

# **Corpus Stylistics**

Speech, writing and thought  
presentation in a corpus of English  
writing

**Elena Semino and Mick Short**

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

**Also available as a printed book  
see title verso for ISBN details**

# Corpus Stylistics

This book combines stylistic analysis with corpus linguistics in order to provide an innovative account of the phenomenon of speech, writing and thought presentation – commonly referred to as ‘speech reporting’ or ‘discourse presentation’.

This new account is based on an extensive analysis of a quarter-of-a-million word electronic collection of written narrative texts, including both fiction and non-fiction. The book includes detailed discussions of:

- The construction of a corpus of late twentieth-century written British narratives, taken from fiction, newspaper news reports and (auto)biographies.
- The development of a manual annotation system for speech, writing and thought presentation and its application to the corpus.
- The findings of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the forms and functions of speech, writing and thought presentation in the three genres represented in the corpus.
- The findings of the analysis of a range of specific phenomena, including hypothetical speech, writing and thought presentation, embedded speech, writing and thought presentation, and ambiguities in speech, writing and thought presentation.
- Two case studies concentrating on specific texts from the corpus.

*Corpus Stylistics* shows how stylistics, and text/discourse analysis more generally, can benefit from the use of a corpus methodology. The authors’ innovative approach results in a more reliable and comprehensive categorization of the forms of speech, writing and thought presentation than has been suggested so far. This book will be essential reading for linguists interested in the areas of stylistics and corpus linguistics.

**Elena Semino** is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language at Lancaster University. She is the author of *Language and World Creation in Poems and Other Texts* (1997), and co-editor (with Jonathan Culpeper) of *Cognitive Stylistics: Language and Cognition in Text Analysis* (2002). **Mick Short** is Professor of English Language and Literature at Lancaster University. He has written *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose* (1996) and (with Geoffrey Leech) *Style in Fiction* (1981). He founded the Poetics and Linguistics Association, and was the founding editor of its international journal, *Language and Literature*.

## **Routledge advances in corpus linguistics**

Edited by Anthony McEnery

*Lancaster University, UK*

and

Michael Hoey

*Liverpool University, UK.*

Corpus-based linguistics is a dynamic area of linguistic research. The series aims to reflect the diversity of approaches to the subject, and thus to provide a forum for debate and detailed discussion of the various ways of building, exploiting and theorizing about the use of corpora in language studies.

### **1 Swearing in English**

*Anthony McEnery*

### **2 Antonymy**

A corpus-based perspective

*Steven Jones*

### **3 Modelling Variation in Spoken and Written English**

*David Y. W. Lee*

### **4 The Linguistics of Political Argument**

The spin-doctor and the wolf-pack at the White House

*Alan Partington*

### **5 Corpus Stylistics**

Speech, writing and thought presentation in a corpus of English writing

*Elena Semino and Mick Short*

# **Corpus Stylistics**

Speech, writing and thought  
presentation in a corpus of English  
writing

**Elena Semino and Mick Short**

First published 2004  
by Routledge  
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group*

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2004.

© 2004 Elena Semino and Mick Short

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-49407-5 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-203-57142-8 (Adobe eReader Format)

ISBN 0-415-28669-7 (Print Edition)

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<b>1 Introduction: a corpus-based approach to the study of discourse presentation in written narratives</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>1.1 Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>1.2 Why a corpus-based approach?</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>1.3 The Leech and Short (1981) model</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>1.4 Other corpus based approaches to speech, writing and thought presentation</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>1.5 The structure of this book</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>2 Methodology: the construction and annotation of the corpus</b>	<b>19</b>
<i>2.1 The corpus</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>2.2 The annotation system</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>2.3 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>39</i>
<b>3 A revised model of speech, writing and thought presentation</b>	<b>42</b>
<i>3.1 New categories and a new presentational scale</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>3.2 New sub-categories</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>3.3 An overview of speech, writing and thought presentation in the corpus</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>3.4 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>64</i>

<b>4</b>	<b>Speech presentation in the corpus: a quantitative and qualitative analysis</b>	<b>66</b>
	<i>4.1 Introduction</i>	<i>66</i>
	<i>4.2 The speech presentation categories in the corpus</i>	<i>66</i>
	<i>4.3 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>96</i>
<b>5</b>	<b>Writing presentation in the corpus: a quantitative and qualitative analysis</b>	<b>98</b>
	<i>5.1 Introduction</i>	<i>98</i>
	<i>5.2 The writing presentation categories in the corpus</i>	<i>98</i>
	<i>5.3 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>111</i>
<b>6</b>	<b>Thought presentation in the corpus: a quantitative and qualitative analysis</b>	<b>114</b>
	<i>6.1 Introduction</i>	<i>114</i>
	<i>6.2 The pure thought presentation categories in the corpus</i>	<i>116</i>
	<i>6.3 Inferred thought presentation in the corpus</i>	<i>135</i>
	<i>6.4 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>147</i>
	<i>6.5 An overview of our findings on the major speech, writing and thought presentation categories</i>	<i>149</i>
<b>7</b>	<b>Specific phenomena in speech, writing and thought presentation</b>	<b>153</b>
	<i>7.1 Quotation phenomena</i>	<i>153</i>
	<i>7.2 Hypothetical speech, writing and thought presentation</i>	<i>159</i>
	<i>7.3 Embedded speech, writing and thought presentation</i>	<i>171</i>
	<i>7.4 Ambiguity in speech, writing and thought presentation</i>	<i>182</i>
	<i>7.5 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>198</i>
<b>8</b>	<b>Case studies of specific texts from the corpus</b>	<b>201</b>
	<i>8.1 Introduction</i>	<i>201</i>
	<i>8.2 Is the medium the message? The presentation of conversations with the dead in Joyful Voices by Doris Stokes</i>	<i>202</i>
	<i>8.3 Discourse presentation in newspaper reports of a 'PC Bible' story</i>	<i>210</i>
<b>9</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>222</b>
	<i>9.1 Our findings and the corpus approach</i>	<i>222</i>
	<i>9.2 Areas where further research is needed</i>	<i>227</i>

<i>Appendix 1</i>	List of texts sampled	232
<i>Appendix 2</i>	The SW&TP tagset	235
<i>Appendix 3</i>	Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Indirect Speech presentation	237
<i>Appendix 4</i>	Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Direct Speech presentation	239
<i>Appendix 5</i>	Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Indirect Writing presentation	242
<i>Appendix 6</i>	Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Direct Writing presentation	243
<i>Appendix 7</i>	Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Direct Thought presentation	244
<i>Appendix 8</i>	Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Indirect Thought presentation	245
<i>Bibliography</i>		246
<i>Index</i>		251



# Figures

1.1	The speech presentation scale	11
1.2	The 'norm' on the speech presentation scale	13
1.3	The thought presentation scale	14
1.4	The speech and thought presentation scales and their respective 'norms'	15
3.1	The speech, writing and thought presentation scales	49
8.1	Diagrammatic representation of alternative sets of beliefs deriving from the assumption that there is a 'spirit world'	204
8.2	Diagrammatic representation of alternative sets of beliefs deriving from the assumption that there is no 'spirit world'	205

# Tables

3.1	Numbers of occurrences of speech, writing, thought and other tags in the corpus	59
3.2	Percentages of speech, writing, thought and other tags out of all tags in the corpus	59
3.3	Percentages of words included under the speech, writing, thought and other tags out of all words in the corpus	59
3.4	Percentages of speech, writing, thought and other tags out of all tags in the six sub-sections of the corpus	64
4.1	Numbers of occurrences of the speech presentation categories in the corpus	67
4.2	Mean word length of the speech presentation categories in the corpus	68
4.3	Numbers of occurrences of NRSA and NRSaP in the corpus	74
4.4	Numbers of occurrences of DS and FDS tags in the corpus	91
5.1	Numbers of occurrences of the writing presentation categories in the corpus	100
5.2	Mean word length of the writing presentation categories in the corpus	101
5.3	Numbers of occurrences of DW and FDW tags in the corpus	112
6.1	Numbers of occurrences of the thought presentation categories in the corpus	115
6.2	Numbers of pure (i.e. non-inferred) thought presentation categories in the corpus	117
6.3	Numbers of occurrences of DT and FDT tags in the corpus	121
6.4	Mean length of the thought presentation categories in the corpus	122

6.5	Numbers of occurrences of inferred thought presentation categories in the corpus	137
6.6	Relative proportions of inferred thought presentation categories in the biography and autobiography sections of the corpus	139
7.1	The eight most frequent ‘q’ tags in the corpus	156
7.2	Hypothetical SW&TP tags in the corpus	168
7.3	Hypothetical SW&TP tags in the three genres included in the corpus	169
7.4	Occurrences of embedded speech presentation categories in the corpus	176
7.5	Occurrences of embedded writing presentation categories in the corpus	177
7.6	Occurrences of embedded thought presentation categories in the corpus	178
7.7	The 25 most frequent portmanteau tags	184
8.1	‘PC Bible’ stories	211
8.2	DS, DW and ‘q’ in the ‘PC Bible’ articles	217

# Acknowledgements

The research presented in this book was supported by grants from the Faculty of Social Sciences at Lancaster University and from the *Humanities Research Board* of the British Academy (grant BA LRG M-AN2314/AON3489).

We are grateful to the following publishers for permission to draw from parts of our previously published papers:

Pearson Education for permission to draw from: Short, M., Semino, E. and Culpeper, J. (1996) 'Using a corpus for stylistics research: speech and thought presentation', in Thomas, J. and Short, M. (eds) *Using Corpora in Language Research*, London: Longman, pp. 110–31; C. Winter for permission to draw from: Short, M., Wynne, M. and Semino, E. (1999) 'Reading reports: discourse presentation in a corpus of narratives, with special reference to news reports', in Diller, H.-J. and Stratmann, E. O.-J. (eds) *English Via Various Media*, Heidelberg: Winter, pp. 39–65; Sage Publications for permission to draw from Short, M., Semino, E. and Wynne, M. (2002) 'Revisiting the notion of faithfulness in discourse presentation using a corpus approach', *Language and Literature*, 11, 4, 325–55 © Sage Publications Ltd, 2002; Elsevier Science for permission to draw from Semino, E., Short, M. and Culpeper, J. (1997) 'Using a corpus to test a model of speech and thought presentation', *Poetics*, 25, 17–43; Peter Lang for permission to draw from Short, M. (2003) 'A corpus-based approach to speech, thought and writing presentation', in Wilson, A., Rayson, P. and McEnery, T. (eds) *Corpus Linguistics by the Lune: A Festschrift for Geoffrey Leech*, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang. We draw from a small section of: Wynne, M., Short, M. and Semino, E. (1998) 'A corpus-based investigation of speech, thought and writing presentation in English narrative texts', in Renouf, A. (ed.) *Explorations in Corpus Linguistics*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 231–45. We also draw from parts of the following paper: Semino, E., Short, M. and Wynne, M. (1999) 'Hypothetical words and thoughts in contemporary British narratives', *Narrative* 7, 3: 307–34. Copyright 1999 by the Ohio State University Press. All rights reserved.

We are grateful to a number of individuals for contributing in significant ways to the project which led to this book. Ruth Allen and Markus

Guadagnin worked with us during the pilot phase of the project. Jonathan Culpeper was involved with our initial analysis of the corpus, and was co-author for two of our joint papers. Martin Wynne was our Research Assistant during the main phase of the project and collaborated with us on most of the papers that resulted from the project.

Several other students and colleagues assisted us at various points during our research: Mike Dodgson, Salah El-Hassan, Eleni Gogorosi, Reiko Ikeo, Scott Piao, Itzumi Tanaka and Richard Xiao. Our two Research Assistants on a closely related project, Daniel McIntyre and John Heywood, have provided us invaluable assistance and insight. We are also grateful to our long-suffering corpus linguistics colleagues at Lancaster University, who kindly answered our many questions: Paul Baker, Geoff Leech, Tony McEnery and Nick Smith. Graeme Hughes and Damien Cashman patiently got us out of several technical difficulties. As series co-editor, Michael Hoey gave us invaluable feedback and advice on an earlier version of the manuscript.

We have greatly benefited from the feedback we have received from the audiences at many conferences where we have presented papers based on the project described in this book, and from referees' and editors' comments on our articles and book chapters. Finally, we are grateful to the many generations of students who have forced us to clarify our thinking by asking questions, or simply looking puzzled during our classes.

# 1 Introduction

## A corpus-based approach to the study of discourse presentation in written narratives

### 1.1 Introduction

We hope that this book will be of interest to at least two different kinds of linguists: (i) textlinguists (e.g. stylisticians and critical discourse analysts) who are involved in the analysis of discourse presentation in written and spoken language, and (ii) corpus linguists or other linguists who are interested in developing dedicated electronic corpora to elucidate textual phenomena. As we try to take both of these main readerships into account, we may, to some degree, tell one readership what it already knows. We apologize in advance if we sometimes do this, and we will try to keep such descriptions to a minimum. Nonetheless, we think it helpful to try to draw the textlinguistic and corpus traditions closer together through this specific study.

Our book describes the research on discourse presentation in written narratives we have been involved in since 1994, and which is still ongoing.<sup>1</sup> This work has involved the systematic and detailed annotation of a corpus of written fictional and non-fictional narratives for speech, writing and thought presentation categories, in order to throw light on discourse presentation theory and on how patterns of discourse presentation vary in three different written narrative genres (fiction, news reports and (auto)biographies).

Since 1996 we have published seven articles and book chapters on our work.<sup>2</sup> However, because these articles are spread through different books and journals, it is difficult for scholars to access the reports of the work we have undertaken. This volume, which draws from parts of these articles but also contains new material, is a summation of our work to date – work which aims to offer insights in relation to the study of discourse presentation in texts and to what is a relative innovative methodology for textlinguists. We will also use this book to consolidate what has been for us a constantly developing method of textual annotation and theory building. Because our research project has evolved over time, our articles to date have some descriptive and annotational inconsistencies among them. We have gradually changed some of the terms and annota-

## 2 Introduction

tions we have used as we have come to grips with new discourse presentation phenomena in our data. These inconsistencies may well have been confusing for those who have read more than one of our articles, and this volume provides an opportunity to explain the changes we have made and our reasons for making them, and to arrive at a reasonably stable set of descriptive terms and annotations for further research. We do not, of course, assume that our work to date is the end of the story in descriptive, annotational, analytical or theoretical terms.<sup>3</sup> We hope that others might be interested in applying the analytical methods we have developed to yet other spoken and written genres/text types,<sup>4</sup> to see how well our approach works for these other genres and how the patterns of discourse presentation in these genres compare with those we have analysed.

Before we proceed further, it will be helpful if we make some points about our use of terminology in this book. We have used the term ‘discourse’ in the discussion above for two reasons. First, we sometimes need a general, and briefer, term to refer to what we otherwise call ‘speech, writing and thought presentation’ (SW&TP).<sup>5</sup> We will strive to use the term ‘discourse presentation’ only in this general, overarching sense. Our second reason for using the term was that we wanted to connect our work to that of other scholars who have written about the way in which the discourse of others is presented, and who often use the term ‘discourse presentation’ for this enterprise. However, we are conscious of the fact that the term ‘discourse’ is often used vaguely and/or with somewhat different meanings by different scholars. We have pointed out before (Short *et al.* 2002) that one of the dangers of the term ‘discourse presentation’ is that, if it is used as an elegant variant of the more specific terms ‘speech presentation’, ‘writing presentation’ and ‘thought presentation’, it is possible to move seamlessly from the discussion of one mode of presentation to another without making the change clear to oneself, or to others. This in turn can lead to mis-analyses and a less accurate understanding of the phenomena under investigation. We believe that, although there are commonalities among speech presentation, writing presentation and/or thought presentation, there are also important differences which are unhelpfully hidden if the general term ‘discourse presentation’ is used as an alternative for these more specific, mode-related terms and concepts. Hence, when discussing specific discourse presentation phenomena, we will strive to use the more specific terms and not to use the general term as a substitute for them.

The other term which we have already made considerable use of is ‘presentation’. We use this term as a default, rather than ‘report’ or ‘representation’ (which are often used as default terms by other linguists), because we are specifically interested in how the discourse of others (or the speaker/writer on some previous occasion) is *presented*. This is what textual annotation and analysis can most sensibly be used for (and

explains why stylisticians tend to use this term). We prefer not to use the term 'report', which is often used as a default by grammarians (e.g. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1023–30; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1020–33) and other linguists who are part of a tradition where examples are invented when discussing discourse presentation. This is because the term 'report' suggests an unproblematic relationship between the discourse presentation and the anterior discourse which is being presented. Tannen (1989), among others, has shown that an assumption of faithful report for direct speech presentation in casual conversation is unrealistic (yet interestingly she uses the term 'report' even when undermining this assumption). However, we do not want to use the term 'representation' as a default either, as this tends to be used by linguists (e.g. critical discourse analysts like Caldas-Coulthard 1994 and Fairclough 1988) who want to concentrate mainly on distortions and misrepresentations in the reporting of anterior discourses. 'Presentation' is thus helpfully neutral for the discussion of speech, writing and thought presentation in a corpus of written texts where, for the most part, we do not, in any case, have easy access to the anterior speech, writing or thought being presented. We discuss this issue of terminology in more detail in Short *et al.* (2002).<sup>6</sup>

Many studies have proposed models of the forms and functions of discourse presentation in a range of text-types (e.g. Bally 1912a, 1912b; Banfield 1982; Collins 2001; Fairclough 1988; Fludernik 1993; Fowler 1986; McHale 1978; Pascal 1977; Tannen 1989; Thompson 1994, 1996; Volosinov 1973; Waugh 1995; see also papers in Coulmas 1986 and Lucy 1993). The original motivation for our corpus-based study of discourse presentation, however, was to test how well the particular model of speech and thought presentation outlined in Leech and Short (1981: Ch. 10) worked on written text types other than the novel. The Leech and Short model was developed specifically to account for the range of speech and thought presentation forms and their effects in novels written in English. We wanted to test this model, not only because one of us has a rather obvious personal interest in it, but also because (i) it is still the most analytically specific account of speech and thought presentation to date, and (ii) it has been influential and widely used by other textlinguists.

Many analysts of prose fiction, including Fludernik (1993: 283–316, *passim*) and Simpson (1993: 21–30), have discussed the Leech and Short approach. Person (1999: 28–37) and Toolan (2001: 136–40) also include discussions of some of our more recent work referred to above. A number of studies have also applied the Leech and Short approach to non-literary texts. McKenzie (1987) uses Leech and Short to analyse how free indirect speech was used to circumvent a ban on direct quotation of the ANC in a booklet by South African students, and Roeh and Nir (1990) use it in the analysis of Israeli radio broadcasts. Thompson's (1996) account of the dimensions of choice available to speakers or writers when reporting the language of others also draws on the Leech and Short model, which



he describes as ‘comprehensive in its coverage’ and ‘[t]he most fully developed’ of the various approaches to speech and thought presentation (Thompson 1996: 504).

## 1.2 Why a corpus-based approach?

The Leech and Short model, like all theoretical models in stylistics up to that point, was developed through the use of scholarly intuition, based on extensive personal reading experience, which was in turn exemplified and tested through the analysis of examples chosen from previous reading. The model was also designed to account specifically for speech and thought presentation in fictional texts (indeed, most of the discourse presentation work by stylisticians and narratologists has concentrated on fiction). Hence it was difficult to know how generalizable the model was to other text-types, or how descriptively adequate it was when ‘tested to destruction’ on texts (including fictional texts) in a way that could not avoid inconvenient or borderline cases. It was for this reason that we decided to develop and annotate a dedicated corpus to test out the model.

We should also point out that some of the non-corpus work on discourse presentation which has already been completed has been based on the accumulation of very large numbers of examples accrued from previous reading. Specific mention should be made here of the monumental work of the narratologists Cohn (1978) and Fludernik (1993). We have benefited considerably from these two very insightful works. Cohn grounded her analysis of what we would call thought presentation through the accumulation of a manually collected corpus of examples:

Equipped with these basic abstractions [of narrative theory] I could then travel around in narrative literature, selecting works and passages in works that would best display the entire spectrum of possibilities, while in turn allowing these works themselves to reveal unforeseen hues.

(Cohn 1978: v)

Cohn’s motivation is not unlike ours, except that we want to compare discourse presentation across text types, including narrative fiction, and want to be much more explicit about our criteria for text selection, as well as being more explicit and systematic in our analysis of the texts in our corpus. Cohn was writing before computers could be used to store and interrogate large corpora of texts, of course, and we could well imagine that if she were beginning her work now, she might also want to make use of an electronic corpus, as we have.

Fludernik’s (1993) study of what she calls free indirect discourse is even more impressive in terms of the wide range of textual examples she uses

to illustrate the points she wants to make. We have learned much from her work but, as with Cohn's study, we were concerned that her relatively informal analytical approach might mean that important factors in the study of discourse presentation would be missed. In her research, Fludernik specifically considered the possibility of a corpus-based approach, and the quantification that comes with it, but rejected this option (i) because she did not want to restrict herself to the literature of just one language, nation, period, etc., which she thought a corpus-based approach would prevent, and (ii) because she believed that a corpus and its associated annotation would have created serious methodological problems, in the sense that she thinks it would have been necessary to 'institute arbitrary definitions of the relevant categories' (Fludernik 1993: 9):

Such arbitrariness would necessarily have resulted in an erosion of the actual usefulness of the statistical data, since one would have had either to decide on larger categories that include marginal and ambiguous phenomena, or to indulge in a proliferation of subcategories and intermediary categories which would have rendered the statistics next to useless for interpretation. From previous experience with statistical research (Fludernik 1982) I have also acquired a profound distrust of the methodological relevance of statistical data. Statistics typically take individual occurrences of certain phenomena out of context. Since the present study attempts to document the crucial importance of context for the purpose of the even preliminary establishment of basic categories, a statistical approach would from the outset have vitiated one of the major aims of the project. These remarks are, however, not meant to discredit statistical research in itself. On the contrary, I would welcome a series of statistical analyses that might help to corroborate, modify or refute some of the theses I am here proposing.

(Fludernik 1993: 9)

We have quoted from Fludernik at length because we have effectively tried to do what she decided to avoid, namely to use a set of categories and subcategories to analyse the textual extracts in our corpus comprehensively and systematically. Consequently, we certainly recognize some of the problems she points to, though we think that the annotation difficulties have not been as damaging as she thought they would be. Indeed, we would claim that forcing ourselves to be as clear and precise as possible about our annotations has helped us to isolate, and come to terms with, phenomena we may not otherwise even have noticed. Similarly, we believe that forcing ourselves to account for ambiguity and marginal phenomena in our annotations has helped us to understand more exactly how the speech, writing and thought presentation scales operate, and what factors are at work in producing ambiguity on those scales. Because we take this

explicit analytical approach, we are able to provide some of the statistical information which, at the end of the above quotation, Fludernik says that she would welcome.

We very much agree with Fludernik that statistical analysis has limitations as well as advantages, and this is why we present both quantitative and qualitative analysis in this book. We do not think that the one precludes the other (though doing both does increase the workload still further, as, from experience, we are very well aware). Indeed, we would want to argue that both forms of analysis are needed, and work best when used interdependently. Although Fludernik decided not to adopt a corpus-based and quantitative approach (the experience of the dissertation she refers to as Fludernik 1982 was clearly salutary!), she makes a point of saying that she is not antipathetic to such work. She is very open to the fact that all approaches have advantages and disadvantages, and that we can all learn from different approaches to the same phenomenon. This tolerant and inclusive attitude is in contrast to the attacks on corpus linguistics by some other linguists, which we allude to briefly below.

It was natural for us to move to a corpus-based approach as we work in a department which has members who have been involved in corpus construction and annotation for some years, and who could easily be called upon for advice and help. The Lancaster–Oslo/Bergen (LOB) corpus was one of the early modern linguistic corpora to be developed; Lancaster is the ‘home’ of the British National Corpus (BNC), for which Lancaster did much of the work, and our colleagues are involved in the building and exploitation of other corpora too. However, not all linguists are sympathetic to a corpus-based approach, and so we will take a little space here to explore some of the pros and cons in the use of electronic corpora, to help explain our decision to develop our corpus and to use ‘corpus stylistics’ as the main title of this book.

