assertives verbs, such as remark, explain,

declare, etc., indicate that the speakers are responsible for the authenticity of the utterance. Directive verbs are often used to express speakers' attempt to make the listeners act (e.g. urge, instruct, order, etc.). Expressive verbs (e.g. accuse, grumble, lament, etc.) express the quoted speakers' psychological state. The utterance has strong personal feelings. The authenticity of discourse guided by assertives is much higher than that by expressions. The third is metalinguistic verbs (e.g. narrate, quote, recount, etc.) where the kind of language used by a speaker is specified. These may be used for ironic effect, or simply report on what happened; the fourth is descriptive verbs, such as whisper, giggle, sigh, etc., which show the way and attitude of the speaker, and guide the readers to pay more attention to how the speaker speaks. Such verbs can also indicate the identity, status and power of the speaker; the fifth is transcript verbs, marking the development of the discourse (e.g. repeat) or relate the quotation to other parts of the discourse (e.g. pause), with the purpose of providing more information around the same point.

Removing the discourses without reporting verbs, this paper analyzes 213 reporting verbs from the discourses of protestors and protest organizations who supported the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong and 252 reporting verbs from the discourses of the Hong Kong government and its officials, the Hong Kong police, the Chinese government and its officials, and the anti-protest groups who opposed the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong in the corpus.

Table 2. Distribution of reporting verb types

Types of reporting verbs		supportive sources		negative sources	
Neutral structuring verbs		163	76.53%	176	69.84%
Metapropositional verbs	Assertives	7	3.29%	17	6.75%
	Directives	11	5.16%	12	4.76%
	Expressives	15	7.04%	29	11.51%
Metalinguistic verbs		-	-	-	-
Descriptive verbs		12	5.63%	2	0.79%
Transcript verbs		5	2.35%	16	6.35%

As shown in Table 2, both the supporters and the opponents have the highest proportion of neutral structuring verbs, especially the supporters, whose rate is as high as 76.53%. This shows that CNN tries its best to portray the objective neutral image of protest organizations, students and democrats in the news coverage of the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong. CNN applies more metapropositional verbs and transcript verbs for opponents, while the proportion of descriptive verbs is much higher for supporters.

In order to further explore the hidden meaning of the reporting verbs, this study analyzes metapropositional verbs, which include assertives, directives and expressives, descriptive verbs and transcript verbs, in accordance with the categories of protestors and protest organizations, Hong Kong government and its officials, Hong Kong police, Chinese government and its officials, and anti-protest groups.
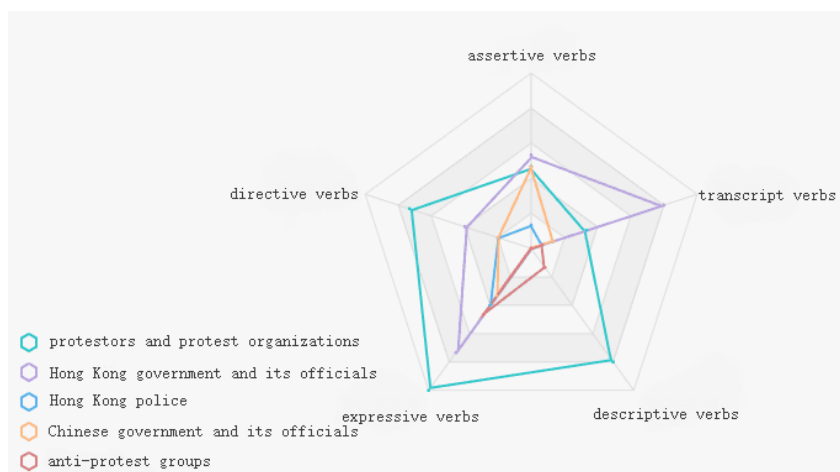
Figure 2. Subdivision of reporting verb types

As can be seen from Figure 2, protestors and protest organizations who are supportive of the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong use more expressive verbs, descriptive verbs and directive verbs in their reported discourse. For examples:

(1) Pro-democracy activists accuse Beijing of exerting too much influence on Hong Kong and are demanding the right to directly choose candidates for elected office. (Group ditches talks with Hong Kong government, calls for more protest, 2014-10-4)

(2) They (the demonstrators) chanted "shame" and "we don't trust you." (Hong Kong police and protesters face off outside executive's office, 2014-10-3)

In example (1), the expressive verb "accuse" conveys the extreme discontent of the protestors and the protest organizations, for the long-term excessive interference of the Chinese government in Hong Kong affairs. The directive verb "demanding" reflects the rational expression of the protestors' and protest organizations' demands. In this instance (2), the descriptive verb "chant" indicates that the protests are organized, and it also highlights the scale of the protests, which is a concentrated outbreak of many protestors' discontent.