The first point that we would like to make is that although this book, and much of our current work, involves the use of a corpus-based approach in stylistics, we do not think that this approach should supplant other work within our field. Rather, our decision to use a corpus-based approach was because it was the best tool we could find to carry out the particular kind of investigation we had in mind. In order to see how adequate the Leech and Short model was, and what kind of modifications it might require, we needed to test the model on a number of different text-types, with enough samples of each text-type to be reasonably sure of our findings. This led to the idea of a representative corpus. We also needed to force ourselves not just to concentrate on convenient text- or intuition-based examples. This led to the idea of developing a method of systematic and replicable textual annotation which would be used comprehensively. Finally, we needed to be able to sort our annotations easily, in order to observe patterns of various kinds in our data. This need led naturally to the idea of using an electronic tagged corpus, and software that would

enable us to do what we wanted (we chose Mike Scott's Wordsmith package for this purpose).

The fact that we are currently involved in corpus-based work, and the quantification that it entails, does not mean that we have stopped doing the qualitative textual analysis that is at the heart of the field of stylistic analysis. We are still involved in this sort of work, and will continue to do it (indeed this book includes some qualitative work on particular texts in our corpus; see Chapter 8 in particular). We will continue to use our intuition in arriving at theories, interpretations of texts and so on, and we will not give up our interest in investigating informant reactions to texts in order to compare them with stylistic analyses or stylistic theories – or indeed any other kind of work we, or other stylisticians, typically engage in. We think that all these different approaches have a useful role to play in helping us (i) to understand how readers interact with, and understand, particular texts and (ii) to arrive at general theories of textual understanding, textual response and style. We would be unhappy if the work we report was regarded as a competitor for other forms of enquiry in stylistics, rather than as merely another (very useful) approach to add to the analytical armoury of the stylistics enterprise. There is already some interesting work which insightfully combines detailed qualitative work on particular texts with corpus-based analysis. Stubbs (1996: 81–100) uses such a combination to show how Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout movement, uses the same lexical items in very different (and sexist) ways in his last messages to the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, and Louw (1997) uses corpus-based work to show, for example, how what he calls the 'semantic prosody' of the word 'utterly' is used by Philip Larkin to induce feelings of threat at the end of 'First Sight', his poem about newborn lambs:

They could not grasp it if they knew,  
What so soon will wake and grow  
Utterly unlike the snow.

To some it may seem strange that we need to point out at all what we have just said in the last paragraph. However, corpus linguistics has, in recent years, been part of the sort of 'turf war' that breaks out from time to time in most academic disciplines. These rather heated debates have mainly concerned the use of large generalized corpora (e.g. the Brown Corpus, the LOB Corpus, the Bank of English and the BNC), which were set up to investigate empirically the lexical and grammatical characteristics of English and other languages. We do not have the space to enter into this debate here, and in any case our corpus is not a generalized corpus of the sort over which the arguments have raged, but a much smaller affair, set up with a much more specific set of goals. For those interested in the debate over generalized corpora, McEnery and Wilson (1996: 1–18)

provide a useful account of the history of the relationship between corpus linguistics and ‘mainstream’ linguistics. For more recent contributions to the ‘corpus linguistics wars’, see Borsley and Ingham’s (2002) attack on corpus linguistics from a ‘theoretical linguistics’ standpoint, to which Stubbs (2002) responds, and Widdowson’s (2000) critique from an ‘applied linguistics’ perspective.<sup>7</sup>

Not surprisingly, these sorts of debates are often characterized by misunderstandings and caricatures of others’ positions. Academic turf wars tend to generate more heat than understanding. We prefer to take the more cooperative and inclusive view of Biber *et al.* (1998: 7–8), who argue that corpus-based analysis ‘should be seen as a complementary approach to more traditional approaches, rather than as the single correct approach’, and of Fillmore (1992), who says:

I don’t think there can be any corpora, however large, that contain information about all of the areas of the English lexicon and grammar that I want to explore . . . [but] every corpus I have had the chance to examine, however small, has taught me facts I couldn’t imagine finding out any other way. My conclusion is that the two types of linguists need one another.

(Fillmore 1992: 35, quoted in McEnery and Wilson 1996: 25)

Stylisticians have always occupied a fairly peripheral position in the panoply of linguistic description and theorizing (it is the literary critics who have worried rather more about us occupying part of their territory), and so we do not feel particularly personally affected by the antagonistic debates between the corpus linguists and other linguists. That said, it is difficult to believe that the study of the linguistic performance seen in texts, at least, can be adequately conducted without the use of the corpus-based approach, in addition to other approaches.

We hope that we have already made it clear that we are interested in combining corpus-based techniques with more intuition-based approaches. Our corpus work could not have been as successful as it has if considerable prior intuition-based work on discourse presentation was not available for us to test and develop, as we hope our discussion of Cohn’s and Fludernik’s work above, and that of Leech and Short (1981) in 1.3 below, makes clear. Indeed, in terms of general research design, it makes sense to move first from intuition-based and genre-specific work to corpus-based work on a range of reasonably close genres. This is what we have done so far, and report in this book. We compare fictional texts with news report and biography and autobiography. If the model being examined (and revised) operates successfully in these areas, the next steps will be to expand the work to cover other written genres and also to test the methodology out on spoken data (see note 3). To extend the work to naturally occurring spoken interaction is bound to be more difficult, if only

because of the need to take account of the turn-taking phenomena and normal non-fluency typical of spoken discourse, and we would argue that it would be difficult to undertake such work successfully without the prior work on the more 'orderly' medium of writing which we have been carrying out.

### 1.3 The Leech and Short (1981) model

As we pointed out in 1.1 above, our annotation work is based on the scales of speech and thought presentation outlined in Leech and Short (1981: Ch. 10; see also Short 1996: Ch. 10). Indeed, a primary aim of our corpus work was to see whether the Leech and Short model, which had been developed to account for the meanings and effects of the speech and thought presentation categories in literary prose fiction, could be applied sensibly, systematically and with insight to non-literary and non-fictional narrative modes. The Leech and Short model was the first to distinguish systematically between the presentation of speech and the presentation of thought in the novel. It also suggested, as some other scholars did (e.g. Cohn 1978 and McHale 1978; see also Fludernik 1993: 283–4), that the discourse presentation scales are not an assemblage of hard-edged, discrete categories, but continua, rather like that seen in the colour spectrum. The speech and thought presentation scales had the same categories and in the same order along the scales, but Leech and Short pointed out that some of the categories had different effects on the different scales (in particular, free indirect thought had effects which were often opposite to those for free indirect speech, and the direct and free direct forms had different effects in speech, as opposed to thought, presentation). The Leech and Short account also suggested a new category (the narrative report of speech acts, and its equivalent on the thought presentation scale) and the re-positioning of the free direct category on the scales. Instead of being positioned between the free indirect and direct categories, as assumed by scholars previously, Leech and Short proposed that the free direct category (free direct speech, free direct thought) was at one extreme end of the scales, 'beyond' the direct forms (direct speech and direct thought). Since 1981 this ordering appears to have been generally accepted by most scholars (see, for example, Fludernik 1993: 289–315, Simpson 1993: 21–30 and Toolan 2001: 116–40, but contrast Person 1999: 19–32).

For reasons of clarity, we will first concentrate on the speech presentation scale. It had been traditionally assumed that direct speech (DS) and indirect speech (IS) were distinguished not just in terms of their formal linguistic features, but also in terms of whether the words and grammatical structures of the original utterance were presented, as well as its propositional form. Leech and Short, building on the work of earlier stylisticians, saw the entire speech presentation scale (which was already

known to have more categories than just IS and DS) as being ordered in relation both to the linguistic features involved and also to the number of faithfulness claims with respect to the original that the speaker's/writer's choice of speech presentation category involved. The speech presentation category distinctions given below are ordered on a scale which relates to the amount of 'involvement' of (i) the original speaker in the anterior discourse and (ii) the person in the posterior discourse presenting what was said in the anterior discourse (bold typeface is used to indicate the specific stretch of text that exemplifies each category). Because the Leech and Short descriptive system was construed mainly in relation to the novel, the 'original speakers' were characters and the reporters were narrators (hence the use of 'N' for 'Narrative' and 'Narration' in the abbreviations below):

- (N) = Narration – no speech presentation involved (hence the bracketing of the symbol here)  
 e.g. **He looked straight at her.**
- NRSA** = Narrative Report of Speech Acts  
 e.g. He looked straight at her and **told her about his imminent return.** She was pleased.
- IS** = Indirect Speech  
 e.g. He looked straight at her and told her **that he would definitely return the following day.** She was pleased.
- FIS** = Free Indirect Speech  
 e.g. He looked straight at her. **He would definitely come back tomorrow!** She was pleased.
- DS** = Direct Speech  
 e.g. He looked straight at her and said **'I'll definitely come back tomorrow!'**.
- FDS** = Free Direct Speech  
 e.g. He looked straight at her. **'I'll definitely come back tomorrow!'** She was pleased.

Narration sentences (presenting states, events and actions in the fictional world) are not strictly part of the speech presentation scale and so 'N' is placed in brackets above. It is usually included in the presentation of such scales because NRSA is linked closely with N, being the presentation of speech as action. The speech presentation categories can be distinguished to a large degree in linguistic terms. Readers will be familiar with the orthographic, syntactic and deictic distinctions between IS and DS, so we will not reiterate them here. For Leech and Short, FDS must obligatorily contain the direct string, but need not contain either the reporting clause or the punctuation surrounding the direct string. It is because they regard these features as being provided by the narrator/reporter in written presentations of speech that they argue that FDS should be at one extreme of

the scale. In its most extreme form, it presents the words of the character/original speaker with no apparent 'interference' from the narrator/reporter.

NRSA, unlike IS, prototypically has only one clause, with the 'speech report' verb often followed by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase indicating the topic of the speech presented. Because this kind of presentation is more minimal than the propositional form associated with indirect strings, NRSA is placed between N and IS on the above scale. Not surprisingly, NRSA is prototypically used for summarizing, and for providing background speech information to contextualize fuller speech presentation forms.

Free indirect speech (FIS) is a form between IS and DS because it shares linguistic features associated prototypically with both the IS and DS forms. Typically, it will not have the quotation marks associated with DS and often does not have the reporting clause associated with IS. It may contain some deictic features (in the widest sense of the term) which are appropriate for DS and, at the same time, others which are appropriate for IS (cf. 'tomorrow' vs 'he' in the above FIS examples). In contrast to previous scholars, Leech and Short argued that no particular linguistic features were criterial for FIS to occur. All you needed was a mix of the sorts of features normally associated with DS and IS. Previous scholars had assumed that third-person pronouns and backshift of tense compared with the associated DS form were criterial for FIS. But Leech and Short pointed out that these features were effectively neutralized in first-person narrations and present-tense narrations respectively, and so could not be criterial in all cases.

This issue of criteriality is an important one for us. In tagging our corpus we used formal criteria to distinguish categories as much as we were able because they are the most reliable criteria to apply consistently. However, the application of formal features – 'rules' – does not always yield an analysis which works, and indeed it is possible to find cases where, formally, a particular sentence (or sentence part) could belong to more than one category, and only the application of contextual considerations can yield a satisfactory assignment, if one can be found at all (see 9.1.1 for further comments on these issues).

The speech and thought presentation scales are usually represented as being ordered along a horizontal axis, with NRSA in the left-most speech presentation position, adjacent to (N) and the free direct category in the right-most position. Hence the speech presentation continuum is usually represented visually as in Figure 1.1.

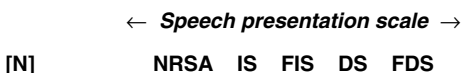


Figure 1.1 The speech presentation scale.



At the extreme ends of the speech presentation scale shown in Figure 1.1 we get (1) narration, where no speech presentation is involved at all and (2) (free) direct speech (i.e. FDS and DS together), where it is assumed canonically by readers that the direct string reports exactly the words and structures used by the character to say whatever they said in the ‘anterior’ discourse. The narrative report of speech acts (NRSA)<sup>8</sup> category was thought by Leech and Short to be the ‘hinge’ between speech presentation and narration (speech acts are both speech and actions). In NRSA the speech act value of the utterance presented is indicated, often with a specification of the topic of the speech act, but no more elaboration of what was said in the anterior discourse is made. Thus, in marked contrast to (F)DS, this ‘summarizing’ nature of NRSA displays a fairly loose connection with both *what* was said (its propositional content) and *how* it was said (the words and structures used to utter the relevant propositional content). In the Leech and Short account of speech presentation in the novel (where the narrator presents what characters have said, or say), indirect speech (IS) displays a greater ‘contribution’ from the character in the novel than NRSA because it makes a weightier claim to be faithful to the original. As we indicated above, NRSA tells us the speech act value of what was said, plus a specification (sometimes optional) of the topic of the speech act. IS does this and, *in addition*, presents the propositional content of what was said. The use of (F)DS normally brings one further faithfulness claim: in addition to presenting the speech act value and the propositional content of the utterance, it provides the words and grammatical structures claimed to have been used to utter the propositional content and associated speech act. This extra faithfulness claim brings with it associated effects of vividness and dramatization. Hence an (F)DS representation of some speech in a novel, for example, feels foregrounded, vivid and immediate as compared with an IS version.

The functional notion of increasing degrees of faithfulness to an original, as one moves from left to right on the speech presentation continuum, helps to explain why it is that we have such a full panoply of presentational forms when we write. We should remember, though, that it is open to writers to misuse the canonical forms, for example by using the DS form but not using the words and structures uttered in some original, in order to mislead or rhetorically affect readers (see Chapter 8 and Short *et al.* 2002). Moreover, as Leech and Short pointed out, fiction is unusual in discourse presentation terms. Most discourse presentation involves an anterior discourse which is re-presented in the posterior, reporting discourse. However, this is not normally true in fictions where there is no actual anterior speech to be presented. The whole story, including the account of ‘what was said earlier’ is fictional, and we merely pretend ‘conventionally’ that the conversation ‘reported’ took place in the world of the fiction.

Most of what we have said so far is well known to stylisticians, but the

free indirect speech (FIS) category in particular may be new to others. It is a crucial category for stylisticians because it is often associated with ironic effects when it is used to present character speech in fiction. In quantitative terms, the proportion of FIS in our corpus is small compared with the other major speech presentation categories. However, its equivalent on the thought presentation scale, free indirect thought (FIT), is used very extensively in the novel, and is the most frequent of Leech and Short's thought presentation categories in both the fiction section of our corpus and the corpus more generally. Effectively, FIS is a 'mix' of the deictic and other features associated with IS on the one hand and DS on the other, and as a consequence is ambiguous with respect to the 'words and structures' faithfulness claim. It is often difficult to know, for particular words, whether they 'belong' to the character or the narrator/reporter. If we take the FIS example used above (He would definitely come back tomorrow!), it is clear that if a narrator or reporter is presenting what someone else previously said, the third-person pronoun and the backshifted modal verb would normally be assumed to 'belong' to that narrator/reporter because the expressions are deictically inappropriate for the original speaker, who would normally use 'I' to refer to himself, for example. Because 'come back' and 'tomorrow' are deictically proximal, it will often be assumed that they must 'belong' to the original speaker, particularly when, as in the examples above (where the DS and FDS forms can be compared with the FIS one), the context is set up to encourage that assumption. However, if the narrator/reporter happens to be presenting what was originally said on the same day and in the same place as the original utterance, then 'come back' and 'tomorrow' will be deictically appropriate both for the original utterance and its posterior presentation. Similarly, the 'exclamatory tone' suggested by the exclamation mark could be attributed either to the original utterance or its posterior presentation.

Because FIS is a 'deictic mix' of the words of the original and its presentation by someone else, Leech and Short (1981), who had argued that the norm for speech presentation is DS, went on to suggest that FIS is perceived by readers as distancing them from what the character said (often with attendant effects of irony), since its choice constitutes a movement away from the DS norm (see Figure 1.2) towards the narrator/reporter end of the scale.

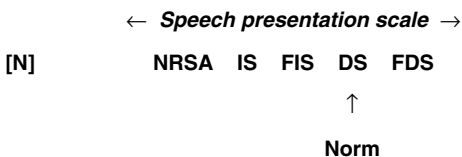


Figure 1.2 The 'norm' on the speech presentation scale.

In other words, FIS is the nearest category to DS in which readers feel that the narrator ‘interposes’ him- or herself between the words of the character and the reader. We will return to the notion of ‘norms’ for speech and thought presentation below and in Chapters 4 and 6.

Compared with previous accounts, then, the Leech and Short (1981) model, besides being more explicit, also established the NRSA category and reorganized the categories into an order which related to the faithfulness claims. This enabled a more orderly and principled account of the presentational effects obtained when a writer uses one presentation category rather than another. The definitions of categories for speech presentation were partly on functional grounds (the faithfulness claims), partly on linguistic grounds (made as explicitly as possible) and partly on contextual grounds (for example, sometimes sentences can be formally ambiguous between narration and free indirect speech but unambiguous when interpreted in context).

As we said above, Leech and Short also distinguished in a clear way for the first time between speech presentation and thought presentation. They set up a separate scale of thought presentation, with categories parallel to those on the speech presentation scale, and defined in analogous ways (see Figure 1.3).

Below we give prototypical examples for the thought presentation categories to match those we provided earlier for speech presentation (note that the free indirect and the free direct examples can be formally identical to their speech presentation equivalents, but, when situated in appropriate co-text, it would be clear contextually that they were presenting thought, not speech):

(N) = Narration – no thought presentation involved (hence the bracketing of the symbol here)  
e.g. **He looked straight at her.**

**NRTA** = Narrative Report of Thought Acts  
e.g. He looked straight at her and **thought about his imminent return**. She remained unaware of his plan until the following day.

**IT** = Indirect Thought  
e.g. He looked straight at her and decided **that he would definitely return the following day**. She remained unaware of his plan until the following day.

**FIT** = Free Indirect Thought  
e.g. He looked straight at her. **He would definitely come back tomorrow!** She remained unaware of his plan until the following day.

**DT** = Direct Thought

e.g. He looked straight at her and decided '**I'll definitely come back tomorrow!**'. She remained unaware of his plan until the following day.

**FDT** = Free Direct Thought

e.g. He looked straight at her. **I'll definitely come back tomorrow!** She remained unaware of his plan until the following day.

This establishment of a pair of analogous scales enabled Leech and Short to describe the phenomena under discussion more accurately and to explain how it was that the same category of presentation had different effects on the reader, depending upon whether speech or thought was being represented. For example, although free indirect speech has a distancing effect on the reader, often associated with irony, its thought presentation counterpart, free indirect thought, usually has the opposite effect, making the reader feel close to the character's thinking process. This interpretative difference was accounted for by proposing that the norm for the presentation of thought was not direct thought (DT) but indirect thought (IT), on the grounds that although we can directly perceive the speech of others, we cannot do this for thought (except via the conventions of fictional writing). Hence the free indirect category represented a movement away from the norm that was in opposite directions on the two scales, which are presented together in Figure 1.4.

In the corpus work we report in this book we have based our annotations on the Leech and Short account, as we were interested in testing

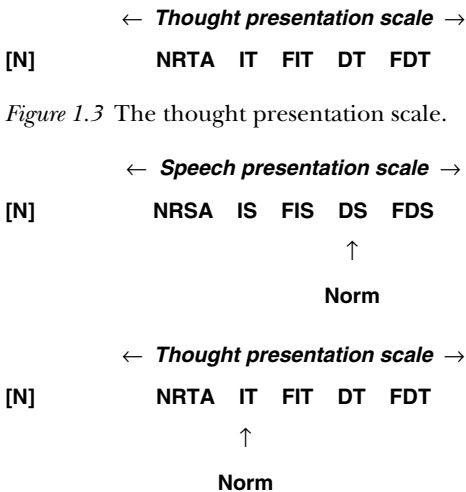


Figure 1.4 The speech and thought presentation scales and their respective 'norms'.

how well it worked. However, as we shall see in Chapter 3, we have added categories and sub-categories to account better for the phenomena we have found. Hence we use the Leech and Short model, but also develop it. For example, we have tried systematically to annotate DS and FDS separately, even though we were doubtful when we started our work that the distinction made a functional difference. We thought that the DS/FDS distinction was probably not a proper category distinction but rather a more minor distinction in the forms of DS (see Short 1988). This decision concerning annotation has helped us to test the DS/FDS distinction systematically, and we discuss our findings in 4.2.5 and 7.4.2. Our work has also led us to systematically distinguish a third parallel presentational scale, writing presentation, which we outline in 3.1.3. We have also established a new ‘minimal discourse presentation’ category at the left-hand end of each of the three presentational scales (see 4.2.1, 5.2.1 and 6.2.5).

As we pointed out in 1.1, we think that the three discourse presentation scales (speech, writing and thought) often need to be examined separately in order for them to be understood properly. Hence we prefer to use the general term ‘speech, writing and thought presentation’ (which we will abbreviate throughout as SW&TP) rather than ‘discourse presentation’, to help us to avoid sliding from the presentation of one scale of presentation to another in our discussion. As we describe the additions and changes we have made to the Leech and Short model in Chapter 3, we will also discuss related theoretical and descriptive issues which arose as we tried to apply the model to the corpus.

#### **1.4 Other corpus-based approaches to speech, writing and thought presentation**

We know of no other attempt to annotate a corpus for the entire range of speech, writing and thought presentation on the scale we have undertaken. Waugh (1995) based her discourse presentation work on a corpus of newspaper texts. However, she does not tag her corpus exhaustively, only considers DS and IS in any detail and does not provide statistical results to support her claims. Moreover, her characterization of IS includes examples of what many stylisticians would characterize as FIS. As a consequence, although her work is interesting and informative, and indeed contains a number of very stimulating suggestions, it is difficult to know how representative the features she points to are. Oostdijk (1990) analyses patterns associated with DS in five 20,000-word samples of popular fiction, part of the TOSCA corpus. In particular, he notes patterns in terms of the relative positioning (initial, medial and final) of the ‘reporting utterance’ (which are standard reporting clauses in all of the examples given) in relation to the ‘reported utterance’, and typical grammatical and lexical patterns within the ‘reported utterances’ themselves. But the work is reported as being initial findings of an ongoing project, and there is little detailed explanation of the patterns

discovered. De Haan (1996) uses a corpus of seven complete popular fiction texts to examine patterns of dialogue in fiction. Five of these texts are those in the TOSCA corpus which Oostdijk extracted his samples from, and two other texts (from the Nijmegen corpus) are added. De Haan compares sentences in these novels which contain (i) direct speech (Oostdijk's 'reported utterance') alone, (ii) direct speech and a 'reporting utterance' together and (iii) 'the sentences that contain no speech at all, and can be taken to be purely descriptive' (De Haan 1996: 26). In particular, he compares sentence length, the kinds of reporting verbs used, and the syntactic patterns associated with those reporting verbs. De Haan's work, like Oostdijk's, exhibits the patterns found but offers little in the way of innovative or detailed functional explanation for those patterns. As with Waugh and Oostdijk's work, the full range of speech presentation forms has not been examined, and it would appear that De Haan's category (iii) will almost certainly contain representations of speech, in spite of the way in which it is defined. Thompson (1994) exploits the COBUILD Bank of English corpus in order to provide a wider-ranging and much more systematic survey of reporting strategies in different text-types in English, and we have found his work particularly stimulating. However, it is not based on an annotated corpus, and does not include information about the relative frequencies of different forms of presentation.

What is clear from the foregoing discussion is that the corpus linguists, with their sophisticated sampling and quantitative techniques, and the stylisticians, with their finer-grained interest in qualitative analysis and functional explanation, need to become more aware of one another's work. This book is intended as a contribution to that process.

## 1.5 The structure of this book

We have tried in this chapter to provide the reader with an understanding of the Leech and Short model and of why we decided to construct and annotate a dedicated corpus to test that model. In the next chapter we outline how we constructed and annotated our corpus. In Chapter 3 we discuss how this corpus annotation has led us to develop Leech and Short's model of speech and thought presentation by adding new categories and sub-categories. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 we combine a quantitative and qualitative approach to the forms and functions of SW&TP in our corpus. Chapter 4 focuses on speech presentation, Chapter 5 on writing presentation and Chapter 6 on thought presentation. In Chapter 7 we discuss a number of specific phenomena in SW&TP which can be found in all three presentational scales: 'quick quotation' phenomena, hypothetical SW&TP, embedded SW&TP and ambiguity in SW&TP. In Chapter 8 we analyse in detail two samples from the non-fictional sections of our corpus, and in Chapter 9 we present our conclusions and look forward to future research developments in this area.

**Notes**

- 1 Our work on our corpus of written narrative has been supported financially by Lancaster University and the British Academy's Humanities Research Board (grant BA LRG M-AN2314/AON3489).
- 2 Semino *et al.* 1997, 1999; Short 2003; Short *et al.* 1996, 1999, 2002; Wynne *et al.* 1998.
- 3 Indeed, we are currently involved in a new project, on which we will report in the future, involving the development and annotation of a corpus of spoken English, so that we can compare the phenomenon of discourse presentation in spoken and written English.
- 4 We use the terms 'genre' and 'text-type' interchangeably in this book.
- 5 It will be helpful to point out that in this book we are using a new ordering (and so also a new ordering of the letters in the associated acronym) for generalized references to the three discourse presentation scales we are describing. In our previous publications, what we here call 'speech, writing and thought presentation' (SW&TP) was referred to as 'speech, thought and writing presentation' (ST&WP). The earlier ordering was mainly a consequence of history. The speech and thought presentation scales have been known, and discussed, by scholars for some considerable time, and the writing presentation scale has only recently been separately isolated and systematically described. We adopt the 'SW&TP' ordering in this book to reflect the fact (with which we have gradually come to detailed terms during our work) that the speech and writing presentation scales exhibit considerable similarities in form and function, whereas the thought presentation scale, because it has a different ontological status, has a weaker, analogical, relation to the other two discourse presentation scales, with larger differences in function (and some differences in form as well). These matters will be explored in more detail in Chapters 6 and 9.
- 6 Although we currently prefer to use the term 'presentation' in relation to the phenomena we are concerned with, our use of terminology has not been consistent in the past. As a consequence, the terms 'report' and 'representation' are used in the labels of some of our categories. We have decided not to change these labels, however, as this might confuse readers familiar with our earlier publications.
- 7 We put the terms 'theoretical linguistics' and 'applied linguistics' in inverted commas here because there have also been arguments concerning these terms over the years. 'Applied linguistics' has a range of wider and more restricted meanings, and 'applied linguists' of whatever persuasion sometimes complain that, like 'theoretical linguistics', their areas of linguistics also involves theories, and that the adjective 'theoretical' has been 'hijacked' by linguists interested in the relationship between language and mind.
- 8 Arguably, in the light of our discussion of the terms 'presentation', 'report' and 'representation' in 1.1, it might be better to change this term to 'narrator's presentation of speech acts (NPSA)'. However, as the NRSA acronym has become a standard term in stylistics since 1981, we have decided not to change it to avoid confusion. We will, however, follow Short (1996) in using the label 'Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts' (rather than Leech and Short's 'Narrative Report of Speech Acts'), since it is closer to our current use of terminology and preserves the NRSA acronym. The same strategy will be used for the corresponding categories for thought and writing presentation.

## 2 Methodology

### The construction and annotation of the corpus

In this chapter we describe our corpus and the system we developed for annotating it. We focus particularly on the many and varied methodological decisions that we had to make in the course of our project, and begin to consider the thorny issue of the status and reliability of the quantitative findings that will be presented in subsequent chapters.

#### 2.1 The corpus

Our corpus contains 120 text samples of approximately 2,000 words each, amounting to a total of 258,348 words of (late) twentieth-century written British English.<sup>1</sup> It is divided into three sections, which comprise 40 text samples each and represent three main genres:

- Prose fiction (87,709 words)
- Newspaper news reports (83,603 words)
- Biography and autobiography (87,036 words) (henceforth we will refer to this section as ‘(auto)biography’).<sup>2</sup>

Each genre section was further divided into a ‘serious’ and a ‘popular’ sub-section (e.g. broadsheet vs tabloid newspapers), for reasons we will explain in more detail below. In the prose fiction section there is a further subdivision between texts with first- and third-person narrators. This is paralleled in the (auto)biography section, where the biography texts are, of course, all third-person narratives and the autobiography texts are all first-person narratives. As news reports are normally only written in the third-person form, this further subdivision could not be made with respect to the newspaper data.

We decided to take our corpus extracts from genres which can be subsumed under the broad category of ‘narrative’. Novels and short stories, which had been our main area of study at the point we began to develop our corpus, clearly fall into this category, and we were interested in seeing how well a categorization system developed mainly to deal with fictional narrative coped with other comparable text types. Our working definition



of ‘narrative’ involves texts which relate a series of at least two time-sequenced and causally-related events involving one or more specific individuals (see Carroll 2001; Toolan 1988, 2001). The significance and pervasiveness of narrative across historical, cultural, and contextual boundaries is well recognized in a range of disciplines (e.g. van Peer and Chatman 2001). For our purposes, narrative texts are relevant because they include the presentation of participants’ words and thoughts as a central and almost inescapable element. In dealing with such a broad category from a corpus perspective, however, we needed to identify its main strata (Biber 1993), and decide which of these we would aim to include in our corpus alongside prose fiction.

First, we decided to restrict ourselves to written narratives, as opposed to oral or multimodal narratives. Second, we decided to restrict our focus both linguistically (by selecting texts written in British English) and temporally (by selecting texts published in the twentieth century, preferably towards the end of the century). This left a variety of possible written genres, out of which we chose newspaper news stories, and (auto)biographies.

### *Prose fiction*

In deciding what genres to include in the corpus, prose fiction was our natural starting point, and not just because the linguistic analysis of literary texts was (and still is) our main area of expertise. The study of discourse presentation has traditionally focused on fictional prose (e.g. Banfield 1982; Fludernik 1993; Pascal 1977), and this of course applies particularly to Leech and Short (1981), whose model we aimed to test. One of our objectives, therefore, was to continue the exploration of patterns of speech and thought presentation in prose fiction by using a corpus methodology. We were interested in seeing how well the Leech and Short model worked when applied exhaustively to lengthy fictional extracts, and to investigate the relative frequencies of different presentational categories within the genre that the model was originally designed to account for. Another major objective, however, was to contribute to the development of a more general model of speech, writing and thought presentation (SW&TP) – i.e. one that was not restricted to fictional texts – and to carry out comparative analyses across different genres.

### *News report*

The language of the press was an almost obligatory choice for us, given its cultural prominence, its wide circulation, its non-fictional status, and the fact that it includes texts (i.e. news reports) which are primarily narrative in nature. More specifically, we opted for what is commonly referred to as ‘hard news’, which Bell defines as the ‘staple product’ of newswriters:

'reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries and other events which have occurred or come to light since the previous issue of their paper or programme' (Bell 1991: 12). Hence we avoided 'soft news' items (e.g. feature articles), which are less time-bound and less narrative in function (Bell 1991: 12). In selecting part of our data from news reports, we also aimed to build on existing work on speech presentation in the press (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Short 1988, 1994; Waugh 1995). In fact, our original 'pilot' corpus, which was constructed in 1994, only included prose fiction and newspaper news reports. This smaller corpus provided the basis for the earliest publications produced by our team (Semino *et al.* 1997; Short *et al.* 1996; see also Allen 1994; Guadagnin 1994).

### *(Auto)biography*

When extra funding gave us the opportunity to add a third genre to our corpus, we opted for an even mix of biographies and autobiographies, for a number of reasons. Apart from their essentially narrative nature and their high sales (in Britain, at least), biographies and autobiographies offer an interesting mix of similarities and differences compared with the two genres already selected. Like news reports, they constitute a non-fictional, prototypically non-literary genre (though they can, in some cases, acquire near-literary status). However, their function is both informative (as is prototypically the case with news reports) and aesthetic/entertaining (as is prototypically the case with fictional prose). This meant that they were likely to contain more dialogue than, for example, history books, and that they would share some of the narrative techniques that are typically associated with fiction. We also felt that autobiographies in particular represented the most likely non-fictional genre to contain substantial amounts of thought presentation, given that authors can present their own past thoughts. In the event, we later found that thought presentation was present in all the three main sections of our corpus, as we will explain in more detail in Chapter 6.

### *'Popular' vs 'serious' texts*

As mentioned earlier, each of the three main sections of the corpus was further divided into a 'popular' and a 'serious' sub-section. This particular decision has proved to be somewhat controversial among conference audiences and reviewers of our written papers, so it is worth considering it in a little detail. The objection that is usually made is that by making this distinction at all, we took for granted an opposition that is highly debatable and often based on prejudice. However, we did not automatically assume the validity of any normative distinctions between texts that are regarded as 'popular' and texts that are regarded as 'serious'.

Rather, we were faced with this opposition when trying to develop sampling criteria for our corpus. In Britain, the popular/serious opposition is particularly visible in the case of the press, where tabloid newspapers are generally perceived as popular, and broadsheets as serious. As far as fictional prose is concerned, we also felt that we could not ignore the well-established cultural distinction between popular fiction on the one hand and highbrow fiction on the other. Apart from anything else, this distinction has concrete manifestations, such as the design of front covers and the physical positioning of books in bookshops and libraries. As we shall see, this also applies to the (auto)biography genre, though perhaps in a less obvious way.

We therefore took the popular/serious opposition as part of the stratification of the target population of our corpus, since we felt that ignoring it could have resulted in a biased or unbalanced choice of texts. More importantly, we regarded the popular and serious sub-genres as cultural categories that our study would enable us to examine empirically (see also Biber 1990), especially by comparing the use and frequency of different categories of SW&TP across the popular/serious divide in our corpus. In particular, as it is sometimes claimed by critics that popular and serious fiction can be distinguished from one another in terms of differing proportions of particular 'linguistic ingredients' (e.g. Nash 1990; van Peer 1986; Radway 1984), we were interested to discover whether or not the popular/serious fiction sub-division in our corpus was marked in terms of differing distributions of our SW&TP categories. By deciding to include this distinction in our sampling criteria, however, we were faced with the problem of how to operationalize it, particularly considering that it is sometimes seen as a cline, rather than a hard and fast opposition (e.g. Nash 1990: 15). Given our objective of comparing patterns of SW&TP in texts that are generally regarded as popular vs serious, we decided to use, as far as possible, extracts from texts that constituted clear cases of popular or serious works, in order to give the contrast the best chances of revealing itself in terms of SW&TP. We will discuss our practical sampling criteria in more detail in the next section.

### ***2.1.1 Choosing our source texts***

When it came to selecting the source texts from which to extract our text samples, we began by considering any suitable material that was already available in electronic form. As far as prose fiction is concerned, approximately half the texts were derived from a combination of the *Oxford Text Archive* (OTA) and the *British National Corpus* (BNC). The rest were selected from novels that had been published relatively recently at the time when our corpus construction phase took place. In order to operationalize the distinction between popular and serious fiction, we relied on a set of explicit criteria:

- 1 The internal classifications of our electronic resources (in particular the OTA and the BNC for our popular and serious fiction texts).
- 2 The opinions of nine members of Lancaster University's *Stylistics Research Group*. These individuals were presented with a list of writers whose works were available in the OTA (which mainly archives serious fiction), and asked to decide, for each one, whether they regarded the author as a writer of 'serious' fiction or not. Texts by authors which six or more of the nine informants judged as writers of serious literature were selected.
- 3 The strategies used in publishing and marketing books, and in allocating them to different sections in libraries and bookshops.
- 4 The inclusion in shortlists for prestigious literary prizes (e.g. the Booker Prize) or, indeed, the winning of such prizes.

Criteria (1) and (2) applied to texts which we derived from existing electronic resources, while criteria (3) and (4) applied to texts which we chose from the wide array of recently published fiction. As we mentioned earlier, we also opted for an even balance between first- and third-person narratives in the prose fiction and (auto)biography sections of our corpus. In addition, the popular fiction texts were divided equally between their two main sub-genres: romantic fiction targeted primarily at a female audience, and action novels targeted primarily at a male audience (see Nash 1990). The serious sub-section of the prose fiction data includes works by authors such as Virginia Woolf, D. H. Lawrence and Salman Rushdie, while the popular sub-section includes works by authors such as Catherine Cookson, Rupert Thomson and Wilbur Smith (see Appendix 1 for the complete list of our sources).

The extracts for inclusion in the corpus were sampled fairly randomly from within each publication. We did not seek out particular SW&TP features or kinds of writing, though we did try to ensure that we did not take all our extracts from, say, the beginnings or the ends of novels and (auto)biographies. Our extracts were not exactly 2,000 words long because we decided to opt, wherever possible, for relatively coherent sub-wholes (e.g. whole chapters, sections within chapters or, at the very least, paragraph boundaries). This was in order to enable ourselves, and any users of our corpus, to see enough of the relevant context to understand the narrative. We also preferred to find such a break *after* rather than before the 2,000-word mark, but as close to it as possible. This is the reason why the overall size of the corpus is around 258,000 words, rather than the 240,000 word length that exact samples of 2,000 words would have produced.

All the press data were collected from articles published in British national daily newspapers. Distinguishing between popular and serious publications was easier than with prose fiction, but, in any case, to match our selection policy for prose fiction, we only used newspapers that we

regarded as central members of the broadsheet or tabloid categories (e.g. the *Guardian* on the one hand and the *Sun* on the other; see Appendix 1 for the complete list). The excerpted issues appeared on two 2-day periods in 1994 (for our original pilot corpus) and two 2-day periods in 1996 (added to produce our larger corpus): 4–5 December 1994, 11–12 December 1994, 28–29 April 1996 and 12–13 May 1996. This enabled us to achieve a coherent set of data, and also to overcome the practical problem that individual news stories are usually much shorter than 2,000 words (the length we were aiming at for each text sample). For each of the sampling periods, we selected prominent stories that were covered in at least three different newspapers. We then extracted from each individual newspaper a set of reports of these stories that, together, reached a total word count of approximately 2,000 words (again, we erred on the side of going slightly over 2,000 words rather than under). This means that, as far as the newspaper data are concerned, what counts as one text sample within the corpus corresponds to all the material that was excerpted from a particular issue of a newspaper. One advantage of this particular decision is that it is possible to compare the treatment of the same news story across different newspapers, as we will do for one particular story in 8.3.

As with prose fiction, part of the (auto)biography data was obtained from the BNC, while the rest were selected from recently published books at the time of corpus construction. The autobiography and biography sub-sections are equal in size (20 text samples each), and each of these sub-sections is divided equally between serious and popular texts. The serious/popular distinction was perhaps less clear-cut here than for the other two genres, and we decided to rely primarily on the identity and status of the protagonist. Hence books on the lives of politicians, serious writers (as defined above) and artists were considered serious, while the (auto)biographies of TV stars and sportspeople were considered popular. With biographies, we also paid attention to the identity and status of the authors, so that we tended to include in the serious sub-section works by well-known journalists, critics or historians. As with the prose fiction data, the marketing strategies (e.g. cover design) of the publishers of the books also helped clarify the distinction. The serious sub-section includes books on the lives of Vincent van Gogh, T. S. Eliot and Winston Churchill, while the popular sub-section includes books on Kylie Minogue, Brian Lara and Diana, Princess of Wales (see Appendix 1 for the complete list). When excerpting samples from the books, the same technique was used as we described for the fiction data above.

### ***2.1.2 Overall size, sample size and representativeness***

In a way, the fact that ours is the only electronic corpus systematically tagged for SW&TP (as far as we know) puts us in a rather privileged position: minimally, we can claim that the availability of our corpus, whatever

its limitations, is a great deal better than having nothing at all. More seriously, though, there are other reasons why we feel reasonably confident about the findings we describe in this book.

In terms of overall size, general purpose corpora like the British National Corpus and the Bank of English are, of course, vast in comparison to our own corpus. Our main motivation for aiming for about a quarter of a million words was the investment of time needed for manually annotating the corpus. Hand-annotation of even such a small corpus is extremely time consuming. In any case, specialized corpora do not necessarily have to be very large: Sampson's influential SUSANNE corpus (1995), which is hand-annotated for grammatical structure, is only half the size of our corpus. In addition, Biber (1990) found that 120-text sub-corpora tend to reflect the characteristics of much larger corpora, so long as they contain the whole range of genre variation. He also found that 10-text sub-samples from a particular genre accurately reproduce the characteristics of much larger samples from that genre in general terms.

All this is encouraging in terms of the representativeness of our corpus as far as the three genres we have selected are concerned: the whole corpus contains 120 text samples; each genre category is represented by 40 texts; and even the popular/serious sub-sections within each genre are twice the size of Biber's 10-text sub-samples. There are, however, more specific differences among the three different genres. The serious prose fiction texts, in particular, constitute a less coherent and 'safe' set of data than other sections of the corpus. This is in part because of the fact that prestigious writers tend to have highly individualized styles (by way of contrast, authors writing for some popular fiction series have to conform to series-based composition rules), but also because, in order to arrive at a sample that included fairly uncontroversially serious works as well as some more recent fiction, we included texts that were published over the whole of the twentieth century (from 1909 to 1995), even though the majority appeared after 1950. Clearly, the wider the time span, the more difficult it is to achieve representativeness. The (auto)biography data, on the other hand, span a shorter time period (from 1976 to 1995) and can therefore be regarded as more representative of (auto)biography writing in that particular period, particularly considering that the majority of our sources were published after 1980. With popular fiction, the relevant time span is even shorter, from 1982 to 1992. In terms of representativeness of (a particular time span of) the genre, the newspaper section is in the strongest position of all, given the much tighter sampling period that we used. It can therefore be fairly confidently regarded as representative of news reporting in the British press in the 1990s.

As far as sample size is concerned, Biber (1990) found that relatively frequent linguistic features (e.g. nouns, first-person pronouns and contractions) are quite stable across 1,000-word samples from the same text. He therefore suggests that 'it seems safe to conclude that the 2,000 word

and 5,000 word texts in the standard corpora are reliable representatives of their respective text categories for analyses of this type' (Biber 1990: 261). Although our sample size is twice the 'minimum' size suggested by Biber, the phenomena we focus on are generally less frequent than the linguistic features considered in Biber's study. As a consequence, the strength with which we will be able to make statements about particular presentational categories varies considerably. Some of our categories have very large numbers of examples. In the case of DS, for example there are 2,047 occurrences in our corpus (an average of 17 occurrences per text sample), so that representativeness would not seem to be an issue with this category. Conversely, some other category types still have very small numbers in our 258,000-word corpus. Direct Writing (DW), the written equivalent of DS, for example, only occurs 109 times in the whole corpus, 60 instances of which occur in the serious biography section, followed by 16 in the popular biography section. So, although this tells us something reasonably reliable about the incidence of DW in relation to DS overall, and about the incidence of DW in (serious) biography vs the other text-types, the DW figures for the other text-types are too small to be reliable. Although our choice of statistical significance tests takes account of the varying size of our samples, in the following chapters we will therefore be rather discriminating in discussing the reliability of the quantitative findings from our corpus.

## 2.2 The annotation system

The corpus annotation for other types of linguistic phenomena is usually conducted automatically (see Biber *et al.* 1998; Garside *et al.* 1987; McEnery and Wilson 1996). However, it was not possible to tag our corpus automatically, because, at this early stage of the development of the system of classification, it was necessary for human analysts to test and refine the categories and to develop guidelines for annotation.

Hence the annotation or 'tagging' of our corpus was, of necessity, rather different from standard practice in corpus linguistics, in terms of both product and process. We were aiming to capture a complex and relatively 'high-level' discoursal phenomenon, the analysis of which involves a considerable amount of contextual and pragmatic inferencing on the part of the analyst, whereas automatic corpus annotation mainly focuses on grammatical, and, to a smaller extent, semantic phenomena that are more amenable to automatic analysis at its current level of sophistication. In any case, there was no established, complete and agreed set of analytical categories for SW&TP which we could use for the purposes of annotation. Effectively, therefore, we had to develop our annotation system from scratch, as well as applying it manually to our corpus.

The first round of tagging was done by one person (Martin Wynne for the most part), and the tagged data were then checked, cross-checked and

discussed by the whole team (which always included the present authors), and finally changed in the light of discussions at tagging meetings. The annotation of each text extract was checked by two and sometimes three people in addition to the original tagger. All this was inevitably very time consuming. That said, we would certainly not want to claim exhaustive accuracy for our SW&TP annotations. It is very easy for human beings to make mistakes or overlook something, and, given the amount of contextual and pragmatic inferencing involved, it will be possible for other analysts to construe analytical possibilities that we could not. Through the process of tagging the corpus, we developed new categories and sub-categories (see Chapter 3), and refined and expanded our understanding of the distribution and function of existing categories. We would be happy to make our corpus (which we have in both tagged and untagged forms) available to researchers interested in developing automatic software for SW&TP analysis, as well as those interested in SW&TP more generally. Our hand-annotated corpus could constitute a useful initial ‘training corpus’ for those interested in devising automatic SW&TP taggers.

As indicated above, many of the SW&TP categories are identified in particular textual environments on the basis of rather sophisticated contextual and pragmatic inferences, involving a complex understanding of the relevant text world. For example, a passage of free indirect speech (FIS) will often be identified by the fact that the reader perceives the ‘voice’ and viewpoint of a character intermingling with those of the narrator. This perception may be triggered by contextual factors such as the reader’s knowledge about the opinions and intentions of the character, or his/her individual speech style. This is why it would be difficult to implement automatic routines to encode and use all of this information. Dodgson (1995) reports on an attempt to tag DS automatically in a subset of our pilot corpus. The program was successful in that it captured all examples of DS and avoided phenomena like ‘scare quotes’, although some examples of free direct speech (FDS) were also tagged as DS (but this is not a serious problem for us, given that, as we will explain in more detail in later chapters, we regard FDS as a sub-type of DS, rather than as a category in its own right). However, DS is the easiest speech presentation category to isolate automatically, as a consequence of the fact that there are fairly clear formal linguistic characteristics associated with it. Where contextual and pragmatic factors are more crucial in the process of category identification, progress is much more problematic. It remains to be seen whether less ‘psychologically real’ measures, such as probabilistic procedures, can be of any use in this area.

### *2.2.1 Text markup and the SW&TP tagset*

In formatting our data, we adopted a small set of SGML-conformant markup conventions, which are detailed below:



- ‘div1’ was used for text divisions, i.e. fiction (types: serious, popular), newspapers (types: broadsheet, tabloid), and (auto)biography (types: serious, popular);
- ‘div2’ was used for boundaries between the 2,000-word (approximately) text samples;
- ‘div3’ was used in the newspapers section for boundaries between the articles included within the same sample;
- ‘header’ was used for bibliographical information and for introducing the list of speakers in each text sample (the latter only for the fiction and (auto)biography sections; see below for more explanation);
- ‘head’ was used for text headings (e.g. newspaper headlines or chapter headings);
- ‘pb’ was used for page breaks;
- ‘p’ was used for paragraph breaks;
- ‘note’ was used for notes providing additional information about particular SW&TP tagging decisions, so that we could remember the motivations for specific difficult or interesting tags;
- ‘sptag’ was used for the speech, writing and thought presentation categories, and additional information relating to these.

As an example, we reproduce the header and headline of a news report from which we quote more extensively below, and in subsequent chapters:

```
(1) <div3 type=article>
    <header>
    Name: Independent on Sunday
    Date: 4/12/94
    Author: Cal McCrystal
    </header>
    <pb n=9>
    <head type=main>
    <sptag cat=NRSA next=N s=0.37 w=3>
    Bare ladies' protest
    <sptag cat=N s=0.63 w=5>
    puts end to Crinkley Bottom
    </head>
    <p>
```

Here, <div3> signals the beginning of a news report within a text sample; the <header> tag introduces some information about the particular news report (the newspaper it was extracted from, the date of publication, and the name of the author); the <pb> tag gives the number of the page from the newspaper in which the article appeared; the <head> tag introduces the news report headline (a main headline only in this case); the

<p> tag signals a paragraph boundary; and the <sptag> tags (see below) introduce information about our SW&TP categories.

The <sptag> tags, which were placed immediately before the stretch of text to which the annotation referred, themselves comprise, for any particular text portion, the following four attributes, in order:

- 1 The SW&TP category of the current stretch of text ('cat')
- 2 The SW&TP category of the immediately following stretch of text ('next')
- 3 The proportion of words in the sentence(s) that this word-count represents ('s')
- 4 The number of words involved in the annotated text-part ('w').

In addition to the above four attributes, two more attributes ('who' and 'whonext') were added in the annotation of the fictional and (auto)biographical texts to help us to track the characters involved. We used letters to identify particular characters, and the letter-character relationships were recorded in the header for each relevant text. This information was not introduced in the newspaper data due to practical difficulties, and will not be exploited in any detail in subsequent chapters (see also Leech *et al.* 1997; Wynne *et al.* 1998).