The Hong Kong government and its officials, the Chinese government and its officials, who are unsupportive of the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong, use assertive verbs more frequently, such as:

(3) The Chinese and Hong Kong governments have declared the demonstrations illegal. (Hong Kong protesters remain on streets but allow government workers past. 2014-10-7)

(4) Amid the tussling, Hong Kong Chief Secretary Carrie Lam, the government negotiator, announced Saturday that talks with pro-democracy protesters will take place Tuesday, with Lingnan University President Leonard Cheng as moderator. (Pro-democracy demonstrators recapture part of bustling district in Hong Kong, 2014-10-18)

"Declare" and "announce" in the above examples are assertive verbs, which highlight the authority and dominance of the government. What the government says is beyond doubt and cannot be changed. It constructs the image of the powerful hegemony of the government. By contrast, the Hong Kong government and its officials prefer to use expressive verbs and transcript verbs. For examples:

(5) He (C.Y. Leung) reaffirmed that the government in Hong Kong will uphold Beijing's decision. (Hong Kong says riot police have pulled back as protesters jam city streets, 2014-9-29)

(6) Embattled Chief Executive C.Y. Leung released a video statement saying students should consider the inconveniences to the general public and insisted the students clear the vehicle

entrances to the government complex. (Hong Kong protests: Talks scheduled as crowds shrink and frustration rises, 2014-10-8)

The reporting verb "reaffirm" in example (5) indicates that the Hong Kong Chief Executive C.Y. Leung has said similar words before, but it has not convinced the protestors. He has lost his prestige among the protestors and lost control of the protests. In example (6), the expressive verb "insist" is used, rather than the assertive verbs (e.g. announce) or expressive verbs (e.g. suggest), which indicates that the students have not actively cooperated with the demands of C.Y. Leung, and also implies the lack of confidence of the Chief Executive of Hong Kong. He has lost authority among the protest groups and his rational image was weakened.

The expressive verbs are also often used in the reported discourse of the Hong Kong police, such as:

(7) In a statement released on Wednesday morning, police appealed to protesters in the area to "stay calm and restrained." (Hong Kong authorities vow to probe alleged police beating at protest, 2014-10-15)

Compared with assertive verbs, such as "explain" or neutral structuring verbs, such as "say", the expressive verb "appeal" that could be observed in example (7) can convey the emotion of pleading more effectively. On the one hand, it shows that the Hong Kong police have no way to control the protests. On the other hand, it also implies that the Hong Kong police attribute the loss of control to the lack of rationality in the actions of democrats and protest groups.

Expressive verbs account for the largest percentage in the reported discourse of anti-protest groups. Let us have a look at the examples (8) and (9) below:

(8) One older man swore at the students, repeatedly cursing at them as "kids causing trouble." (Hong Kong protests persist after ultimatum, mob attacks, 2014-10-4)

(9) Taxi drivers and business owners have complained that the protests have cost them income. (Hong Kong's leader: Street blockades cannot continue, 2014-10-16)

As an anti-protester, the older man is described to have "swore" at the students and emphasizes "repeatedly cursing", which portrays him to be a person with poor personal qualities who loses control of his emotions. In example (9) taxi drivers and business owners "complained" because the protests were unfavorable to their personal interests. This catharsis of negative emotions and the lack of any positive actions stand in sharp contrast to the portrayal of rational and well-organized protestors.

Although CNN does not directly evaluate the reported discourse, through the selective use of the reporting verbs, it makes readers have different interpretations: the Hong Kong government and its officials, the Hong Kong police, the Chinese government and its officials strongly demand that the protestors stop their protests, blaming the irrationality of the protests, for their impact on society and the public. However, with the dominance and indifference of the government, with the brutality of the police, with the abuse and slander from the anti-protest groups, the protestors still rationally express their demands.

4.3. Applying Pragmatic Functions of Different Reporting Modes

Reporting modes or as Fairclough calls them "modes of discourse representation", can be divided into three types: direct speech, indirect speech and mixed speech (Li, 2012). Direct Speech is designed to quote what someone (possibly the narrator) said, using exactly the words they used. The use of direct speech in news reports can enhance not only the sense of presence and closeness, but also the authenticity and authority of the content. In addition, quotation marks also have eye-catching functions (Li, 2012). Indirect speech refers to the act of reporting something that was said, but not using exactly the same words. It is often used to explain or summarize the meaning or gist of the original discourse (Waugh, 1995), which enables journalists to express their views and standpoints on reported news implicitly and indirectly.