Below is a relatively straightforward example of annotated text from a popular thriller, Rupert Thomson's *The Five Gates of Hell*:

(2) <sptag cat=FDS who=K next=FDS whonext=J s=1 w=6>  
 'Where've you got in mind, sir?'  
 (Rupert Thomson, *The Five Gates of Hell*, p. 123)

SW&TP tags are bounded by angle brackets and placed on a separate line for ease of reading. Here, the value of the 'cat' attribute is FDS (i.e. the currently annotated stretch of text is in free direct speech), the value of the 'who' attribute is K (i.e. the speaker of the currently annotated stretch of text is the character Jed), the value of the 'next' attribute is FDS (i.e. the stretch of text immediately following the currently annotated stretch is another instance of free direct speech), the value of the 'whonext' attribute is J (i.e. the speaker of the stretch of text immediately following the currently annotated stretch is the character Creed), the value of the 's' attribute is 1 (i.e. the currently annotated stretch of text is one sentence long) and the value of the 'w' attribute is 6 (i.e. the currently annotated stretch of text is six words long).<sup>3</sup>

The 'next' attribute facilitates the extraction of information about the co-occurrence of SW&TP categories. The word counts facilitate the extraction of overall word counts for each category. To date, we have found the most useful attributes to be the current 'cat' and word-count attributes. Although in technical terms the tag is the complete array of attributes we have specified above, in this book we are primarily interested in the 'cat'

attribute. Hence, for simplicity's sake, from now on in this book we will refer to this attribute as the 'tag' or 'SW&TP tag'.

Our tagset initially consisted of Leech and Short's (1981) categories for speech and thought presentation. To these we added a parallel set of categories for writing presentation, in order to distinguish between the presentation of spoken and written originals. We also decided that reporting clauses should be tagged separately in order to facilitate their analysis and the study of the categories they 'introduce'. Otherwise, word counts for IS and DS, for example, would include not just the words of the relevant indirect and direct strings in the reported clauses, but also the words involved in the reporting clauses. We therefore adopted the tag NRS ('Narrator's Report of Speech') for reporting clauses of speech, and parallel tags for writing (NRW) and thought (NRT). This label also helped us to cope with 'NRS phenomena' which were not reporting clauses grammatically (e.g. prepositional phrases of the form 'according to X'). We will return to this issue in more detail in 2.2.3 below. The resulting basic speech presentation tagset is given below (see Appendix 2 for a complete alphabetical list of the tags we employed). Two points need to be noted. First, on the speech presentation scale we introduced a new category NV (see 3.1.1 for further discussion), which is matched by NW (see 3.1.3) and NI (see 3.1.2) on the writing and thought presentation scales respectively. Second, we have put NRS, NRW and NRT in brackets in the lists below because, although they introduce discourse presentation, the 'reporting clause phenomena' which they are used to annotate are not really categories on the various discourse presentation scales (see 2.2.3 for further discussion):

(NRS = Narrator's Report of Speech [= reporting clause of speech, or non-clausal equivalent])

NV = Narrator's Representation of Voice

NRSA = Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts

IS = Indirect Speech

FIS = Free Indirect Speech

DS = Direct Speech

FDS = Free Direct Speech

(NRT = Narrator's Report of Thought [= reporting clause of thought, or non-clausal equivalent])

NI = Internal Narration

NRTA = Narrator's Representation of Thought Acts

IT = Indirect Thought

FIT = Free Indirect Thought

DT = Direct Thought

FDT = Free Direct Thought

(NRW = Narrator's Report of Writing [= reporting clause of writing, or non-clausal equivalent])

NW = Narrator's Representation of Writing  
 NRWA = Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts  
 IW = Indirect Writing  
 FIW = Free Indirect Writing  
 DW = Direct Writing  
 FDW = Free Direct Writing

It is now time to discuss a more complex annotated example in greater detail. In order to enable our readers to understand the extract quoted in (3) below, we will provide some context to the newspaper report it comes from. The article, which was referred to in the header discussed in (1) above, is to do with an issue local to Lancaster (where we both live) but which attracted the attention of the British national press. Morecambe is a seaside resort which is part of the area that Lancaster City Council is responsible for in terms of local government. Originally there was a small village next to Morecambe, called Bare, but Bare is now effectively a part of Morecambe. Locals often refer to Bare as 'the Bare end' of Morecambe, and, not surprisingly, the word 'Bare' is often used humorously (as in the headline quoted in (1) above). Lancaster Council had made an arrangement with Noel Edmonds, a well-known media personality, to turn a park at the Bare end of Morecambe into the 'home' (called Crinkley Bottom!) of a cartoon-like character invented by Mr Edmonds, called Mr Blobby. Local residents were enraged by the scheme, which subsequently turned out to be a promotional, financial and legal disaster, costing the council more than £1 million in legal and other fees, and becoming known locally as 'Blobbygate'.

The following tagged extract comes from the middle of the article, where different reactions to the closure of the theme park are reported:

- (3) <sptag cat=NRS next=DS s=0.37 w=7>  
 The theme park's manager, Mike Slattery said:  
 <sptag cat=DS next=NRS s=1.63 w=18>  
 'By closing Crinkley Bottom, the council has shot Morecambe in the foot. And I'm out of a job.'  
 <sptag cat=NRS next=DS s=0.44 w=11>  
 A woman walking her Yorkshire terrier along the empty paths said:  
 <sptag cat=DS next=NRS s=1.56 w=14>  
 'I'm very sad. This place would have brought a lot of people to Morecambe.'  
 <sptag cat=NRW next=DW s=0.25 w=4>  
 The town's newspaper said:  
 <sptag cat=DW next=N s=0.75 w=12>  
 'Imagine how we look now. Morecambe should hang its head in shame.'  
 <p>

<sptag cat=N next=NRS s=1 w=16>

Last week's council vote left Mr Edmonds's Unique Company with one prospering theme park (in Somerset).

(‘Bare ladies’ protest puts end to Crinkley Bottom’,  
*Independent on Sunday*, 4 December 1994)

The value of the first attribute in the first tag above, ‘cat=NRS’, indicates that the currently annotated stretch of text (‘The theme park’s manager, Mike Slattery said:’) introduces an instance of speech presentation (i.e. the DS of the subsequent annotated stretch of text). The value of the second attribute ‘next=DS’ indicates that the NRS is followed by an instance of DS. The value of the third attribute ‘s=0.37’ indicates that the currently annotated stretch of text represents 37 per cent of a complete sentence (when a particular SW&TP tag relates to a stretch of text with more than one sentence, therefore, the number following ‘s=’ is greater than 1, as in the case with the second instance of DS above, where s=1.56.) The value of the last attribute in the annotation for ‘The theme park’s manager, Mike Slattery said’, ‘w=7’, indicates that the relevant stretch of text includes seven words (orthographically defined).

Where there was no speech, thought or writing presentation, we tagged the relevant stretches of text as ‘N’ for ‘Narration’, as is the case with the last sentence in the example above. This means that the whole of our data received a tag, and as a result we were able to signal the end of one category with the beginning of another.<sup>4</sup> A glance through the quotation above will show that it contains two instances of DS preceded by NRS structures, one instance of DW preceded by NRW, and an instance of narration.

The tagging was usually not as straightforward as in examples (2) and (3). Many stretches of text were ambiguous as far as SW&TP was concerned. This might be caused by, for example, deliberate stylistic ambiguity where a novelist blurs the distinction between the narrator’s and a character’s voice; the fact that a particular example is on the borderline between two of our categories; or other reasons, which we will consider in detail in 7.4. We decided that it was important to tag ambiguities as such, rather than forcing them into one category or another. This decision effectively took account of one of Fludernik’s objections to the adoption of corpus-based approaches to discourse presentation, namely that ambiguities would be ignored (Fludernik 1993: 9). We dealt with ambiguities by means of ‘portmanteau’ tags, which enabled us to indicate all the possible categories into which a particular stretch of text might fall. Let us consider an example taken from J. G. Ballard’s novel *Empire of the Sun*. Jim, the protagonist of the novel, is a young English boy living in a Japanese camp for prisoners of war in the Second World War. At this point in the novel, he is involved in the dangerous practice of trying to stay hidden

from the Japanese guards while inspecting a trap he has set in the hope of catching a bird to eat (nb: bold typeface is used here, and throughout the book, to highlight the relevant stretch of text; where the whole of an extract exemplifies a particular category, we embolden the whole quotation, for the sake of consistency):

- (4) <sptag cat=N next=N-FIT whonext=B s=1 w=10>

Jim watched them through the netting of the pheasant trap.

<sptag cat=N-FIT who=B next=NI whonext=B s=1 w=16>

**Only the previous day they had shot a Chinese coolie trying to steal into the camp.**

(J. G. Ballard, *Empire of the Sun*, p. 163)

The first sentence in this example is clearly narration, from Jim's viewpoint. The second (emboldened) sentence could be read as more narration (N), or as the free indirect thought (FIT) presentation of a memory that went through Jim's mind at that point. The portmanteau tag 'N-FIT' signals that both the N and FIT readings are possible.<sup>5</sup> As a matter of principle, we tagged for what we took to be *conceivable* ambiguities. Hence we included in our portmanteau tags category interpretations which we thought were possible but rather unlikely, as long as we felt that some careful reader might arrive at that categorization as part of his or her understanding.

### 2.2.2 *Embedded SW&TP*

During our annotation of the corpus, we came across a range of phenomena where one form of SW&TP was embedded inside another. As far as we are aware, others have not pointed to the fact that discourse presentation can itself contain discourse presentation, or that, although the discursal embeddings often coincide with clausal grammatical embeddings, they do not have to. Let us consider the two examples below:

- (5) The girl mounted the steps to stand beside the master of ceremonies and they carried on a conversation which, though audible, was unintelligible.

'They're speaking in Cornish,' Zelah said. **'He's asking her if she has brought the need-fire and she tells him that she has. He says: "Was this flame kindled at the altar of the Lord?" and she answers: "This flame was kindled at the holy fire."** Actually she lights her torch at one of the candles in the church and somebody runs her up here in a car while she holds the torch out of the window. Of course, that's not how it's supposed to be done.'

(W. J. Burley, *Wycliffe and the Scapegoat*, p. 30)

- (6) One rebel Christopher Gill, MP for Ludlow, said: ‘I am reconciled to the fact that we will only regain the whip **when the management offer to take us all back**. It is all or nothing. We will not be picked off separately.’

(‘Tory MPs want rebels instated’, *Independent on Sunday*,  
4 December 1994)

In the second paragraph of example (5), DS is used to present the words used by a character called Zelah (who is a historian) to explain to other characters the significance of a traditional ceremony they are watching. This involves translating a piece of dialogue from Cornish into English. The emboldened part of the DS stretch therefore includes two stretches of IS and two stretches of DS, which are discursively embedded inside the main DS. In (6), the hypothetical (in this case predicted future) presentation of the management’s offer is embedded inside a DS presentation of what the MP said (see 3.2.4 and 7.2 for detailed discussions of hypothetical SW&TP). The kind of *discourse* embedding we are observing here, then, occurs when a character or participant within a narrative is presented as reporting words or thoughts produced by others (or by themselves) in a separate speech, thought or writing event.

We adopted the prefix ‘e’ (for ‘embedded’) in order to mark out cases of discursive embedding, and, where relevant, we placed the ‘e’ at the beginning of the category value in our <cat> field. Thus, the quotation ‘Was this flame kindled at the altar of the Lord?’ in (5) was tagged as eDS, while the emboldened part of (6) was tagged as eNRS for the first of the two emboldened clauses followed by eIS for the second. We also added an additional attribute to the <sptag> element for embedded SW&TP to indicate the relevant *level* of discursive embedding (in both the examples above we only have one level of embedding, so the relevant attribute reads ‘level=1’). In addition, all instances of embedded SW&TP were indented in our electronic files in order to make the annotated corpus easier to read. It was also necessary to use end-tags for embedded discourse presentation (e.g. <sptag level=1>), given that the end of one embedded category does not necessarily correspond to the beginning of another category (see Wynne *et al.* 1998: 241). To show these details, the tagged version of example (6) is reproduced as example (7) below:

- (7) <sptag cat=NRS next=DS s=0.25 w=8>  
 One rebel Christopher Gill, MP for Ludlow, said:  
 <sptag cat=DS next=NRS s=2.75 w=36>  
 ‘I am reconciled to the fact that we will only regain the whip  
     <sptag cat=eNRS level=1 next=eIS s=0.18 w=4>  
     when the management offer  
     <sptag cat=eIS level=1 s=0.23 w=5>

to take us all back.

</sptag level=1>

It is all or nothing. We will not be picked off separately.'

In this example, the discoursal embedding, the reporting clause (eNRS) and the reported clause (eIS), coincides with clausal syntactic embedding. The eNRS begins an adverbial clause embedded within the main clause and the eIS reported clause is then subordinated to the reporting clause in the classic indirect speech way. However, discourse presentations which are more minimal than eIS do not necessarily involve clausal embedding, as can be seen in example (8). Here, the captain of a ship has just been asked whether an occasion when an American destroyer hit a Russian submarine caused an international incident:

(8) <sptag cat=FDS who=K next=N s=4 w=28>

'Certainly not. Nobody's fault.

<sptag cat=eNRSA level=1 who=O+P s=0.31 w=6>

**Mutual apologies between the two captains**

</sptag level=1>

and the Russian was towed to a safe port by another Russian warship. Vladivostok, I believe it was.'

(Alastair Maclean, *Santorini*, p. 12)

Here, embedded within the speaker's DS we have a noun phrase acting as a narrator's representation of a speech act (NRSA), where the head of that noun phrase is a noun referring to a kind of speech act, and so no clausal embedding is involved (see also our discussion of embedded SW&TP in 7.3).

Discourse embedding, like syntactic embedding, can in theory recur to infinity, and the tagging format we have adopted potentially allows an indefinite number of levels of embedding of any discourse category within any other. However, in our written corpus the deepest embedding involves just three levels, and there are only five examples of this. This is presumably because, as with syntactic embedding, language processing limitations constrain the theoretically infinite to fairly small numbers of layers. Shallower embedding (again as with syntactic embedding), on the other hand, is not at all uncommon. More than 12 per cent of the SW&TP tags in our corpus are embedded. We will provide more detail on the distribution of embedded SW&TP in 7.3.

### 2.2.3 Reporting clauses and other reporting signals

In 2.2.1, in discussing our basic SW&TP tagset, we pointed out that we tagged reporting clauses and similar phenomena as Narrator's Report of Speech (NRS), Narrator's Report of Writing (NRW) or Narrator's Report of Thought (NRT),<sup>6</sup> so as to be able to distinguish them, for example,



from direct and indirect strings when doing word counts. In Chapter 3 we will discuss the three scales in more detail, and discuss the tags we used to identify the categories we distinguished on each of them. Before we do that, however, it will be helpful if we discuss separately how we annotated reporting clauses and other, non-clausal, reporting signals by means of the NRS, NRW and NRT tags. We discuss them in this chapter as, for our purposes, they do not constitute part of the SW&TP scales themselves, but are effectively parts of the narration which ‘introduce’ adjacent discourse presentation categories.

Traditionally, a whole sentence, reporting clause plus reported clause (e.g. ‘He said that he was ill’; ‘He said: “I am ill”’), has been referred to as IS, DS or whatever. Strictly speaking, however, the reported clause is the IS or DS string, while the reporting clause is the reporter’s link between that report and the discourse in which the report is embedded. This was the main reason for tagging each reporting clause as NRS, NRW or NRT. Hence, in example (9) we tagged the emboldened portion as NRS and the underlined portion as IS:

- (9) **A Scotland Yard spokesman said** officers were investigating the matter [...].

(‘Minister ‘touched women’ at exorcism’, *Guardian*,  
5 December 1994)

The reporting clause in this example is a prototypical case. It is a finite clause, it precedes the reported clause, and it contains the most prototypical reporting verb, ‘say’. Most examples referred to in the discourse presentation literature are of this kind. Different terms have been used to refer to these clauses, including ‘projecting clauses’ (Halliday 1994), ‘*inquit* clauses’, and ‘framing clauses’ (see Toolan 2001: 120). A number of studies have also investigated the range of verbs that can act as reporting verbs, particularly in relation to speech presentation (e.g. Banfield 1982; Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Halliday 1994; Oostdijk 1990). We will discuss reporting verbs separately for speech vs writing vs thought presentation in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, where we will also consider the different positions in which reporting clauses tend to occur.

Here we want to concentrate on the variation in the kind of structures that we eventually coded as NRS, NRW or NRT. We will focus particularly on speech presentation, given that NRSs are more frequent and more varied than their counterparts for writing and thought presentation. Not surprisingly, reporting clauses can vary in their grammatical structure:

- (10) After one consultation Fergie was bursting with excitement **when she was told** Prince Charles was to die.

(‘Fergie gave up happy pills so she’d enjoy making love’,  
*News of the World*, 28 April 1996)

- (11) **Asked** how they would vote tomorrow, only 29 per cent of all those quizzed backed the Tories, with Labour on 54 and Lib-Dems 13.  
(‘58% vote to keep £’, *Sun*, 29 April 1996)

Both examples involve reporting clauses (in bold) introducing IS (underlined). In (10), however, the reporting clause is a passive structure. In (11), the reporting clause is non-finite (as well as passive): it consists of a single past-participle verb (‘Asked’).

Examples such as (10) and (11) did not pose any problems as far as annotation was concerned. However, we soon discovered that we also needed the NRS, NRW and NRT tags to account for situations when no reporting clause was used but ‘discourse introduction’ was still involved – that is, where non-clausal structures were used to do the job of ‘introducing’ a reported clause. Consider the examples below:

- (12) There have also been indications of increased loyalist paramilitary activity, adding weight to **calls by IRA hardliners** to abandon the ‘unarmed strategy’.

(‘IRA “primed” for return to violence’, *Daily Telegraph*, 13 May 1996)

- (13) **According to one source** six Russian armoured vehicles were left ablaze in Ingushetia.

(‘Russian forces steamroll into breakaway republic’, *Guardian*, 12 December 1994)

In (12), a noun phrase ‘calls by IRA hardliners’ is used to introduce a (non-finite) IS clause. In (13), a phrase introduced by what can perhaps best be regarded as a complex preposition (‘according to’) prefaces a stretch of what we coded as IS-FIS (see 7.4 for our rationale). The use of ‘according to’ to introduce views that have been verbally expressed is, of course, quite common, especially in formal writing.

Given that the underlined portions of (12) and (13) have the same textual function as reporting clauses, we decided that the NRS tag should apply. This is consistent with other studies that have commented on this phenomenon. Halliday would regard ‘calls’ for example, as belonging to the category of ‘nouns that project’ (Halliday 1994: 263), i.e. introduce an embedded reported clause. Thompson (1996) is the only study where the issue we are currently discussing is exhaustively explored (unfortunately, Thompson’s study was not published until after we had coded most of our corpus). Thompson makes the following observation:

The ways in which the reporter can signal that the hearer or reader is to understand a stretch of language as a report are far more varied than simply the traditional reporting clause.

(Thompson 1996: 518)

He therefore introduces the term ‘signal’ to include, beside reporting clauses, ‘reporting adjuncts’, ‘reporting nouns’, ‘reporting adjectives’ and ‘reporting verbs’ (see Thompson 1996: 524).

As far as our annotation is concerned, we redefined the scope of the NRS, NRT and NRW tags to include any linguistic structures used to introduce a stretch of speech, thought or writing presentation, as long as:

- a The ‘reporting device’ (NRS, NRT or NRW) and the reported clause belonged to the same sentence
- b The ‘reporting device’ (NRS, NRT or NRW) contained an expression that, in context, primarily referred to speech, thought or writing (see 4.2.3 and 5.2.5 for ‘reception’ verbs and 6.2.3 for metaphorical references to thought presentation)
- c If the ‘reported’ stretch was not an instance of a (free) direct form of SW&TP, it consisted of at least one clause (whether finite or non-finite).

Condition (c) enables us to distinguish examples such as (12) from examples such as the following:

- (14) **Last night, in the wake of the killings, there were more calls for tighter nationwide gun laws.**

(‘Lilley presses Major to allow rebels back’, *Independent*,  
5 December 1994)

The use of ‘calls’ in this example would count as a ‘signal’ according to Thompson’s (1996) definition. However, it does not count as NRS for us because it does not introduce a separate reported clause, but rather functions as the head of a noun phrase which is used to refer to multiple utterances from multiple sources (‘calls for tighter nationwide gun laws’). This contrasts with (12), where ‘calls’ is used to introduce a reported clause, and was therefore coded as NRS. As we will explain in more detail in 3.2.1 and 4.2.2, examples such as (14) were tagged as NRSA, while examples such as (12) were tagged as NRS followed by IS.

Conditions (a) and (b) enabled us to draw a line between NRS, NRT and NRW on the one hand and other ways in which narrators/reporters can signal the source of a stretch of SW&TP:

- (15) **Talbot pressed the reply button.** ‘The skies above us, Chief, are hotching with odd-looking customers. [...]’

(Alistair MacLean, *Santorini*, p. 7)

- (16) Bunty holds up the dress against herself, in a sitting-position, like an invalid. **She turns to me**, ‘What do you think?’

(Kate Atkinson, *Behind the Scenes at the Museum*, p. 279)

In a general sense, in both examples (14) and (15) the clauses in bold can be seen as introducing stretches of (F)DS, and in this sense they are NRS-like. But in example (15), ‘pressed the reply button’ could at best be seen as a borderline case of an expression relating to speech (a necessary condition for our NRS tag), since we are dealing with radio communication from a ship. In any case, the sentence boundary separating it from the following quotation rules out the possibility of applying the NRS tag. In example (16), there is no such sentence boundary. However, the relevant verb (‘turns’) does not refer to speech but to an action that can be associated with a kind of kinetic behaviour common just before someone begins to speak. Nash (1990: 31) refers to clauses of this kind as ‘turn-overs’. Their function, he says, is to signal that a different character in a fictional conversation is about to take a turn. This is normally achieved by referring to small actions such as laughing, grinning or looking up.

In both examples (15) and (16) we tagged the emboldened stretches as ‘N’ for ‘Narration’ but inserted in our electronic corpus a note reading ‘functions as NRS’, in order to indicate that these clauses draw attention to a character in such a way that readers will easily attribute the following instance of speech presentation to them. The use of this particular note also enables us to concordance similar cases. However, we did not wish to include this kind of example within the scope of the NRS tag simply because the applicability of the tag would have become so broad as to be unmanageable.

## 2.3 Concluding remarks

The corpus we have developed was constructed with a very specific set of research purposes in mind, and is much smaller than the multi-million word corpora generally available for lexical and grammatical research. The main reason for this was that our corpus annotation could not be achieved by automatic means. Even programs to tag DS were not as reliable as the annotations currently achieved by grammatical taggers, and the need to take contextual and pragmatic factors into account for the annotation of other speech, writing and thought presentation categories (and especially the free indirect categories) meant that manual tagging was the only possibility.

Humans make mistakes, of course, and so although we have striven to make the annotations in our corpus as reliable as possible (the tagging of each text in the corpus was checked and discussed by at least two people in addition to the original tagger), there are bound to be errors and alternative analyses. Once contextual and pragmatic interpretative factors are involved, other analysts may well be able to propose alternative descriptions. We are very aware that further alternative analyses are possible, and that to some degree the quantification we report in later

chapters might not be absolutely accurate. Similarly, we are aware that our corpus could usefully comprise more text types and more samples within each text-type. As a consequence of this, we put little weight on statistical differences that are not large. However, in spite of the inevitable shortcomings of our work, we feel that our annotated corpus is innovative and revealing in many ways, both theoretically and in relation to the text-types we have examined.

Having described the corpus and the annotation system we developed in some detail, it may be helpful for us to make some general remarks about our understanding of the relation between theorizing and corpus annotation. It is clear that the use of any annotation system must assume an initial theorization of the area of analysis to be undertaken, but the process of manual annotation itself leads to insights and changes in what is annotated, and how such annotations are arrived at. Then, in turn, the re-examination of the corpus data in the light of the completed annotation (which allows analysts to examine much more systematically the range of variation within and among categories) can lead to further changes in theorization (in this case, SW&TP theory). There are bound, therefore, to be changes to annotations and understanding as one goes along, and it should not be assumed automatically that the annotation system is an exact replication of the theory and system of description arrived at after the corpus has been analysed with the help of the annotations. Some examples from our own experience will help to illustrate these general remarks.

We introduced some categories and sub-categories during the process of annotation, in order to be able to collect instances of particular phenomena we had begun to notice, so that we could use WordSmith to help us examine them later. The new categories and sub-categories we will describe in Chapter 3 were introduced as the process of annotation took place, and therefore required the subsequent re-tagging of texts already tagged. Our use of the annotation system (and the theorization behind it) itself has led us to consider more carefully how SW&TP should be described, and in the final chapter of this book we will discuss a particular area where, if we were in the happy position of being able to start the process of annotation now, we would probably make different tagging decisions. Moreover, some annotations may be specifically introduced to test sub-parts of the overall theory. The fact that we made a tagging distinction between DS and FDS from the beginning was not because we believed that this category distinction was real, but rather because we were already suspicious of that distinction and wanted to examine it more closely.

In the next chapter we will present the new categories and sub-categories along the discourse presentation scales that we introduced in the course of tagging our corpus, and describe how our tagset was extended in order to accommodate them.

## Notes

- 1 We began in 1994 with a pilot corpus containing 20 fiction and 20 news-report samples. We increased the corpus to its present size (doubling the number of samples to 40 in each sub-section and adding a third section of 40 (auto)biographical extracts) in 1996. We are currently constructing and annotating a roughly equivalent corpus of spoken English, where much, but not all, of the speech involves narrative.
- 2 The inclusion of 40 extracts of approximately 2,000 words each from each of our three major genres should in theory give a corpus word count of 240,000 words. In 2.1.2, we explain why our total corpus size is higher than this.
- 3 We defined 'word' in orthographic terms, i.e. as a unit surrounded by spaces or punctuation. Therefore, we counted 'Where've' in example (2) as one word.
- 4 We do, however, also have a version of the corpus which includes end-tags, and which has been used for some of our word-count calculations.
- 5 The categories within each portmanteau tag are arranged in order of their position on the relevant cline, and do *not* indicate our preference for one 'arm' of the ambiguity over another.
- 6 Our use of the term 'report' rather than 'presentation' here is due to the fact that we wish to keep our labels consistent with our earlier publications. In the case of writing presentation, this also enables us to have separate descriptive labels for Narrator's Report of Writing (NRW) and Narrator's Representation of Writing (NW) (see 3.1.3 and 5.2.1)

### **3 A revised model of speech, writing and thought presentation**

One of the main aims of our study was to find out to what extent the Leech and Short (1981) model, which had been developed to account for the forms and functions of speech and thought presentation in literary prose, could be successfully and usefully applied to other written narrative genres. In this chapter we will show how, although we were able to account for a large part of our data on the basis of our original categories, we had to extend and refine Leech and Short's model in a number of ways in order to account for the variety of forms of SW&TP that we encountered while annotating our corpus. More specifically, (i) we added one new category to each of the speech and thought presentation scales, (ii) we introduced a separate writing presentation scale, and (iii) we introduced a number of sub-categories or variants of existing categories. The result is, we hope, a much more robust and comprehensive framework for the analysis of SW&TP in general, even though further refinements will no doubt be needed as more genres are subjected to the kind of detailed and systematic analysis that we carried out on our corpus (see also Chapter 9). In any case, the developments detailed in this chapter demonstrate the insights that can be achieved in the process of manually annotating a corpus. In our case, this involved an individual researcher annotating a piece of data, others checking the initial annotation, and the whole team discussing the issues that arose. This process can lead to findings that are just as important as those that can be obtained once the annotated corpus is ready to be exploited. Moreover, these findings would have been difficult to achieve without the group discussions involved in arriving at the agreed annotations.

After introducing our new categories and sub-categories, we will also, at the end of this chapter, discuss the overall frequencies and distribution of speech, writing and thought presentation in the corpus as a whole and across its main sub-divisions.

#### **3.1 New categories and a new presentational scale**

As we mentioned in 1.1, existing models of discourse presentation have resulted from a traditional methodology whereby analysts hand pick

examples from texts they are familiar with or, in a few cases, from a specific corpus of data (e.g. Waugh 1995) to demonstrate categories and analyses. A major innovative aspect of our study lies in the fact that we systematically annotated the whole of a balanced electronic corpus of textual extracts, thus forcing ourselves to account for *all* the instances of SW&TP in our data, whether or not they happened to fall conveniently within our initial set of categories. During the process of annotation we had to balance the need for a more comprehensive and discriminating framework on the one hand, with the danger of producing an excessively cumbersome and ultimately unworkable set of categories on the other. In order to avoid an excessive proliferation of categories, we therefore tried, where possible, to refine the definitions of our original categories (and of the boundaries between them) rather than to create new ones. However, where we noticed recurrent patterns which could not properly be accounted for by our existing set of categories, we extended our model accordingly. In particular, we found it necessary to add two new categories, both lying at the interface between narration (N) and the left-most categories of, respectively, the speech and the thought presentation clines proposed by Leech and Short 1981 (see 1.3). These categories, which will now be introduced in detail, were labelled Narrator's Representation of Voice (NV) on the speech presentation scale and Internal Narration, or Narration of Internal States (NI) on the thought presentation scale. As mentioned in 2.2.1, we also found it necessary to introduce an entire new presentation scale to account for the presentation of written discourse (which, as we will show, includes NW – the writing equivalent of NV on the speech presentation scale). We will discuss this new scale after we have introduced the new categories.

### 3.1.1 Narrator's Representation of Voice (NV)

Each of the three main sections of our corpus contains instances of minimal speech presentation of a kind that cannot be accounted for by Leech and Short's (1981) categories. Consider the emboldened parts in the examples below, one from each of the three main sections of our corpus:

- (1) 'Don't you love Barrie's plays?' she asked. 'I'm so fond of them'.  
**She talked on.** Rampion made no comment.

(Aldous Huxley, *Point Counter Point*, p. 140)

- (2) **We spoke to vice madam Michaela Hamilton from Bullwell, Notts,** who arranged girls for a Hudson orgy at the Sanam curry house in Stoke.

(‘Hudson fixed sex orgies as his charity fund collapsed’,  
*News of the World*, 4 December 1994)



- (3) The Prince [...] **did not stop talking until his friend was lifted on to the helicopter for the flight to the hospital.**

(Jonathan Dimbleby, *The Prince of Wales*, p. 411)

In all three cases we are informed that someone engaged in verbal activity, but we are not given any explicit indication as to what speech acts were performed, let alone what the form and content of the utterances were. In other words, we are faced with a form of speech presentation that is even more minimal than that captured by Leech and Short's NRSA category, where the narrator specifies the illocutionary force of the utterance, and, possibly, its topic. Instances of minimal forms of speech presentation like (1) to (3) above were classified as Narrator's Representation of Voice, and tagged as NV. Earlier attempts to capture the same kind of phenomenon include Page's notion of 'submerged speech' (Page 1973: 32), McHale's notion of 'diegetic summary' (McHale 1978: 258–9) and Short's (1996) 'Narrator's Representation of Speech'.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, the NV category lies at the left-most end of the speech presentation cline we presented in 1.3, between narration (N) and NRSA. As we will show in 4.2.1, it is a relatively infrequent category as far as speech presentation is concerned, probably because it is the form of speech presentation where the narrator/reporter's control is most palpable, and where readers are most distanced from the original speech event. In context, however, NV can be used to produce a variety of effects. In (1) above it reflects the point of view of a particular character, namely that of Rampion, who is not interested in the other character's talk and therefore does not listen attentively to what she says. In (2), NV is used to make an introductory reference to the fact that the authors of the report interviewed a 'vice madam' involved in the story, which then leads to a 96-word long quotation of what she said (which we have not reproduced here for reasons of space). This kind of use of NV thus signals to readers what to expect in the following text. In the article which (2) comes from, the extensive quotation is obviously used for salacious purposes (Hudson was an ex-England soccer star), a function common in the newspaper concerned, and so the NV may suggest to regular readers not just that a more extensive report will occur, but also indicates that the content is likely to be titillating. In (3) NV is used to refer to Prince Charles's attempt to keep an injured friend conscious after a serious skiing accident. Here, in a book aimed at promoting Charles's flagging public image after his divorce from Princess Diana, a minimal reference to what must have been a long series of utterances is sufficient to convey a sense of the extent of the Prince's efforts in a crisis, and his dedication to his friend.

The scope of our definition of NV also includes another kind of minimal speech presentation. Consider the example below:

**(4) An unholy row broke out yesterday over a new politically-correct Bible.**

(‘God is a mother in Bible rethink’, *Daily Mirror*,  
5 December 1994)

Here readers are informed that an unspecified number of people expressed contrasting opinions about a particular topic, but no reference is made to the specific speech acts performed or propositions expressed. This type of summary reference to particular speech events, or other occasions where a large number of utterances with a variety of speech act values would have been used, is common in newspapers, and is often used to set the scene for more detailed reports of selected utterances of the sort we have noted in our discussion of (3) above (see also Waugh 1995: 160–61). The sentence given in (4) occurs as the opening of the article, and is then followed, a few sentences later, by IS and DS reports of what was said by three of the people who took part in the debate.

The new category NV is therefore used to capture two main kinds of speech presentation:

- 1 minimal references to the fact that a particular character/person engaged in some unspecified form of verbal activity, and
- 2 summary references to speech events that involved a large number of participants.

In our quantitative analysis, we found that NV accounts for 2.36 per cent of all tags in our corpus, and that it is fairly equally distributed across genres. A more detailed discussion of the use and distribution of this category in the corpus is given in 4.2.1.

### 3.1.2 *Internal Narration (NI)*

As far as thought presentation is concerned, the most minimal of Leech and Short’s categories is the Narrative Report of Thought Acts (NRTA). This captures those cases where the narrator reveals that a character engaged in a specific act of thinking but does not spell out the propositional content involved (though a specification of the topic of thought is sometimes given). The NRTA below just indicates the thought act involved:

**(5) She put to herself a series of questions.**

(Virginia Woolf, *Night and Day*, p. 272)

Leech and Short point out that their thought presentation categories do not include cases where the narrator reports a character’s inner states of mind without directly representing his or her thoughts (Leech and Short

1981: 341–2). In his discussion of Leech and Short (1981), Simpson notes that:

[...] by far the most significant problem associated with the thought paradigm concerns the way in which extensive passages of narrative may be located within a participating character's consciousness but none of the 'official' modes of thought presentation are adopted.  
(Simpson 1993: 24–5)

Similarly, in our analysis of the fiction section of the corpus, we found many examples where access to a character's internal viewpoint results in the presentation of that character's internal states, but without any indication that he or she engaged in anything that could be described as a specific thought act. Consider the examples below:

**(6) For a moment she didn't know where she was.**

(Graham Greene, *Brighton Rock*, p. 69)

**(7) I hurried to her room, and was immediately filled with alarm.**

(Victoria Holt, *Daughter of Deceit*, p. 60)

In (6) we are told that one of the characters experienced a moment of cognitive disorientation, but no thoughts are explicitly reported. In (7) the narrator reports an experience (alarm) that presupposes a cognitive appraisal of a particular situation and states a resulting emotional reaction, but no specific thoughts attributable to the character are presented.

In the analysis of our corpus, we felt that tagging such examples as narration (N) would have concealed the presence of an important form of mental activity that we did not have a label for. We therefore adopted the label NI (Narration of Internal states, or Internal Narration) for all those cases where the narrator reports a character's cognitive and emotional experiences without presenting any specific thoughts. By our definition, however, NI does not include reports of characters' perceptions, whether those stimuli are internal ('She felt a pain in her stomach') or external ('She felt the softness of his hair'). Examples such as these were coded as Narration (N).

To some degree, NI on the thought presentation scale parallels NV on the speech presentation scale, in that it occupies some sort of intermediate position between the straightforward narration of actions, events, etc., and NRTA, at the left-most end of the thought presentation cline. There are, however, important differences between NV (and its NW counterpart on the writing presentation scale) and NI. We will discuss this issue in 3.1.4 below, and in 6.4 and 9.2. In 6.2.5 we will also show how, while NV is a relatively infrequent speech presentation category, NI is the most frequent of our thought presentation categories.

The phenomena we capture by means of the NI category have not received as much attention as other forms of thought presentation, and have been treated differently by different scholars. Cohn (1978) discusses the same phenomena as part of the notion of 'psychonarration', but her category also subsumes what we call NRTA and IT. Toolan (2001) notes the presence in fiction of 'reports of mental or verbal activity which do not purport to be a character's articulated speech or thought', and explicitly decides to regard them as part of narration rather than thought presentation '[a]s long as those inward details remain matters of which the character is not consciously aware' (Toolan 2001: 119). As far as we are concerned, the character's conscious awareness of his or her internal experiences is not a requirement for a stretch of text to be classified as NI. This is also in line with our understanding of Cohn's definition of psychonarration (see also Chatman 2001).

The two examples of NI we have examined so far are taken from the fiction section of the corpus. In (6), a third-person omniscient narrator gives us direct access to the mind of one of the characters. In (7), a first-person narrator reports her emotional reaction as a character in her own narrative. The same kind of phenomenon also occurs in autobiography, however, when the protagonist reports his or her own past internal states:

**(8) In the fleeting dizziness I had a nightmare vision.**

(Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, p. 75)

This example involves the presentation of a mental image which is accompanied by a strong emotional reaction. What examples (5)–(8) have in common is that the producer of the internal presentation is constructed as having (had) direct access to the relevant internal states, either because they experienced them directly themselves – as in (7) and (8) – or because of a particular genre convention, as in the case of the omniscient fictional third-person narrator in (6). In 3.2.3 we will show how NI (and all thought presentation categories) can also be found in contexts where no such direct access exists, and explain how this phenomenon was dealt with in the annotation of our corpus. A discussion of the distribution of NI in the corpus is provided in 6.2.5.

### 3.1.3 Writing presentation

In fictional texts, the presentation of writing is not usually very central (except for the epistolary novel), and so Leech and Short (1981) had not felt the need to posit a separate set of categories for writing presentation. The same applies to all other studies of discourse presentation we are aware of, including those that focus on non-fictional texts (although Fairclough 1992: 118 explicitly points out that his term 'discourse representation' includes both representations of speech *and* writing).

However, writing presentation occurs quite regularly in news reports and (auto)biography, and so the analysis of our corpus made us aware of the range of possible writing presentation forms. We were also interested in potential differences in functions and effects between the same forms of presentation, depending on whether the original is speech or writing. The newspaper extract quoted as example (3) in 2.2.1, for example, includes two instances of DS and one instance of DW. Because the source of the latter is what is described as ‘the town’s newspaper’ (*The Lancaster Guardian*), it is more likely that the DW quotation is an accurate word-by-word representation of the original than is the case with the two DS reports. This is not just because the original spoken utterances might have contained elements that the news reporter would have wanted to omit (such as hesitations and false starts), but also because any reporting inaccuracies are much more likely to lead to court action in the case of written than spoken originals. We will discuss this issue in more depth in 5.2.5.

As we showed in 2.2.1, the writing presentation categories are parallel to those for speech presentation, with ‘W’ (Writing) replacing ‘S’ (Speech) in our annotations:

- (NRW = Narrator’s Report of Writing [= reporting clause or non-clausal equivalent])
- NW = Narrator’s Representation of Writing
- NRWA = Narrator’s Representation of Writing Act
- IW = Indirect Writing
- FIW = Free Indirect Writing
- DW = Direct Writing
- FDW = Free Direct Writing

Here we have added an NW category (Narrator’s Representation of Writing), to parallel NV. This captures those cases where the narrator/reporter simply mentions that someone engaged in writing, as in ‘he wrote to me frequently’ (Muriel Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, p. 204), but tells us little more than that. We also used the tag NRW, parallel to NRS, for reporting clauses of writing (e.g. ‘She wrote that . . .’) and similar non-clausal phenomena. We believe that the findings we report in Chapter 5 vindicate our decision to treat writing presentation separately, given that, for example, the relative frequencies of writing presentation categories in the corpus are quite different from those that we found in relation to speech presentation on the one hand and thought presentation on the other. In Chapter 5 we will also show, however, that, with relatively few exceptions, the forms and functions of writing presentation categories are very similar to those for speech presentation.

### 3.1.4 The new scales of speech, writing and thought presentation

The adoption of separate writing presentation categories, and the introduction of NV, NW and NI means that our revised SW&TP model which we used in annotating our corpus had three parallel scales, speech, writing and thought, which are presented in Figure 3.1.

We have not included the labels for reporting clauses in the scales (NRS, NRW, NRT) because these are not separate discourse presentation categories, but rather the narrator/reporter's 'introduction' of a stretch of (free) indirect or (free) direct report (see 2.2.3 for a discussion of this phenomenon). They are thus effectively part of the narration, and were not therefore included in some of the quantifications we will discuss in later chapters. Indeed, a primary motivation for tagging NRS, NRW and NRT separately was to prevent them from skewing the word counts for the fuller presentational categories (i.e. IS/IW/IT and the categories to the right of these categories on the three scales).

In our summary of the three scales, 'N' is enclosed within square brackets because it is not a category on the presentational scales, while the free direct categories have been enclosed within round brackets for a different reason. Let us focus on DS and FDS in particular. Because all stylistic accounts of discourse presentation since the early part of the twentieth century (including Leech and Short 1981) have distinguished DS and FDS, we have continued to tag them (and their writing and thought presentation equivalents) separately in our corpus. However, Short (1988) argued that the DS/FDS distinction may not be a proper category distinction, but merely a finer distinction within the DS category. The main argument for this is that, unlike the other categories, there is no extra faithfulness claim involved as one moves from DS to FDS. The same argument applies to the contrast between DW and FDW. With thought presentation, it is debatable whether one can sensibly talk about faithfulness claims at all, but the distinction between FDT and DT is equally problematic. When we started the annotation of the corpus, we therefore already suspected that the free direct categories are best seen as a sub-type, or a variant, of the respective direct categories. Our experience of annotating our written corpus has added weight to this view. We strove to make clear decisions over whether a stretch of text was in the direct or free direct form, and thus significantly reduced what we had to tag as ambiguous. However, this effectively involved imposing trivial and very

[N]	NV	NRSA	IS	FIS	DS	(FDS)
[N]	NW	NRWA	IW	FIW	DW	(FDW)
[N]	NI	NRTA	IT	FIT	DT	(FDT)

Figure 3.1 The speech, writing and thought presentation scales.

conventional criteria in order to preserve the distinction (see Semino *et al.* 1997 and 7.4.2).

Having presented the three scales as parallel, it is appropriate to reflect for a moment on the similarities and differences among them. The writing presentation scale is very like the speech presentation scale in relation to the effects associated with particular categories. This is primarily because in both cases the original is (or purports to be) a piece of discourse, even though the medium is different. Indeed, it could be argued that writing presentation is 'like speech presentation but more so', in the sense that the canonical faithfulness claims associated with DS apply more strongly to DW, and that this strengthens the association of the various faithfulness claims with the different presentational categories on the writing presentation scale. This is almost certainly because, although speech presentation is the default discourse presentation activity (for example speech verbs can be used in writing report clauses, but not vice versa; see 5.2.3), our canonical assumptions about speech report/presentation/representation almost certainly derive from writing. After all, until the twentieth century, accurate methods of recording speech were not available, and it is well known that in general terms writing is a strong factor in determining canonical assumptions about language in general (Linnell 1982). Thus the assumption of an accurate posterior representation of the words and grammatical structures used in some anterior discourse is normally stronger when DW is used than when DS is. Tannen (1989) has shown that DS reports in casual conversation are very unlikely to be accurate, and are not normally expected to be so. However, the situation is different with DW reports in written texts, especially in formal contexts such as academic writing. By and large, academics quote one another accurately, and quoting others inaccurately or in an unattributed fashion is generally regarded as unacceptable (see also Short *et al.* 2002 and 8.3).

The thought presentation scale is radically different from the other two scales. This is because the idea of an 'anterior discourse' is difficult to support with respect to this scale. Thought is not communication and, as a consequence, people do not have access to the thoughts of others, and so cannot accurately report what is/was thought in any real sense of the term. Indeed, we know relatively little about the properties of thoughts and how directly or indirectly they relate to linguistic structures. Even when you report your own thoughts to others it is unlikely that you have access to a fully-formed linguistic original to consider when choosing the presentational category in which to 'report' your previous thoughts. This is why the thought presentation scale is perhaps best thought of as being based on a rather loose analogy with the speech and writing scales, and why particular categories have radically different effects. The Direct Thought (DT) form usually suggests that, compared with the other thought presentation categories, the thought process involved is conscious or 'soliloquized' (indeed it shares the deictic properties associated with

dramatic soliloquy, the main device available to dramatists to present character thought on stage). Leech and Short (1981) point out that whereas FIS usually suggests an (often ironic) distance between the reader and what is said, FIT usually makes readers feel that they are very close to (and so predisposed to be sympathetic to) the character whose thoughts are being presented. And although NRSA and NRWA, canonically, and IS and IW, to quite a degree, are associated with speech and writing summary, this summarizing function does not seem to apply to NRTA and IT in our corpus (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of this issue).

The thought presentation scale is also different from the other two with respect to the new categories we have just introduced. The NV and NW categories described above were designed to capture very minimal discourse reports (e.g. 'She talked on', 'he wrote to me frequently'). However, sentences and clauses of the 'He thought carefully' kind, although theoretically possible, were rare in our corpus. The only clearcut example we could find in our corpus of something one might characterize as properly parallel to NV and NW was:

- (9) 'You've got to win people's trust. Trust is very important. Without trust,' and he came to a standstill and tipped his chin into the air, **the thought still forming.**

(Rupert Thomson, *The Five Gates of Hell*, p. 127)

As far as the annotation of our corpus was concerned, it seemed rather unhelpful to have a category for one example, and so we eschewed the setting up of a separate category for this kind of phenomenon (but see 6.4 and 9.2 for further discussion of this issue). However, the fact that such examples occur at all is interesting in terms of our model of SW&TP, particularly because, as we will show in 9.2, we have encountered further examples such as (9) in texts not included in our corpus. In 6.4 and 9.2 we will also show how the category we introduced at the left-most end of the thought presentation scale (NI) occurs very frequently, but, unlike the emboldened stretch in (9) above, is not properly parallel to NV and NW on the speech and writing presentation scales.

The three scales so far discussed would seem to exhaust the obvious discourse presentation possibilities, though we would not rule out other possibilities as technology develops. TV, film and the World Wide Web pose some interesting future problems. Can forms which use a simultaneous combination of speech and writing presentation be adequately represented with two separate scales? Does the playing of a video clip of a politician's speech have the same ontological status as DS? And even our present written corpus gave us one small ontological flurry. It includes an extract from the autobiography of Doris Stokes, a well-known British medium who claimed to communicate with the dead. For a dizzy moment we pondered the awesome possibility of an Extra Sensory Perception



(ESP) scale, but decided against it on the grounds that we wouldn't get much use out of it! The Doris Stokes text does nonetheless pose some interesting problems, and will be discussed in detail in 8.2.

### 3.2 New sub-categories

Many of the new or problematic phenomena we came across in tagging our corpus did not amount to new SW&TP categories, but instead constituted sub-types or variants of existing major categories. We therefore introduced a number of lower-case suffixes, which were placed at the end of some SW&TP tags (which were themselves all in upper case) to capture these phenomena in the data.<sup>2</sup> The phenomena we will discuss in this section include highly detailed NRSAs, the use of direct quotations within non-direct forms of presentation, hypothetical SW&TP, and inferred thought presentation.

#### 3.2.1 *Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts with Topic (NRSAp)*

Leech and Short's NRSA category captures those cases where the narrator presents the illocutionary force of a particular utterance, with little or no indication of its content. The following are two prototypical examples from the fiction section of our corpus:

- (10) **He answered me in the fewest possible words.**

(William Golding, *Rites of Passage*, p. 33)

- (11) **... he was asking one of his relatives for a subscription to the additional curates society.**

(Somerset Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence*, p. 45)

In (10) no topic is specified, while in (11) an indication of the topic of the utterance follows the specification of the relevant speech act. Most examples of NRSA in the fiction section of the corpus are minimal with respect to topic specification, and parallel the examples in Leech and Short (1981: Ch. 10) when this presentational category was first proposed. Their main function is to summarize less important information, needed merely as a background for fuller discourse presentational modes.