Therefore, it is impossible for listeners and readers to restore the original word by word, and its authenticity and objectivity are far inferior to direct speech. Mixed Speech is a form of expression between "direct speech" and "indirect speech". Usually, there are two subjects in the reported discourse, namely, the narrator subject and the character subject. The indirect speech of the narrator subject slides into the character's voice, which has a complex direction with the attribution of both direct speech and indirect speech (Lai Yan, 2016:97).

After statistical analysis of the reporting modes, the study found that the proportion of indirect speech was the highest (237), followed by direct speech (153), and the number of mixed speech was the lowest (103). It confirms that indirect speech is the main quotation mode in news discourse (Bell, 1991, Van Dijk, 1991, Waugh, 1995).
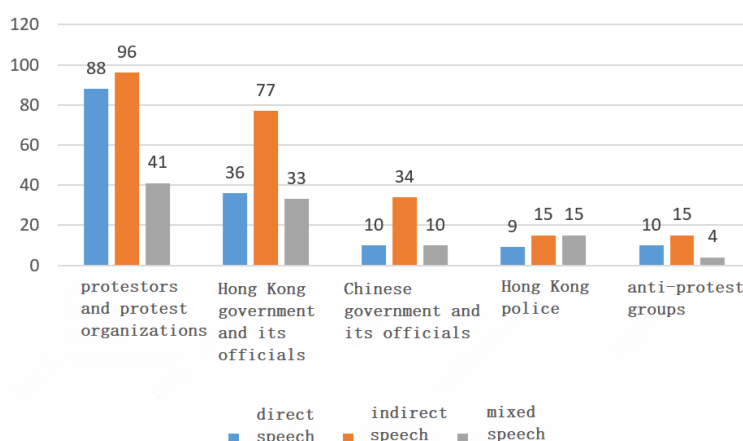

Figure 3. Statistics of reporting modes

As shown in Figure 3, CNN applies the highest proportion of direct speeches (39.11%) from protestors and protest organizations, which highlights the authenticity and accuracy of the reported discourse and emphasizes the importance of the discourse. However, with regards to the Hong Kong government and its officials, as well as the Hong Kong police, the percentage of indirect speech, where the original utterance has been paraphrased used by CNN (52.74%) is much higher than that of direct speech (24.66%). It can be illustrated by the following example:

(10) He (C.Y. Leung) was referring to the white paper issued by the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress stating that Hongkongers would be able to vote on their leader in 2017, but only from an approved shortlist of candidates. (Hong Kong authorities vow to probe alleged police beating at protest, 2014-10-15)

Compared with the original white paper, CNN did not mention the sentence and the related content "a broadly representative Nominating Committee must be formed and to nominate two or three candidates for the Chief Executive in accordance with democratic procedures". By deliberately deleting the original text, CNN conveys the negative image of the autocratic dictatorship of the Chinese government to readers.

Mixed speech can be divided into simple speech and warning speech. Most of the mixed speech used by CNN to protestors and protest organizations, who support the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement, belong to the former, referring to a form of expression and its own meaning (Cappelen & Lepore, 2003), and most of them are specific names such as numbers, words, terminology, concepts, titles (see underlined in example 11).

(11) Wong, the student protest leader, stressed that "peace and nonviolence" are fundamental to his movement's approach. (Pro-democracy protesters target office of Hong Kong's chief executive, 2014-10-1)

The simple speech "peace and nonviolence" is to highlight the most meaningful part of the original discourse, emphasizing the self-meaning of the words, and demonstrates that the protests are peaceful and nonviolent. However, the mixed speech used by CNN to the opponent is mostly of warning. Besides the pragmatic function of emphasizing, it also implies the attitude of journalists, such as:

(12) The Chinese central government said that it is "confident" that the Hong Kong government can handle the movement lawfully. (Hong Kong says riot police have pulled back as protesters jam city streets, 2014-9-29)

In example (12), the warning speech implies that this kind of confidence belongs to the Chinese government only and has nothing to do with CNN and its journalists. It conveys CNN's negative attitude towards this sentiment, which is similar to the pragmatic rhetoric expression of ironic tone.

CNN's choice of reporting modes in the news reports of the "Occupy Central" movement in Hong Kong is not random, but strategic. By applying more direct speech to supporters, it can enhance the authenticity and accuracy of the reported, while by using more indirect and warning speeches to opponents, it can convey implicit attitudinal tendencies, thus affecting readers' cognition.