In the analysis of our press data, however, we frequently encountered long and extremely detailed NRSAs. The examples given below are 26 and 41 words long respectively:

- (12) **Mr Major warned yesterday of the dangers of Britain being left behind if a group of European Union members pushed ahead with a single currency.**

(‘Blair Puts Labour Troops on Alert for Snap Election’,  
*Independent on Sunday*, 11 December 1994)

- (13) **Euro-sceptic MPs also blame the Government's continued adherence to the Maastricht convergence criteria for possible entry into a single currency and the £1 billion extra to be spent because of the EU beef ban for reducing the scope for tax cuts.**

(‘Tory Right on attack over Clarke tax warning’,  
*Daily Telegraph*, 13 May 1996)

In both cases the reporter spells out the speech act that the original speaker is supposed to have performed (‘warned’, ‘blame’), and then goes on to provide details of the content of the utterance in the form of lengthy and complex noun phrases, which themselves are often nominalized clauses, and which, in turn, have other clauses embedded inside them. Clearly such instances are not fully accounted for by the original definition of the NRSA category, which only aimed to capture those cases where little more than the illocutionary force of the relevant utterances is provided.

We initially considered the possibility of including instances such as (12) and (13) under IS, on the grounds that a considerable amount of information is provided regarding the propositional content of the utterance. Indeed, Waugh (1995: 160–61) has suggested that what we here call NRSA and NV could be seen as a ‘condensed’ form of indirect speech. We rejected this possible solution for two reasons. First, these examples have a greater summarizing effect than is normally associated with IS, partly as a consequence of the fact that the content of the utterance is presented in nominal rather than clausal form (see also Short 1988 for a discussion of ‘speech summary’). Second, and more importantly, the absence of a distinction between a reporting and a reported clause in (12) and (13) goes against a central aspect of the prototypical definition of IS.

Our solution, therefore, was to create a sub-category of NRSA called NRSA<sub>p</sub> (where ‘p’ stands for ‘topic’),<sup>3</sup> which would capture all those cases where the report of the speech act is accompanied by an explicit indication of the subject-matter/topic of the utterance or utterances in question, but where there is no separate reported clause. This enabled us to account for an interesting and pervasive phenomenon without modifying the well-established, prototypical definition of IS.

As we will show in more detail in 4.2.2, NRSA<sub>p</sub> can be found throughout our corpus, but is particularly frequent in the newspaper section. It seems likely that this is a consequence of the contradictory pressures in the press of (i) having to write briefly and (ii) giving substance and warranty to what is being reported.

The same distinction between forms with, and without, detailed topics was also made in relation to the corresponding categories on the writing and thought presentation scales, NRWA and NRTA, which are discussed in 5.2.2 and 6.2.4 respectively.

### 3.2.2 Quotation phenomena ('q' forms)

Another phenomenon which does not occur much in the novel but which is abundant in news reports is the use of stretches of direct quotation which cannot be straightforwardly categorized as DS because of the way in which they occur inside other, non-direct ST&WP categories. Consider the examples below:

- (14) He said **the Bosnian situation was 'a disastrous, humiliating affair'**.

(‘Major faces Clinton snub on Bosnia’, *Daily Express*,  
5 December 1994)

- (15) They said **there was 'no political credit' to be won from backing down; people would think that the government had 'lost control'**.

(‘Tory MPs want rebels reinstated’, *Independent on Sunday*,  
4 December 1994)

- (16) **The President of the Board of Trade accused Labour of 'undermining the very fabric of our political constitution.'**

(‘Fury over “slim down royals” plan’, *Independent*,  
5 December 1994)

If no quotation marks were present in any of these extracts, their classification would be completely unproblematic: (14) is an example of NRS followed by IS; the first half of (15) (up to the semi-colon) is also IS; the second half of (15) is FIS, and (16) is NRS<sub>Ap</sub>. The presence of the direct quotations, we decided, did not alter the *essence* of these categorizations, but did affect the status of parts of the report. For this reason, we decided to add the letter ‘q’ (for ‘quotation’) to the tags given above, in order to highlight the presence of the stretches within quotation marks, and to be able to concordance them separately. The emboldened part of example (14) was therefore tagged as IS<sub>q</sub>; the emboldened parts of example (15) were tagged as IS<sub>q</sub> followed by FIS<sub>q</sub>; and the emboldened part of example (16) was tagged as NRS<sub>Apq</sub>.<sup>4</sup>

This phenomenon has been noted in a number of studies, but normally only in relation to IS. Volosinov (1973: 132) mentions ‘cases of unbroken transition from indirect to direct discourse’. Clark and Gerrig (1990) use the term ‘incorporated quotations’ to capture those cases where stretches of direct report are included within indirect speech. Waugh (1995: 146–9) comments on the presence of what she calls ‘combined direct/indirect speech’ in *Le Monde*, and points out that the relative size of the direct and indirect stretches may vary considerably from case to case. Thompson (1996: 311–13) refers to this phenomenon as ‘partial quotes’, and notes that they can occur in what he calls ‘paraphrases’ (our IS) and ‘summaries’ (our NRS<sub>A</sub>).

This is one of the cases where the advantages of a tagged corpus are most obvious, since we have been able to notice that this phenomenon is not limited to one or two non-direct forms of presentation, but occurs within all of the categories that fall to the left of DS on the speech presentation cline, apart from NV. In fact, this kind of quotation phenomenon can even be found within stretches that we have coded as Narration (N):

**(17) The changes have been made by Oxford University Press in a bid to take the ‘oppression’ out of Christianity.**

(‘For God’s sake stop rewriting our Bible’, *Daily Express*,  
5 December 1994)

What might at first sight look like a ‘scare quote’ is clearly, when read in context, a one-word quotation. Examples such as this were tagged as Nq. This kind of phenomenon is related to what others, commenting on fictional prose, have variously called ‘slipping’ or ‘coloured narration’ (see Fludernik 1993: 127, 334; McHale 1978; Schuelke 1958).

The importance and convenience of the ‘q’ forms of speech presentation for writers, particularly in the press, can be easily appreciated. As Waugh points out, ‘quoteworthy’ material does not necessarily come in the form of complete clauses or sentences, but may consist of words or phrases that can be embedded within more indirect types of speech report (Waugh 1995: 147). In other words, the ‘q’ forms allow the reporter to present and foreground selected parts of the original utterance without having to provide a lengthy quotation. They therefore achieve vividness and precision without sacrificing the need for brevity. Clearly such forms also lend themselves to partial or slanted representations of other people’s voices, since the original speaker’s words are embedded, both grammatically and semantically, within the reporter’s own discourse. This contrasts with DS, where it is typical for the reported utterance to be grammatically independent and semantically separate from the reporter’s words. Although, as Thompson (1996: 527) points out ‘all quotes are partial in relation to the original language event’, it is probably fair to say that some quotes are more partial than others.

In 7.1 we will consider the use and distribution of embedded quotations in our corpus. We will show that, not surprisingly, they turn out to be primarily a journalistic phenomenon, and that they occur in writing presentation as well as in speech presentation.

### 3.2.3 *Inferred thought presentation* (‘i’)

Before we began tagging the non-fiction sections of our corpus, we assumed, erroneously, that the presentation of the thoughts and mind-states of others would not occur in these sections. In reality we found that,

apart from the absence of FIT in the press data, all thought presentation categories occur in all sections of our corpus (though in very different proportions). This resulted in the need to make a distinction between cases where the thought presentation results from ‘direct access’ to the original thought on the one hand, and cases where no direct access was possible on the other. In fiction, as we mentioned earlier, omniscient third-person narrators can conventionally ‘look into’ the minds of characters and present their thoughts and internal states ‘directly’. Conversely, first-person narrators normally only have direct access to their own thoughts, but not to the thoughts of other characters in their stories. The same kind of direct access can be attributed to the authors of autobiographies, when they present their own past mental experiences.<sup>5</sup>

Contrary to our initial expectations, however, our corpus contains many instances of thought presentation where the reporter had no direct access to the original thoughts or mental states presented (for the simple reason that these were experienced by other people). Consider the following examples from the newspaper section of the corpus:

- (18) Mrs Thatcher thought **the prisoners deserved to die**.  
 (‘Bobby Sands film opens old wounds’, *Observer*, 12 May 1996)
- (19) As the Cabinet split deepens, **Tory MPs pushing for a referendum are worried Mr Blair will steal a march on Mr Major**.  
 (‘Portillo piles on Euro pressure’, *Daily Express*,  
 12 December 1994)

In (18), the IT category is used to represent a thought attributed to Mrs Thatcher (the prisoners involved were convicted members of the IRA). In (19), the NI category is used to represent the state of mind of a group of Tory MPs. In both cases, the reporters had no direct access to what they report; they could only have *inferred* the relevant thoughts and mind states as a consequence of observing the behaviour of the relevant people and/or talking to them (or to people who had access to them). To distinguish this kind of thought presentation from the privileged access to internal mind states found in ‘pure’ cases, we adopted the suffix tag ‘i’ (meaning ‘inferred’). So, example (18) consists of NRTi followed by ITi, while the emboldened part of example (19) was coded as NIi.<sup>6</sup> It should be clear from our definition that, unlike other suffix tags in our corpus, the ‘i’ suffix only applies to thought presentation categories. The distribution of inferred thought presentation in the corpus is discussed in 6.3.1.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.2.4 *Hypothetical SW&TP* (‘h’)

In the process of annotating the corpus, we also felt the need to highlight instances of SW&TP which did not refer to (what was presented as) an

actual anterior speech, thought or writing event but which were explicitly presented, broadly speaking, as hypothetical. Consider the following extract from Sara Maitland's *Three Times Table*, in which the main character is agonizing over whether, and how, to find her estranged mother:

- (20) It would have been too humiliating to have to contact her mother through her publishers or her employers. How could one ring a bell on a house door in respectable places like this and say '**Excuse me does my mother live here?**'.

(Sara Maitland, *Three Times Table*, p. 141)

The whole of this passage is a free indirect thought presentation of the character's reflections. Within the FIT, direct speech presentation is used to represent words that the character feels she is unable, or reluctant, to utter. Although formally this is a straightforward example of DS, it does not count as a re-presentation of a previous utterance in the fiction, but as the construal of an imaginary utterance that the character assumes could never actually take place. As a consequence, we tagged this as eDSh – that is, embedded DS with an added suffix 'h' (for 'hypothetical'), in order to highlight its hypothetical status and to be able to study the phenomenon of discourse presented as non-actual in the corpus as a whole.

As we will show in our detailed discussion in 7.2, hypothetical SW&TP can be found in all sections of our corpus and includes a wide range of phenomena, such as unrealized intentions and wishes, and predictions about the future. In the extract below, for example, an instance of IS presentation was tagged as hypothetical because it relates to an argument that the reporter predicted the Labour party would put forward in the future:

- (21) Labour will argue **that if the Tories ever gain a large enough majority, they will impose VAT on fuel at the full rate.**

('Blair puts Labour troops on alert for snap election',  
*Independent on Sunday*, 11 December 1994)

It is important to note that the main criterion for tagging something as hypothetical was that the relevant utterance or thought was *presented* as not having occurred (or not yet) in the relevant text world. This excludes cases where a narrator/reporter illicitly presents as 'fact' an instance of speech, thought or writing that did not actually take place.

### 3.3 An overview of speech, writing and thought presentation in the corpus

Having introduced our annotation system and our revised model of SW&TP, we will now begin to present the results of our analysis of the

annotated corpus. In this section, we provide an overall comparison of the frequency and distribution of speech, writing and thought presentation in the corpus. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, we focus on each of the three modes of presentation in turn.

Our analysis in this section and in the following chapters is both quantitative and qualitative. On the one hand, we present and discuss the frequencies of occurrence of different modes and categories of SW&TP across the corpus, and point out the implications of our findings for claims made in other studies concerning frequencies and trends in SW&TP in written texts. On the other hand, we consider in detail the formal and functional characteristics of each category of SW&TP, and analyse specific examples in context. The ability to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis is one of the main advantages of a corpus approach (see Biber *et al.* 1998; McEnery and Wilson 1996; Stubbs 1996). As we will show, the extraction of quantitative information from our annotated corpus is the first step in an analytical process that involves, as Biber *et al.* put it, 'explanation, exemplification, and interpretation of the patterns found in quantitative analyses' (Biber *et al.* 1998: 5). By generating and studying concordances for each of our categories of SW&TP, we have been able to notice patterns in form and function that would have been hard to identify in any other way, and to select both representative and idiosyncratic examples for detailed discussion. We therefore hope that our results confirm Stubbs's (1996) assessment of the application of corpus-based approaches to linguistic phenomena:

When new quantitative methods are applied to very large amounts of data, they always do more than provide a real summary. By transforming the data, they can generate insight.

(Stubbs 1996: 232)

### *3.3.1 Speech vs writing vs thought presentation in the corpus*

First we will consider the total number of tags in the corpus, and the distribution of speech, writing and thought presentation across its main internal sub-divisions (see 2.1 for a description of the structure of our corpus). More specifically, in Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, we provide information about the corpus as a whole, each of its three main genre sections (fiction, press and (auto)biography), and the combination of the popular vs serious sub-sections of each of the three genre sections.

We have grouped SW&TP tags under the three modalities, so that S stands for Speech, W for writing, and T for thought. We have given separately the figures for N (Narration) and for portmanteau tags signalling ambiguities across modes of presentation (e.g. FIS-FIT) or between N and categories of SW&TP (e.g. N-FIT). Portmanteau tags signalling ambiguities *within* each mode of presentation (e.g. DS-FDS) are included under

Table 3.1 Numbers of occurrences of speech, writing, thought and other tags in the corpus

	<i>Whole corpus</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>	<i>Popular sections</i>	<i>Serious sections</i>
S	8,946	2,846	3,643	2,457	4,743	4,203
W	746	94	177	475	270	476
T	2,685	1,387	306	992	1,291	1,394
N	3,601	1,193	1,128	1,280	1,810	1,791
Portmanteau	555	165	153	237	247	308
<i>Total</i>	<i>16,533</i>	<i>5,685</i>	<i>5,407</i>	<i>5,441</i>	<i>8,361</i>	<i>8,172</i>

Table 3.2 Percentages of speech, writing, thought and other tags out of all tags in the corpus

	<i>Whole corpus</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>	<i>Popular sections</i>	<i>Serious sections</i>
S	54.11	50.06	67.38	45.16	56.73	51.43
W	4.51	1.65	3.27	8.73	3.23	5.82
T	16.24	24.40	5.66	18.23	15.44	17.06
N	21.78	20.99	20.86	23.52	21.65	21.92
Portmanteau	3.36	2.90	2.83	4.36	2.95	3.77
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 3.3 Percentages of words included under the speech, writing, thought and other tags out of all words in the corpus

	<i>Whole corpus</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>	<i>Popular sections</i>	<i>Serious sections</i>
S	33.13	31.59	47.15	22.52	36.11	30.27
W	2.92	0.63	2.32	6.01	1.69	4.09
T	11.41	19.20	4.25	11.22	10.37	12.41
N	48.51	45.04	44.16	55.74	48.63	48.42
Portmanteau	4.03	3.54	2.12	4.51	3.20	4.81
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

the relevant modality (e.g. the figures relating to DS-FDS are included under S). Table 3.1 provides the number of occurrences of the main types of tags in the whole corpus, in each of the three genres, and in the popular vs serious sections combined. In Table 3.2, the same information is expressed in terms of percentages of all tags in the whole corpus and in each of its main sections. Table 3.3 provides percentages of words included under each of the main types of tags as a proportion of all words in the corpus and in each of its main sections.<sup>8</sup>

Table 3.1 shows that there is a total of 16,533 tags in the corpus, and that these are divided fairly evenly across the three genres and across the



popular and serious sections of the corpus. There are, however, large imbalances among the three modes of presentation, both in terms of frequency and distribution. Speech presentation is by far the most frequent mode of presentation. Table 3.2 shows that, out of all tags in the corpus, 54.11 per cent relate to speech presentation, 16.24 per cent to thought presentation and 4.51 per cent to writing presentation (the rest being narration or cases of ambiguity across modalities). In other words, speech presentation is more than three times more frequent than thought presentation, and nearly twelve times more frequent than writing presentation. Table 3.2 also shows, not surprisingly, that what we have generally called narration (N) accounts for a substantial proportion of tags (21.78 per cent), and that cross-modality ambiguities and ambiguities between N and categories of SW&TP account, together, for 3.36 per cent of our tags (see 7.4 for a discussion of ambiguities in the corpus). Table 3.3 shows that, in the corpus as a whole and in the fiction and press sections, approximately 50 per cent of the words involve SW&TP. In the (auto)biography section, what we call narration accounts for more words than in the other two genres, but SW&TP still accounts for around 40 per cent of the words. Table 3.3 also shows that almost half the words in the press section of the corpus involve speech presentation (47.15 per cent), while the proportion is lower, but still substantial, in the other two genres.

The existence of large imbalances across the three modes of presentation is not surprising. Speech is an externally perceivable, often public phenomenon, and the primary and most basic form of communication. Writing is also an externally perceivable and frequently public phenomenon. It is generally more permanent than speech, and is historically derived from spoken language. In addition, as we will show in the next chapter, writing presentation is often introduced by the same verbs that are used for speech presentation (e.g. 'the letter *says* that ...'), which sometimes makes it hard to distinguish writing presentation from speech presentation. In annotating the corpus, we decided to code stretches of text as *writing* presentation (as opposed to *speech* presentation) only when the co-text (rather than our own general knowledge) specified that the source was written rather than spoken. This was because we needed a reasonably clear-cut and consistent criterion for applying the writing presentation tags. As a consequence of our decision, however, our figures for writing presentation probably underestimate somewhat the amount of written material that functions as the source of discourse presentation in the corpus. Nevertheless, the proportion of writing presentation is very small compared with speech presentation, in spite of the highly literate nature of the culture in which the texts included in our corpus were produced.

As we have already pointed out, in contrast to speech and writing, thought is not a form of communication, but an entirely private phenomenon. Thoughts are also not necessarily or exclusively verbal in form, and

can only be directly experienced by the person who produces them (unless one believes in telepathy). Given all this, it may seem surprising that thought presentation is as frequent as it is. In order to explain this, we need to consider in more detail the nature of the three genres that are included in the corpus, and the differences among them.

If we consider the columns for each of the three text-types in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, we can see that the three modes of presentation are not distributed evenly across genre boundaries. Speech presentation has by far the largest number of occurrences in all three genres, but it is proportionately much more frequent in the newspaper section of the corpus than in the other two sections: our press data has approximately 17 per cent more instances of speech presentation than our fiction data, and approximately 22 per cent more than our (auto)biography data. The difference between the fiction and (auto)biography sections is not large, but it seems to suggest that reports of utterances or conversations are slightly more important in fictional than (auto)biographical narratives.

When considering the frequency of speech presentation in our press data, it needs to be borne in mind that our press section consists entirely of news reports (as opposed to editorials, comments, letters, etc.) and that a large part of what counts as news is what people say, either as protagonists or as witnesses in events (Bell 1991). Indeed, some of the stories that provide the subject matter of the reports are primarily stories about talk (e.g. the progress of negotiations in the Balkans, or the debate over the future of the English monarchy). Other stories are concerned with non-verbal events (e.g. a plane crash, or the shooting of a man in his house), but are still in large part reported through the accounts or opinions of people who were involved in them, directly or indirectly (e.g. people investigating the plane crash, or the neighbours of the murdered man). It is important to bear in mind that journalists are seldom direct witnesses of the events they report, but gather their information from indirect sources, both spoken (e.g. interviews) and written (e.g. news agency releases) (Bell 1991). Nevertheless, it is striking how much news report is in fact *speech* report.

Thought presentation is also unevenly distributed across the three genres. The fact that it is more frequent in fiction than in the two non-fictional genres could have been easily predicted. Third-person fictional narratives often feature so-called 'omniscient' narrators who report the feelings and thoughts of characters. As part of the suspension of disbelief conventionally applied to the reading of fiction, we assume that such narrators have direct access to characters' minds. First-person narrators, on the other hand, often report the thoughts and mental states that they experienced as participants in the stories they tell (and in which they are usually the main characters). As a consequence, thought presentation is a well-known feature of fictional writing, and, indeed, as far as we know, has so far been studied in detail only in relation to this genre (e.g. Cohn 1978; Fludernik 1993).

Given all this, it may seem surprising that thought presentation should occur in the non-fiction sections of the corpus at all. However, as we explained in 3.2.3, we found that it is common for non-fictional reporters/narrators to *infer* the mental states and thoughts of other people (from their speech, behaviour, facial expressions, etc.), and to report them using the same formal devices that omniscient narrators use for fictional characters. As we mentioned earlier, in all such cases the suffix 'i' (for 'inferred') was appended to the relevant thought presentation tag in the process of annotation. Most of the thought presentation that occurs in the non-fictional sections of the corpus belongs to our 'inferred' variant, which will be discussed in detail in 6.3.

The cases of 'direct access' thought presentation in non-fiction arise when individuals report their own thoughts. This is notably the case when the authors of autobiographies narrate their own experiences, which partly accounts for the fact that thought presentation is over three times more frequent in (auto)biography than in the press (992 vs 306 occurrences). Another factor is that biographies, as well as autobiographies, focus in great detail on particular individuals, and are often concerned with their most private beliefs and experiences. Indeed, writers of biographies capitalize on the fact that they are 'experts' in the lives of their subjects (and in some cases have close relations with them), so that they sometimes write about them in a way that is reminiscent of omniscient fictional narrators. All this leads to an increased use of thought presentation devices. News reports, on the other hand, tend to focus more on public, directly accessible 'events', and therefore include what people say rather more often than they include what people think. That said, the fact that there are over 300 thought presentation tags in the press section of our corpus still requires some discussion (see Chapter 6).

Writing presentation is most frequent in the (auto)biography section of the corpus, where it accounts for 8.73 per cent of all tags, as opposed to 3.27 per cent in the press section and 1.65 per cent in fiction. The higher frequency of writing presentation in (auto)biography can be related to the fact that (auto)biographies (and biographies in particular) make references to written documents that are relevant to the lives of the protagonists, notably letters and diaries. In addition, several of the subjects of the texts we selected are professional writers (e.g. W. H. Auden and T. S. Eliot), or have writing as part of their profession (e.g. Benny Hill). Some of the (auto)biographies, therefore, contain references to, or quotations from, the protagonists' written works. In other cases, the protagonists were the subjects of much media attention, because of their activities in politics, showbusiness or sport (e.g. Margaret Thatcher, Kylie Minogue, Linford Christie), so that their (auto)biographies contain reports of what the press wrote about them. In contrast, fictional stories contain very few reports of writing. The press data come in the middle in terms of the frequency of writing presentation. This is because some of the articles

explicitly refer to written reports, polls, letters or, indeed, other newspaper articles.

When considering the frequency of speech and writing presentation in the non-fictional section of the corpus, we also need to bear in mind that a substantial part of what we tagged as N was probably also based on what others said or wrote. Journalists and writers of biographies, in particular, draw most of their information from spoken or written sources. In producing their own accounts, they then make decisions as to what information to present as part of what someone else said or wrote, and what information to present unattributed. For our purposes, the former cases count as speech or writing presentation, while the latter count as narration. In his discussion of news stories, Bell (1991: 204) also distinguishes between cases where 'all manner of spoken and written inputs are incorporated into news stories' without attribution, and cases where 'the news explicitly draws its content from an acknowledged source'. Thompson (1996) deals with this issue when defining what he calls 'language reports' as his object of analysis:

The working definition of 'language reports' [...] is 'signalled voices in the text': I include as language report any stretch of language where the speaker or writer signals that another voice is entering the text, in however muffled or ambiguous a fashion.

(Thompson 1996: 506)

Let us now turn to the differences between the popular and serious sections of the corpus. The order of frequency between the three modes of presentation is the same in the popular and serious sub-sections as in the corpus overall. However, Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that the relative frequencies vary: in the serious sections the differences between the numbers of occurrences of speech vs writing vs thought presentation are smaller than in the popular sub-sections. In the popular sub-sections, speech presentation is three and a half times more frequent than thought presentation (56.73 per cent vs 15.44 per cent) and over seventeen more times more frequent than writing presentation (56.73 per cent vs 3.23 per cent). In the serious sections, on the other hand, speech presentation is three times more frequent than writing presentation (51.43 per cent vs 17.06 per cent), and just under nine times more frequent than writing presentation (51.43 per cent vs 5.82 per cent). In terms of percentages of all words, Table 3.3 shows that the popular sections have approximately 6 per cent more speech presentation than the serious sections, but nearly 2 per cent less thought presentation and over 2 per cent less writing presentation. Although it is difficult to provide explanations at such a high level of generality, it appears that what we have classified as serious writing is slightly more varied in terms of discourse presentation, whereas the dominance of speech presentation is more marked in the texts we have classified as

popular. Table 3.4 provides a more detailed breakdown of each genre into popular and serious sections, with relevant percentages of occurrence of tags for each mode of presentation (in Table 3.4, percentages relating to N and portmanteau tags have been included together under ‘Other’).

Table 3.4 shows that the popular and serious sub-sections of the press data are in fact very similar to each other, with the serious sub-section having slightly more occurrences of all three modes of presentation, including speech presentation. As we will see later in the following chapters, the broadsheets and the tabloids differ primarily in terms of what categories of presentation they favour. However, the contrast between popular and serious texts is more marked in the other two genres. Popular fiction contains around 9 per cent more instances of speech presentation than serious fiction, and around 4 per cent fewer instances of thought presentation. A greater reliance on dialogue in popular fiction and a lesser focus on thought seems to correlate with the idea that popular fiction is more dramatic and easier to read. The differences in terms of writing presentation are too small to warrant interpretation. As for (auto)biography, the two sub-sections have similar amounts of thought presentation, but the popular section has nearly 9 per cent more instances of writing presentation and nearly 6 per cent fewer instances of thought presentation than the serious section. The former difference suggests, once again, a greater reliance on the dramatizing effects of dialogue in popular writing; the latter difference is probably due to the fact that the subjects of the serious (auto)biographies are more likely to have left substantial amounts of written documents than those of the popular (auto)biographies, as well as the fact that the authors of the serious (auto)biographies make more references to written documents as evidence for the claims they make.

3.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we have begun to show the results of the adoption of a corpus approach to the study of SW&TP. The process of manually and systematically annotating the corpus has led us to produce a revised model

Table 3.4 Percentages of speech, writing, thought and other tags out of all tags in the six sub-sections of the corpus

	<i>Fiction</i>		<i>Press</i>		<i>(Auto)biography</i>	
	<i>Popular</i>	<i>Serious</i>	<i>Popular</i>	<i>Serious</i>	<i>Popular</i>	<i>Serious</i>
S	54.23	45.43	66.63	68.11	49.61	40.82
W	1.04	2.38	3.13	3.42	5.77	11.57
T	22.53	26.47	5.14	6.17	17.84	18.61
Other	22.20	25.72	25.10	22.30	26.78	29.00
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

of SW&TP, which is more exhaustive and robust than previous models. The availability of the annotated corpus has enabled us to investigate the overall frequencies and distribution of speech, writing and thought presentation in our corpus and across its main sub-divisions. In the next three chapters we will consider speech, writing and thought presentation in turn, focusing on the forms, functions and frequencies of individual categories.

## Notes

- 1 It is worth pointing out that what Short (1996) calls Narrator's Representation of Speech (NRS) corresponds to what we here call NV, and not to our Narrator's Report of Speech (NRS) annotation (see 2.2.3), which captures reporting clauses and related phenomena in speech presentation. This unfortunate terminological confusion arose because Short (1996) went to press at the start of our project, before we had realized the need to annotate separately both what we are now calling NV and reporting clause phenomena (our NRS).
- 2 We now systematically use lower-case suffixes at the ends of major tags to indicate the sub-category status of these phenomena, both in our publications and our current tagging of our spoken corpus. However, it took some time for us to become consistent in this use, and so variations in this practice can be found in our publications to date.
- 3 We initially used the abbreviation NRSAT, where 'T' stood for topic (see Semino *et al.* 1997; Short *et al.* 1996). We then moved to NRSAP (where 'P' is the second consonant in 'topic'), because we thought it better to limit the use of the letter 'T' in our tagset to thought presentation (see Wynne *et al.* 1999). The use of a capital 'P' in our earlier publications, however, gives the impression that NRSAP is a separate category in our framework, when in fact it is a variant of NRSA. We therefore now prefer to use the tag 'NRSAp', where the lower-case suffix makes it clear that we are dealing with a sub-type of NRSA (see also Short 2003: 241–71).
- 4 In our early discussion of this phenomenon (cf. Semino *et al.* 1997), we used the capital letter 'Q' to refer to the quotation phenomenon. But, as with NRSAP (see note 3), we later decided to signal more clearly in typographical terms the fact that the presence of this sort of quotation was a sub-category phenomenon, not a new major category. As a consequence, in the corpus itself, as well as our subsequent publications, we now consistently use the lower case 'q' suffix.
- 5 Cohn (1978: 144) makes the subtle point that, 'the first-person narrator has less access to his own past psyche than the omniscient narrator of third-person fiction has to his characters'. This is because omniscient narrators are, by definition, all-seeing and all-knowing, whereas first-person narrators are simply characters, with limited memory and self-awareness. The same limitations indeed apply in the case of autobiography. In the tagging of our corpus, however, we have considered all 'direct access' cases as the same, rather than try to distinguish among subtle degrees of reliability of the kind that Cohn points out.
- 6 In 6.3.2 we will explain how we distinguished between NI and IT in cases such as (18) and (19) which have the same grammatical structure.
- 7 In some earlier publications (Semino *et al.* 1997; Short *et al.* 1996), as we were struggling to come to terms with this phenomenon, we referred to what we are here calling NI as 'N-NI'.
- 8 These total figures also include the NRS, NRT and NRW tags, although, as we mentioned earlier, they do not relate to categories of SW&TP. Where appropriate, we will explicitly refer to figures which only include the tags that relate to categories of SW&TP (i.e. excluding N, NRS, NRT and NRW).

## 4 Speech presentation in the corpus

### A quantitative and qualitative analysis

#### 4.1 Introduction

At the end of the previous chapter, we provided a general overview of SW&TP in our corpus. In this and the next two chapters, we focus in detail on speech presentation (the present chapter), writing presentation (Chapter 5) and thought presentation (Chapter 6). More specifically, in this chapter we discuss the frequencies, forms and functions of each speech presentation category in turn, starting from NV and moving towards the direct end of the speech presentation scale. As we pointed out in Chapter 3, our approach is both quantitative and qualitative: we present and discuss the frequency and distribution of each speech presentation category in the corpus and across its internal sub-divisions, and we also consider the forms and functions of each category on the basis of the analysis of specific examples in context. We do not treat separately the phenomena captured by our ‘q’, ‘h’ and ‘e’ suffixes, since these will be discussed in detail in 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 respectively.

#### 4.2 The speech presentation categories in the corpus

Table 4.1 provides the numbers of occurrences of our speech presentation categories in the corpus as a whole, in each of the three genres, in the popular and serious sub-section of each genre, and in the popular and serious sub-sections overall. Table 4.2 provides the mean length of each of the categories (in terms of number of words), in the corpus as a whole and in its sub-divisions. For the purposes of these tables, the figures for NRSA include the NRSAp variant, and the figures for DS and FDS have been combined (for the reasons we introduced in 3.1.4). We have also included all the instances which received the ‘q’, ‘h’ and ‘e’ suffixes.

A Log-likelihood analysis of the figures given in Table 4.1 for the three different genres shows that the difference in the frequencies of the five speech presentation categories in the three text-types is statistically significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level. As for the contrast between the serious and the popular sub-sections of each genre, an analysis of the figures

Table 4.1 Numbers of occurrences of the speech presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction	Press	(Auto)biography	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
					Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NV	391	111	134	146	61	50	54	80	66	80	181	210
NRSA(p)	1,398	251	667	480	115	136	318	349	180	300	611	785
IS	1,114	117	667	330	64	53	276	391	118	212	458	656
FIS	157	57	33	67	21	36	7	26	20	47	48	109
(F)DS	2,974	1,569	770	635	940	629	456	314	490	145	1,886	1,088
Total	6,034	2,105	2,271	1,658	1,201	904	1,111	1,160	874	784	3,184	2,848



Table 4.2 Mean word length of the speech presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
								Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NV	8.91	7.58	9.83	9.07			8.93	5.94	7.53	11.38	10.16	8.17	8.96	8.86	
NRSA(p)	12.20	11.87	12.85	11.47			13.52	10.48	11.46	14.11	11.52	11.43	11.90	12.46	
IS	12.33	11.74	12.91	11.36			13.21	9.96	11.59	13.84	11.43	11.32	11.77	12.56	
FIS	17.05	18.63	18.03	15.22			17.00	19.58	28.57	15.19	11.35	16.87	16.33	17.36	
(F)DS	14.31	12.45	19.44	12.68			13.42	11.01	19.97	18.68	12.35	13.81	14.72	13.60	

given in Table 4.1 also shows that, whether we consider them individually or in combination, the difference in the frequencies of the five speech presentation categories in the popular and serious sub-sections is statistically significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level. The differences and similarities among the various sub-sections into which our corpus is divided will now be discussed in detail in relation to each category of speech presentation.

#### 4.2.1 Narrator's Representation of Voice (NV) in the corpus

In 3.1.1 we introduced the Narrator's Report of Voice (NV) as a new category of speech presentation to be added to Leech and Short's (1981) model. We pointed out that NV captures minimal reports of speech, consisting either of simple references to the fact that someone spoke or of general references to speech events involving utterances from large numbers of people.

Table 4.1 shows that NV occurs 391 times in the corpus, amounting to approximately 6.5 per cent of all non-portmanteau speech presentation tags. This makes NV the second least frequent speech presentation category, after FIS. This is probably because NV is the most distanced and minimal form of speech presentation, and therefore the one that least lends itself to the provision of detail and the production of dramatic effects. This is also suggested by the fact that, as Table 4.2 shows, NV has an overall mean length of just under nine words, which is shorter than any other speech presentation category. Table 4.1 also shows that NV is fairly evenly distributed across the various sub-sections of the corpus. The two non-fictional genres have slightly higher numbers of occurrences than fiction, and, overall, the serious sub-sections have more occurrences than the popular sub-sections, but the numerical differences are small. There are, however, interesting differences among the three genres with respect to what exactly is represented by NV, and also in the contexts in which NV occurs.

All three genres in the corpus contain examples where NV has an introductory function, i.e. it is used to announce a conversational turn or a speech event which is then reported in more detail in the following text. This use of NV is particularly frequent in our press data:

- (1) **AN UNHOLY row has blown up over the first politically-correct version of the Bible.** The new-look Good Book has cut out references which could offend women, Jews, black people, the disabled and left-handed.

Church leaders say it 'crucifies' Christianity. The new Bible, produced by Oxford University Press, calls God the Father-Mother and Jesus the Human One. General Synod member Rev John Broadhurst said: 'The Bible has been received from the past and only nutcases would be offended by it.'

(*'PC Bible "is an insult"*, *Today*, 5 December 1994)

In this example the opening NV reference to ‘an unholy row’ is followed in the following paragraph by a narrative sentence containing a one-word quotation from speech attributed to a group of speakers (‘Church leaders’), and by a DS report of one named participant in the debate (see 8.3 for a discussion of how this particular story was reported in different newspapers).

In the press section of our corpus, most cases of NV involve references to newsworthy speech events that correspond to particular activity types (Levinson 1979), such as diplomatic talks and interviews:

- (2) **After talks in Belgrade**, Mr Milosevic said he fully agreed with the international peace plan.  
 (‘Milosevic backs Hurd peace plea’, *Guardian*, 5 December 1994)

In other cases, NV involves references to controversies or debates that many people, in different places and at different times, have taken part in, as with the reference to the ‘row’ in example (1).

Our press data also contains a few examples where NV is used to indicate that newsworthy communication between well-known individuals had taken place, on one or several occasions:

- (3) **Each week Fergie would talk to fortune-teller Rita Rogers, astrologer Penny Thornton and psychic Madame Vasso.**  
 (‘Fergie gave up happy pills so that she’d enjoy making love’,  
*News of the World*, 26 April 1996)

Here it is newsworthy that Sarah Ferguson, the ex-wife of Prince Andrew, is communicating with astrologers and psychics on a regular basis, since this is presumably embarrassing for the British Royal Family.

In fiction, on the other hand, the choice of NV can usually be related to the point of view that is adopted at a particular point in the narrative. More specifically, NV tends to be used when the relevant utterance or set of utterances is:

- (a) unimportant from the point of view that is adopted, or
- (b) too distant to be heard clearly from the point of view that is adopted, or
- (c) produced in such a way as to be inaudible from the point of view that is adopted.

An instance of (a) is provided by example (1) in 3.1.1, where the use of NV (‘She talked on’) suggests that the character whose point of view is being privileged is uninterested in what the female speaker says, and therefore that he does not pay much attention to it. In example (4), NV appears to be used in relation to spatial point of view to suggest physical distance (see (b) above) and generalization:

- (4) In the summer, he lived in a little house surrounded by sunflowers higher than it was, beside a village with a pale blue pump in the centre, with geese marching around, pigeons gurgling (they have a different accent on the Continent) and **people sitting on walls gossiping in the evening.**

(Jean Bow, *Jane's Journey*, pp. 33–4)

The emboldened stretch of text suggests that the character whose point of view is presented is far away from, and unconnected to, the people talking, so that we only get a report of the type of talk they might be involved in, namely gossip. Here, however, the use of NV also contributes to create a sense of the general setting and atmosphere, namely one where it is warm enough to sit outside in the evenings, and where people are relaxed and friendly enough with each other to spend time gossiping together.

The next extract exemplifies type (c) above: the relevant utterance is inaudible from the chosen viewpoint because of the way in which it is produced:

- (5) Their staterooms were filled with flowers and she ran around excitedly, wondering how this could possibly be a boat when it looked just like a proper room, **while Gerard talked quietly with Lais**, looking very serious.

(Elizabeth Adler, *Peach*, pp. 34–5)

In this example we are being given the point of view of a 5-year-old girl called Peach. The use of NV for the conversation between her older sister, Lais, and a young man does not so much reflect physical distance or lack of interest, but the intention on the part of the speakers not to be overheard by the little girl. We can therefore anticipate that there are developments in the plot which are being concealed from the novel's child protagonist.

The fiction section of the corpus also contains examples where NV is used to suggest the *manner* in which the utterance is produced and the way in which it reflects the attitude and state of mind of the speaker. This can be conveyed by the choice of speech verb or by other elements within the NV:

- (6) She, Phoebe told herself, did not play those stupid games any more, she was direct and straightforward.

**But her mouth motored on** and what came out was simply, and childishly, rude.

(Sara Maitland, *Three Times Table*, p. 143)

In this example the choice of verb ('motored on') suggests a negative self-evaluation on the part of the focalized character, who appears to be

talking in spite of herself and unable to control properly what she is saying.

Contrary to what happens in our press data, therefore, the use of NV in fiction normally refers to the speech of one character only. Where it involves many, it tends to relate to informal, general talk (e.g. 'people gossiping' in example (4) rather than specific activity types (e.g. interviews).

The uses of NV in the (auto)biography section of the corpus are similar to those we have noted in both of the other two genres. For example, the public status of many of the subjects of our (auto)biography extracts results in references to particular speech events they engaged in, such as interviews and debates. In such cases, NV often has the introductory function we mentioned earlier. There are also a few instances where the choice of NV can be related to the dramatization of a particular point of view, as in fiction. However, what is more frequent and more typical of (auto)biography is the use of NV to provide an insight into the activities, personalities, feelings and relationships of the protagonists:

- (7) And perhaps through the drinking he sought to meet his father **of whom he spoke so little** and to whom it seemed, the older he grew, he meant so little.

(Melvyn Bragg, *Rich – The Life of Richard Burton*, p. 68)

- (8) She felt sick **as she made a brief speech which was delivered in a rapid monotone**.

(Andrew Morton, *Diana: Her True Story*, p. 135)

In (7), the NV highlights the infrequent occurrence of a particular topic in Richard Burton's conversations (his father), and therefore suggests a difficult relationship and/or internal turmoil. The longer and more detailed NV in (8), on the other hand, is relevant in the projection of Princess Diana's personality and the depiction of her plight as the new wife of the heir to the British throne. In the sentences preceding (8), we are told that Diana had great difficulties adjusting to her public role, and that she was particularly distressed by the task of public speaking. Her problems were exacerbated by the sickness she suffered from at the beginning of her first pregnancy, when she accepted what is described as her first 'solo public duty' (switching on the Christmas lights in London's Regent Street). As a consequence, the NV reference to the fact that she delivered her planned speech at all, and the unease with which she delivered it, serves the purpose of emphasizing the problems she had to overcome and her sense of duty in overcoming those problems.

To conclude, we have seen that NV can be used to refer to the verbal activities of one or more people, on one or repeated occasions, and in more or less formal types of talk. We have also seen how, in context, NV can perform a range of functions: it may have a primarily introductory

purpose, or it may be used to project a particular point of view or to shed light on a person's life. As for formal variation, the examples we have quoted show that NV mostly consists of a clause containing a verb of speech, which may be rather general (e.g. 'speak', 'talk') or more specific (e.g. 'shouted', 'motored on'). In some cases, the clause involves a delexicalized verb and a direct object referring to verbal activities (e.g. 'making conversation' or 'gave a series of interviews'). There are also a number of examples where the NV consists of a noun phrase where the head noun refers to verbal activities (e.g. 'An unholy row' in example (1) above). This type of NV structure is particularly typical of news reports.

#### 4.2.2 *Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts (NRSA(p)) in the corpus*

In 1.3 we introduced Leech and Short's (1981) category of the Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts (NRSA), and in 3.2.1 we discussed the new 'with topic' (NRSAp) variant that we created during the annotation of our corpus. In this section we will use the label 'NRSA(p)' when we refer generally to the category, without distinguishing its prototypical form and its 'with topic' variant.<sup>1</sup>

Table 4.1 shows that NRSA(p) is the second most frequent speech presentation tag in the corpus, with 1,398 occurrences. It accounts for 23 per cent of all non-portmanteau speech presentation tags. As Table 4.1 shows, this is mainly due to the frequent use of NRSA(p) in the two non-fictional genres, and particularly our news data: the (auto)biography section has nearly twice as many instances as the fiction section, and the press section has nearly three times as many. These patterns can be related to the fact that NRSA(p) is a rather flexible form of presentation, ranging from minimal references to speech acts (in the prototypical NRSA form) to fairly detailed but concise summaries of one or more utterances (in the NRSAp variant). This makes it attractive to writers in the context of 'factual' reporting, where space is at a premium but detail is also important. As Table 4.2 above shows, the mean overall length of NRSA(p) is 12.2 words, whereas NV has a mean overall length of 8.91. Table 4.2 also shows how the mean length of NRSA(p) is slightly higher in the press data than in the other two genres, and, more specifically, that the serious press sub-section has a higher mean length for NRSA(p) than any other section of the corpus (14.11 words). NRSA(p) is also slightly more frequent in the serious section of each genre, and particularly in serious, as opposed to popular, (auto)biography. This may be due to the fact that the use of NRSAp tends to involve complex noun phrases, which are better suited to the formal, documentary style of serious (auto)biographies than to the informal narrative style of popular (auto)biographies.

Table 4.3 shows the relative distribution of NRSA with and without topic. Overall, more than two-thirds of the instances have an indication of

Table 4.3 Numbers of occurrences of NRSA and NRSAp in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction	Press	(Auto)biography	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
					Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NRSA	409	117	140	152	56	61	85	55	66	86	207	202
NRSAp	989	134	527	328	59	75	233	294	114	214	406	583

the topic, which, in the serious press data in particular, can be quite extensive. In fiction, however, NRSAp is only slightly more frequent than NRSA, whereas in the two non-fictional genres the difference is rather large. These trends can be explained through a more detailed analysis of the use of NRSA(p) across the genres included in our corpus.

All three genres include examples where NRSA without topic has the function of announcing and introducing utterances which are then reported in more detail in the following text. In the previous section, we noted the same function in relation to NV (see example (1) above).

In all three genres, NRSA without (or with minimal) topic is also used where nothing more than the illocutionary force of a particular utterance is relevant in context:

**(9) Mary's father stepped in with congratulations.**

(Graham Greene, *Brighton Rock*, p. 137)

In (9), Mary is made to feel uncomfortable by the fact that her father intervenes at all, and by the particular speech act he performs (Mary is described as 'writhing' two sentences later). The use of NRSA without topic is sufficient to signal the nature of her father's verbal behaviour and to explain her sense of unease. It was this kind of example, which is representative of NRSA in fiction, that originally triggered the introduction of this category in Leech and Short (1981).

The (auto)biography section of the corpus also contains some short and rather prototypical examples of NRSA, where it appears to be used simply because it provides the minimal information that is relevant in the context:

**(10) I again urged more flexibility**, as I had learnt that some Ministers who would vote for her in the first ballot might not vote for her in the second.

(Kenneth Baker, *The Turbulent Years*, p. 394)

Here Kenneth Baker is trying to advise his beleaguered Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, on how to remain as leader of her party (and so Prime Minister) in rather difficult circumstances (in fact, she was voted out of office shortly afterwards).

These examples show how NRSA (e.g. example (9)) and NRSAp (e.g. example (10)) can be used to provide minimal summaries of utterances. As a result, they often have a backgrounding effect – i.e. their use suggests that the precise form and content of the relevant utterances are relatively unimportant. This sort of effect was also originally associated with the use of NRSA in Leech and Short's account (Leech and Short 1981: 324; see also Short 1996: 298).

This 'backgrounding' use of NRSA(p) is much less common in the



press section of our corpus. Here the use of NRSA or minimal NRSAp tends to have different functions and effects.

- (11) **The Chief Whip Richard Ryder, was also being privately criticised.**

(‘Lilley presses Major to allow rebels back’, *Independent*,  
5 December 1994)

- (12) **Bare ladies’ protest** puts end to Crinkley Bottom

(*Independent on Sunday*, 4 December 1994)

In (11) the use of NRSAp with no further detail in the following text is probably due to the fact that the reporter, for reasons of confidentiality, was not in a position to reveal any more than that a particular speech act was performed (cf. the use of the adverb ‘privately’). The use of a passive construction also allows the omission of the agent who performed the speech act. Example (12), on the other hand, is a headline where a noun phrase reference to a speech act is used to attract the reader’s attention and to announce the topic of the article. The use of NRSA without a topic is obviously appropriate for headlines, as it requires less space than NRSAp. Predictably, the text of the article contains further reports of the protests referred to in the headline (our corpus also contains similar cases involving NV).

As we mentioned earlier, our fictional examples of NRSA(p) are relatively short and only provide brief indications of the contents of the utterance (see example (10) in 3.2.1). They also mainly refer to a single person’s utterances. The serious press section of the corpus, in contrast, mostly contains lengthy examples of NRSAp, which provide quite detailed summaries of the utterances of one or more individuals, and which may or may not be accompanied by other forms of presentation.

- (13) **But senior Tory figures openly questioned the Prime Minister’s judgement in effectively throwing away the Government’s majority to limit the rebellion on the European Finance Bill.**

(‘Lilley presses Major to allow rebels back’, *Independent*,  
5 December 1994)

In this example, NRSAp is used to convey the speech act value and the contents of a (potentially large) number of utterances produced by different speakers on different occasions. This extract also typifies the use of NRSAp in the press. The grammatical structure is quite complex: the speech act verb ‘questioned’ is followed by a 20-word noun phrase functioning as direct object, and containing two subordinated non-finite clauses. This kind of structure, as we have noted, can have a rather formal effect, and is particularly associated with the serious sections of our press

and (auto)biography data. On the other hand, this sort of NRSAp structure allows the inclusion of a considerable amount of detail in less space than in a corresponding IS structure, which would involve separate reporting and reported clauses (e.g. 'But senior Tory figures openly questioned whether the Prime Minister's judgement was well-founded in ...'). As we mentioned in 3.2.1, the high frequency of NRSAp in our press data can be explained in relation to the need to combine conciseness with the provision of detailed information.