5. DISCUSSION

It must be stated at the very outset that quantification of these findings may reveal major trends, but the sample size of this study is still limited by the news coverage of one discourse event by one news media organization during a certain time period. Coupled with the lack of corpus analysis software for automatic coding and retrieval, the overall sample size is still limited, which will affect the integrity of the induction made from selective strategies directed towards reported discourse. In addition, there is inevitably some subjectivity in corpus analysis. The study will benefit from deeper research of more samples. Nevertheless, the findings are of significance.

First, it combines CDA and heteroglossia theory to unveil invisible ideology in news discourse. News discourse concerning public policy issues is carefully constructed (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Ideology and prejudice are subtly expressed through various discursive strategies, therefore, content analysis cannot effectively expose invisible ideology. Applying both CDA and heteroglossia theory into the research of news discourse reveals the interdisciplinary relationship of linguistics and journalism. Second, it verifies the news media's framing through the analysis of reported discourse. Various policy positions may be derived from frames and a set of "symbolic devices" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Symbolic devices, consisting of news sources, reporting verbs, and reporting modes are analyzed in this paper to illustrate CNN's news framing of the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement. Not only can it explain the ideological meanings of the news reports, but also contribute to our deeper understanding of the reported discourse. Third, it enriches the research of heteroglossia theory. Heteroglossia regards language as a medium of participation in social life which embraces a distinctively social and political notion of meaning (Bailey, 2012). With this theoretical perspective, scholars have examined poets, novels, music videos, papers, and so on, but seldom cover news reports. Inspired by heteroglossia theory, this study focuses on news reports, which are different from the genres researched before. As public discourse, news reports pay close attention to real-life events, which will enrich the research of heteroglossia theory.

For reasons why CNN has chosen such discursive strategies, it may concern sources, journalists, and audience members who are involved in the news discourse process (Gans, 1979). In this case, when they choose discursive strategies, journalists should at least consider of three levels: first is the organizational level, journalists obey working theories of the news

media (McQuail, 1987) and in accordance with media's framing; the second is the personal level, as Van Dijk (1991:151) states strategic choices are influenced by newspaper models, knowledge, attitudes and ideology. The construction, transmission, and development of the news discourse are closely related to journalists' personal knowledge and attitudes. The third is the audience level in which the operation of news discourse consists of shared beliefs about a society (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). These beliefs are known to and accepted by most Americans as "freedom and democracy" (Zhou, 2012) and "equal opportunities are desirable" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Journalists should anticipate audience acceptance and responses (Tuchman, 1978) and make news values conform to the audience's cognition.

In addition to the research of reported discourse, future studies can also analyze the language characteristics of news reporting from transitivity, modality, transformation, classification and coherence, to comprehensively draw out the ideological tendencies implied in news discourse and their strategic selections.

6. CONCLUSIONS

From bad-mouthing of China in the 1950s to the "China threat" theory in the 1990s, and then to the 21st century, with the enhancement of China's comprehensive national strength and the increase of foreign exchanges, there has been a fall in overt anti-China sentiment in the Western media. However, there has been a wide implementation of implicit strategies to induce readers to form cognitive strategies. Since the new leadership took office in 2012, on the one hand, the Western media has paid great attention to China's development and given the country more coverage in news reports. On the other hand, they have shaped China's image in a more covert manner through discourse construction on issues related to democracy, human rights and national territory.

In this study, CNN's reported discourse on the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" movement is taken as the object of research. This paper explores whether there are ideological tendencies in the use of reported discourse in the news media, which consistently advocate objectivity and impartiality, from three aspects: source, reporting verbs and reporting modes, and how these manifest as ideological tendencies, in order to uncover the ideology implied in the reported discourse through critical discourse analysis. The research finds that the news media seem to report news in an objective and fair way, but they implicitly convey ideological tendencies through the choice of sources, reporting verbs and modes. In terms of sources, CNN has a similar number of reported discourses from both supportive and negative sources. However, by comparing sources with different character frameworks, CNN makes readers more inclined to identify with the discourse of supporters. Regarding reporting verbs, although neutral structuring verbs still dominate, CNN reporters indirectly express ideological tendencies through the selective use of assertives, directives, expressives, descriptive and transcript verbs. With respect to reporting modes, CNN, like most media, is still based on indirect speech. It interprets the original discourse through the pragmatic functions of different reporting modes to express its views and standpoints implicitly and indirectly. The findings also warn readers to exam seemingly fair and objective news discourse with critical thinking.

7. FUNDING

8. BIONOTES

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