The (auto)biography section of the corpus contains brief NRSA(p) examples (e.g. example (10) above) of the sort that are prototypically found in fiction, as well as lengthier examples of the kind associated with news reporting. This section of the corpus also includes many examples of NRSA(p) that may be described as 'iterative', since they refer to a number of different utterances produced over a period of time on different occasions. In the example below three consecutive NRSAs are used to refer to Princess Diana's repeated attempts to obtain help from her husband in the early days of their marriage:

- (14) **She had pleaded, cajoled and quarrelled violently** as she tried to win the Prince's assistance.

(Andrew Morton, *Diana: Her True Story*, p. 132)

As we pointed out in our discussion of NV, the use of NRSA(p) in the (auto)biography data often has the primary function of providing background information about the protagonists and their lives/personalities. Example (14) clearly aims to convey the frustration experienced by Princess Diana in trying repeatedly to get help from Prince Charles. The choice of three rather different speech act verbs ('plead', 'cajole' and 'quarrel') suggests the range of different moods she experienced and the various strategies she adopted during that period in her life.

So, as with NV, the use of NRSA(p) in the corpus varies in terms of context, function, detail of report, number of speakers involved, and so on. There is less formal variation, however. Apart from a few examples where the speech act is nominalized (e.g. (9) and (12) above), NRSA(p) tends to be realized in single-clause structures, where the verb is a speech act verb, and may be followed by (often long and complex) noun phrases or prepositional phrases which function as direct objects or adverbials and which summarize the content of the utterance (and which may have subordinate clauses embedded within them).

#### 4.2.3 Indirect Speech (IS) in the corpus

Although IS is, after DS, the most well-known form of speech presentation, it is in fact slightly less frequent in our corpus than NRSA(p), and less than half as frequent as (F)DS (see Table 4.1 above). This provides

quantitative support for the view expressed by Leech and Short (1981) and Halliday (1994) that IS is not the most prototypical way of representing speech. However, Halliday (1994: 255) also claims that, although IS is not as 'primary' as DS, its use has become frequent in present-day English. Our corpus does not, however, suggest that IS is a particularly frequent speech presentation category, given that, with 1,114 occurrences, the IS tag amounts to only 18 per cent of all non-portmanteau speech presentation tags.

More specifically, Table 4.1 shows that IS is most frequent in the press section of the corpus, which contains twice as many instances as the (auto)biography section, and nearly six times as many instances as the fiction section. This supports Fludernik's (1993: 291) claim that journalism makes greater use of IS than literature, although her claim that IS is used more frequently than DS in the press does not apply to the tabloid section of our corpus (see below for more detail). IS is also more frequent in the serious than in the popular sections of the non-fiction parts of the corpus. As a form of presentation, IS prototypically provides the propositional content of utterances, and therefore does not easily serve the purposes of dramatization. Rather, it often has a summarizing function similar to that of NRSap. This may explain why IS is most frequent in the press section and least frequent in the fiction section of the corpus, and also why it is most frequent in the serious sub-sections of both our press and (auto)biography data. Table 4.2 shows that the overall mean length of IS stretches (excluding the reporting clause) is 12.33 words, which is similar to the overall mean length of NRSap (12.20 words). Like NRSap, IS is, on average, slightly longer in the press section of the corpus than in the other two genres, and longer in the serious press section than in any other section of the corpus.

All three sections of the corpus contain many examples where it is clear that IS was chosen because it is the propositional content (as opposed to the lexico-grammatical form) of a particular utterance that is relevant or significant in context. The extract below is part of an account of how T. S. Eliot was affected by inclement weather on a winter visit to England. We are told that he had repeated attacks of bronchitis, and are then given an IS report of his doctor's advice:

- (15) He stayed at home for part of that month, and his doctor advised him **to restrict his engagements as much as possible.**

(Peter Ackroyd, *T. S. Eliot*, p. 303)

Clearly, the wording of the utterance itself is unimportant; what is relevant is how the doctor's advice affected Eliot's activities. The example below is similar, but it also shows how, in some cases, IS occurs where a more direct report might have been discouraged by the fact that the wording of the original utterance is unrecoverable:

- (16) The happiest man in Miami last night was Terry Huckabee, who had complained to staff at the airport **that he was having a bad day**: he had missed the flight.

(‘Swamp “swallows” crashed airliner’, *Daily Telegraph*, 13 May 1996)

Here the man in question has missed a flight that crashed soon after take-off, resulting in the death of all those on board. It is likely that the reporter only heard secondhand accounts of what the original speaker said, but an IS report is sufficient to suggest the contrast between the man’s initial and later perceptions of his luck in missing the flight.

The high frequency of IS in the press section of the corpus is probably due to the fact that, because it focuses on the content rather than the form of utterances, it can be used to provide summaries of long and/or multiple utterances, in the same way as NRSap. The summarizing function of IS is particularly evident when it is used to represent what many people said on a particular topic. The two examples below are taken from the press and (auto)biography sections of the corpus respectively:

- (17) Sands’s sister, Marcella, has expressed concern about the film and some of the families of the other dead hunger-strikers have said **it exploits a tragedy for financial gain**.

(‘Bobby Sands film opens old wounds’, *Observer*, 12 May 1996)

- (18) Afterwards, everyone in the studio agreed **that we’d have to cut the item**.

(Cilla Black, *Step Inside*, p. 96)

The fact that IS presents the contents of utterances without normally claiming to reproduce the original wording can also be exploited to create contrasts with other forms of presentation, and particularly (F)DS (see also Lucy 1993: 19). This phenomenon can be observed in all sections of our corpus, but is particularly typical of fiction:

- (19) The new Paradise Corporation commercial had just aired the previous night. Jed had seen it. It opened with a black screen and a voice that said, ‘This is probably the most frightening place in the world.’ It pulled back slowly to reveal a fringe of green around the black. You were looking into an open grave. The voice went on to say **that, when you were faced with something as frightening as death, you needed the right people around you, and the right people were the Paradise Corporation etc. etc.**

(Rupert Thomson, *The Five Gates of Hell*, p. 125)

In (19), an account of a new commercial portrayed in a popular fiction novel begins with a description of the opening screen and a DS report of the beginning of the voice-over. The direct report presents an utterance that turns out to be rather unusual and dramatic for the genre in question: ‘This is probably the most frightening place in the world.’ The following stretch of narration describes how viewers were subsequently presented with the image of a grave. At this point, the voice-over launches into a sales pitch for Paradise Corporation, which is reported in IS. The switch from a dramatization of the ‘actual words’ of the advertisement in DS to a summary of its contents in IS emphasizes the unsurprisingness and predictability of the body of the commercial after its rather unusual opening. This summarizing effect is made clear by the use of ‘etc. etc.’ at the end of the sentence, suggesting that much of what the voice-over said was too trivial and/or too predictable to be reported.

The following example is taken from the biography of the Australian pop-singer Kylie Minogue, who is being interviewed about a particularly difficult point in her career:

- (20) Asked during those dark days **whether she had ever felt like quitting showbusiness** she replied: ‘I would have loved to, but I couldn’t.’

(Sasha Stone, *Kylie Minogue: The Superstar Next Door*, p. 55)

While the interviewer’s question is reported in IS, Minogue’s answer is reported in DS. In this context IS has a backgrounding effect (the wording of the question is unimportant), while DS has a foregrounding one, in that it dramatizes the voice of the subject of the biography.

There are also cases, particularly in fiction, where the contrast between IS and (F)DS suggests a contrast in attitudes to the conversation:

- (21) ‘Well sir,’ said I to Willis, ‘we are certainly ἐπ’ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, are we not?’

Willis replied **that he did not know French**.

‘What do you know then, lad?’

(William Golding, *Rites of Passage*, p. 34–5)

Here Willis, a teenage midshipman, has been ordered to show the narrator round the ship they are travelling on. The narrator attempts to involve him in conversation, but with little success. In example (21), the narrator uses a quotation from ancient Greek to make the phatic remark that they are now in the middle of the sea. While his turn in the conversation is reported in DS, Willis’s reply is reported in IS. This shift in presentation serves to emphasize the reluctance on Willis’s part to engage in conversation, and possibly a slightly offhand attitude. He tries to opt out of the interaction by pleading ignorance of the foreign language used by the

narrator (which he wrongly identifies as French). Cumulatively, all this produces a humorous effect at the expense of Willis.

We will end this section with an unusual example from the autobiography of the actress Barbara Windsor, where the same utterance is reported in both IS and DS:

- (22) Once during filming he even claimed **I gave him an erection:**  
 ‘Oooh, she’s given me the ‘arf ‘ard!’ he said to the technicians.  
 (Barbara Windsor, *Barbara: The Laughter and Tears of a Cockney Sparrow*, p. 74)

At this point in her book, Windsor is talking about her colleague Kenneth Williams, and relating the way he teased her about her sex life and her sexiness. In example (22), Williams’ alleged claim about Windsor’s effect on him is first introduced in IS form, and then presented in DS. This contributes to foreground a rather risqué and humorous utterance (Williams was openly gay), but also helps readers understand the text. After reading the IS report, readers are likely to have no difficulties understanding the DS report, even though it contains non-standard lexis and spelling (it also suggests that Williams made use of his well-known ability to put on a wide range of comic voices). In this way, Windsor can dramatize the language used by her colleague without compromising her readers’ ability to follow the story.

As far as its formal realization is concerned, what we have coded as IS involves less variation than NV or NRSA(p). By our definition, IS always involves a reported clause, which is typically introduced by a reporting clause containing a verb indicating speech activity. Although ‘say’ is the most frequently used verb to introduce IS in our corpus, many other verbs can perform the same function. Appendix 3 provides a list of the 86 verbs that occur in IS reporting clauses in our corpus, and also indicates the genre section(s) of the corpus that they were found in. As the appendix shows, fiction has less variation in IS reporting verbs than the other two genres: in fiction 24 different such verbs were found, while the two non-fiction sections of the corpus have over 50 each. This correlates with the fact that IS is less frequent in fiction than in the other two genres. The verbs listed in Appendix 3 include, apart from ‘say’ and ‘tell’, a range of verbs indicating the illocutionary force of the relevant utterance (e.g. ‘confess’, ‘promise’), or the way it was performed (e.g. ‘shout’) (see Caldas-Coulthard 1994 for a classification of speech reporting verbs). In a few cases, the reporting clause includes verbs that indicate the perspective of the receiver rather than the producer of the utterance (‘hear’ and ‘learn’). There are also, however, reporting clauses which do not include a verb of speech, but contain structures where the reference to speech is made via a noun phrase which functions as grammatical subject or object (e.g. ‘word spread that . . .’, ‘Mr Major issued a warning that . . .’).

In most instances of IS, a finite reported clause is introduced by a finite reporting clause, but this is not a necessary condition. In example (20), the reporting clause is non-finite and the reported clause is finite. The opposite applies when what is being reported is an offer or a command (see Halliday 1994: 257–60):

- (23) As he stunted a shot for the cameras, OJ wryly told photographers **to keep out of the way**.

‘Look boys, this is a dangerous game,’ he said.

(‘Bogeyman OJ laughs at justice as Daily Mirror drives him into the rough’, *Daily Mirror*, 13 May 1996)

Here the reporting clause is finite (‘OJ wryly told photographers’) and the reported clause is non-finite (‘to keep out of the way’). While Leech and Short (1981: 323–4) placed a similar example under NRSA, we included such non-finite reported clauses under IS (see also Halliday 1994 and Thompson 1996). There are also instances of IS where the reporting signal is not a clause but a nominal structure (e.g. ‘The revelation that ...’, ‘threats that ...’) (see also our discussion of the scope of the NRS tag in 2.2.3). In such cases, the reported clause is embedded inside a noun phrase rather than being grammatically subordinated to another clause.

#### 4.2.4 *Free Indirect Speech (FIS) in the corpus*

Free indirect speech (FIS) is by far the least frequent category of speech presentation: with 157 occurrences, the FIS tag accounts for less than 3 per cent of all non-ambiguous speech presentation tags in the corpus. This may seem surprising, given the amount of attention that scholars have devoted to what is generally called ‘free indirect discourse’ or ‘represented speech and thought’ (Banfield 1982; Fludernik 1993; McHale 1978; Pascal 1977). We will, however, show in Chapter 6 that the free indirect form is much more central as far as *thought* presentation is concerned (FIT is the second most frequent form of thought presentation in our corpus). This is an example of how the use of the term ‘discourse’ to capture both speech and thought presentation can disguise important differences in the patterning and importance of different modes of presentation in texts.

In spite of its low overall frequency, it may still be surprising for some that FIS occurs at all outside the fiction section of the corpus, and that (auto)biography actually has more occurrences than fiction. This goes against the traditional view that, as McHale puts it, the use of the free indirect forms is ‘characteristic of the fictional’, if not exclusive to literature (McHale 1978: 283; see also Rimmon-Kenan 1983:114–16). In contrast, other scholars have pointed out the close and complex historical

connection between the use of the free indirect forms (and particularly FIT) in fiction and in non-fiction genres (e.g. Adamson 2001; Fludernik 1993).

As far as the internal sub-divisions of our corpus are concerned, Table 4.1 shows that FIS is less frequent in the news data than in the other two genres. This questions Fludernik's (1993: 291) assessment of the pervasiveness of FIS in journalistic language. An even greater contrast arises from a comparison between the serious and popular sections of the corpus. FIS is more frequent in the serious sections of all three genres. The difference between popular and serious fiction, however, is smaller than that found for the (auto)biography and press sections. Indeed, in the press section of our corpus, the broadsheet sub-section has nearly four times as many examples of FIS as the tabloid section. These differences may be due to the fact that FIS is linguistically more complex than other forms of presentation (it typically displays a mixture of direct and indirect features, including deictic clashes, e.g. distant time deixis and close spatial deixis). In addition, the frequent absence of reporting clauses in FIS means that readers have to infer the identity of the relevant speaker from contextual clues, and so there may in some cases be an ambiguity as to whether a particular stretch is narration or FIS (see 7.4.1 for more discussion). These characteristics of FIS may explain why it is relatively infrequent overall, and also why it is particularly infrequent in the popular sub-sections, where ease of reading may be an important consideration.

Table 4.2 shows that, overall, FIS has the highest mean length of all speech presentation categories in our corpus (17.05 words). There are larger discrepancies among the various sub-sections of our corpus than for the other categories, but the low number of instances (especially for the popular press) makes comparisons less reliable than for other categories. In both fiction and (auto)biography, however, it seems to be the case that FIS stretches are on average longer than in the popular sub-section, possibly for the same reasons that make it less frequent in the popular sub-sections than in the serious ones.

Not surprisingly, the fiction section of the corpus contains the most complex instances of FIS, and also displays greater formal variation in the realization of FIS than the other two text-types. The possible effects and functions of the free indirect form in literature have received a great deal of attention (Banfield 1982; Fludernik 1993; McHale 1978; Pascal 1977), even though, as we mentioned above, FIS is often unhelpfully conflated with FIT (but see Leech and Short 1981). The evidence of our corpus confirms that the use of FIS typically has a distancing effect, sometimes leading to irony at the expense of the person whose speech is being presented. Leech and Short (1981: 334–5) explained these effects by suggesting that the 'norm' for speech presentation is DS, so that the use of FIS involves a move from this 'norm' towards the narrator's end of the speech presentation scale (see also 1.3).



In the extract below, the first-person narrator of H. G. Wells' *Tono-Bungay* is being shown around London by a character called Ewart.

- (24) [...] and I thought of my uncle's frayed cuff as he pointed out this house in Park Lane and that. **That was so and so's who made a corner in Borax, and that palace belonged to that hero among modern adventurers, Barmentrude, who used to be an I.D.B. – an illicit diamond buyer, that is to say.**

(H. G. Wells, *Tono-Bungay*, p. 98)

The extract begins with the narrator's NRTAp ('and I thought of my uncle's frayed cuff'), followed by a description of Ewart's actions ('as he pointed out this house in Park Lane and that.'). The latter can be seen as borderline between narration and NRSap, given that the action of pointing out elements of the surrounding extra-linguistic context normally involves a combination of verbal and non-verbal behaviour. The suggestion that Ewart is at this point talking to the narrator is one of the contextual features that leads to the identification of the following (emboldened) sentence as FIS. Another contextual clue is that FIS has already been used to report Ewart's words in the immediately preceding text.

In addition, the emboldened sentence contains a number of linguistic characteristics that lead to an FIS interpretation. The content of the utterance is consistent with the previous indication of what Ewart was doing and talking about, i.e. it is to do with surrounding buildings and their owners. Moreover, the emboldened sentence above involves a number of features that suggest the character's speech. It consists of two co-ordinated clauses linked by 'and' – a structure that is typical of spoken language (Biber *et al.* 1999: 81); the repeated use of the deictic marker 'that' is appropriate to the original context of utterance within the fictional world; and the spelling out of the acronym 'I.D.B.' appears to be added as an afterthought, and includes the expression 'that is to say', which has a colloquial feel. The absence of a reporting clause also results in the grammatical independence of the stretch representing the character's speech. While all these features are normally associated with DS, the tense used is the narrator's simple past, which is typical of IS. It is this mixture of DS and IS features that is the defining characteristic of FIS. In addition, the use of 'so and so's' rather than the relevant person's name seems to suggest that the narrator was not attentive enough to catch all the names mentioned by Ewart, rather than indicating that Ewart failed to specify the name.

In terms of possible effects, the lack of a reporting clause introducing Ewart's utterance, the backshift in tense typical of IS, and particularly the use of 'so and so' in place of a proper name seem to suggest that the narrator is only half listening to Ewart's description. Indeed, in the surround-

ing text the narrator seems to be involved primarily in his own reflections and recollections about the past. We would therefore suggest that the use of FIS in this example is likely to produce the kind of distancing effect that is generally associated with this form of presentation.

The use of FIS for ironic purposes is more evident in examples like the following:

- (25) [...] and with an echo of the earlier hysteria was saying that she couldn't possibly sleep in the private car, she would have nightmares, she would be too scared to stay, she was sure whoever had uncoupled the car before would do it again in the middle of the night, and they would all be killed when the Canadian crashed into them, because the Canadian was still there behind us, wasn't it, wasn't it?

(Dick Francis, *The Edge*, p. 131)

Here the report of a turn from a rather nervous character called Xanthe begins with a reporting clause and the subordinator 'that'. It is therefore theoretically possible to analyse the first reported clause (underlined in the above quotation) as IS (but see below). Although the rest of the report retains the use of the past tense and the third-person pronoun for Xanthe, it consists of a series of independent clauses, with no repetition of the reporting clause or the subordinating conjunction, and a number of markers of the character's original speech. These include the length of the series of clauses, the lack of conjunctions (which suggests an agitated, breathless delivery), the use of emphatic expressions (e.g. 'she was sure', 'they would all be killed'), the repeated use of modal verbs and the repeated tag question at the end.

We therefore tagged the emboldened part of the extract as FIS, and the emboldened and underlined part of the extract as ambiguous between IS and FIS (IS-FIS). This was in order to indicate, within the constraints of our annotation system, that what appears to start as a possible IS presentation of the character's speech turns out to be FIS. Although the first clause within the reported stretch, would, on a first reading, appear to be IS, in retrospect it too can be said to contain a feature that could be associated with the character's verbal style – namely the emphatic and colloquial expression 'couldn't possibly'. As far as possible effects are concerned, in this example the use of FIS seems to convey the narrator's ironic and rather condescending attitude towards the character's apparently excessive and almost paranoid fears (note also the reference to 'hysteria' in the reporting clause).

With respect to the boundary between IS and FIS, some scholars regard the grammatical independence or 'freeness' of the reported clause as a necessary feature of FIS, and therefore allow for IS forms that include lexical or grammatical markers of subjectivity (e.g. Fludernik 1993;

McHale 1978). Like Leech and Short (1981), we favour a wider definition of freeness, which includes not only grammatical independence but also the presence of any linguistic features that mark a move away from narratorial control towards the evocation of the reported voice, whether they relate to grammar, vocabulary, deixis, or whatever. We therefore coded as FIS all instances where the reported clause is grammatically subordinated to the reporting clause, but contains clear markers of the character's own voice:

- (26) I heard Les's voice in the background saying **yes he fucking well did mean it.**

(Ted Lewis, *Get Carter*, p. 130)

Here we have a non-finite reporting verb ('saying'), as well as a backshift in tense and third-person pronouns in the reported clause. All these features are typical of IS. In grammatical terms, the status of the reported clause is not entirely clear, but it is possible to see it as grammatically subordinated to 'saying', with the omission of the subordinator 'that'. However, the reported clause also contains the discourse marker 'yes', which is typical of spoken language, and the colloquial expression 'fucking well', which, with the swearword 'fucking', appears to evoke the character's original words. Because of this mixture of prototypically indirect and prototypically direct linguistic features, we tagged the emboldened part of the extract as FIS, regardless of its potentially subordinated grammatical status (see 7.4.2 for more detail on the boundary between IS and FIS).

Although the frequency of FIS in the press and (auto)biography data is not very different from fiction, the two non-fiction sections do not display the same degree of complexity and formal variation in the linguistic realization of FIS. The use of FIS in news reports, in particular, appears to be highly constrained, both in the form of FIS reports and in the contexts in which they occur. Consider the following example:

- (27) The Bishop of Wakefield, Nigel McCulloch, chairman of the Church's communication unit, said that if the claims were true, such practices were 'utterly disgusting and blasphemous'. **They were not recognisable as part of any Anglican creed.**

('Minister "touched women" at exorcism', *Guardian*,  
5 December 1994)

In the first sentence of this extract, the Bishop of Wakefield's comments on an alleged case of sexual harassment within the Church of England are reported by means of IS with a quotation (ISq). The subsequent sentence does not contain a reporting clause, but its topic and general import are consistent with what the Bishop has just been reported as saying. There is

also a cohesive link between the pronoun 'They' and a noun phrase that is part of the previous reported clause ('such practices'). More importantly, the emboldened sentence is in the past tense. If this sentence was a statement on the part of the reporter, it would normally be in the present tense (e.g. 'They are not recognisable ...'). The use of the past tense, however, would be appropriate to a potential IS report (e.g. 'The Bishop said that they were not recognisable ...'). In other words, the use of the past tense constructs these sentences as potential IS reports where the reporting clause has been omitted, therefore leading to an FIS interpretation.

All instances of FIS in our press data are similar to the example above. They (i) follow a stretch of DS or IS; (ii) continue or expand on the same topic; (iii) do not have associated reporting clauses within the sentence concerned; and (iv) involve the use of the past tense where the tense appropriate to the journalist's own narrative would be the present. This lack of variation can be related to the fact that news reporters cannot afford to run too many risks with dubious attribution of claims and wording, so FIS is used where it is clear from the previous context who is the source of the relevant statements. This also explains why FIS is less frequent in news reports than in the other genres represented in the corpus. The motivation for using FIS in the press appears to be largely to do with avoiding the repetition of reporting clauses, rather than with the kinds of effects we have noted in relation to fiction.

The (auto)biography section of the corpus has more instances of FIS than each of the other two genres, and contains a mixture of the kinds of FIS that are found in fiction and the press. A number of examples are similar in form and context of use to those that are typically found in news report (e.g. example (27) above). These occur primarily in serious (auto)biographies, which are in some cases written by journalists and politicians in a style reminiscent of broadsheet newspapers:

- (28) Many peace propagandists declared, and some still do, that for a nation to be armed at all was to provoke aggression. **If only one nation would disarm it would exert an irresistible moral pressure on all the others to do the same.**

Many of the disarmament and peace groups were party front organisations; in others, party underground members formed cells, and by their dynamism and through constitutional manoeuvres moved into positions of control.

(Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, p. 73)

The first sentence of (28) is in the form of NRS followed by IS. The emboldened sentence has no reporting clause, but its content clearly suggests that it is still part of the opinions expressed by the 'peace propagandists' introduced in the previous sentence (in the following paragraph, the narrator moves on to provide further background information on the

peace movement). The use of the modal ‘would’, however, is not criterial here, since it can be appropriate both to the author’s own narrative, and to a potential IS report. This particular example also shows how FIS can be used to represent simultaneously many different voices and utterances – a phenomenon that is frequent in the two non-fictional genres but unusual in fiction.

Other instances of FIS in (auto)biography display some of the effects and formal characteristics that we have observed in fiction, even though they tend to be shorter and less complex:

- (29) After the interview I mentioned as casually as I could that as a result of blocked sinuses I had lost my sense of smell (with the exceptions of petrol, laundry and excrement) for years, **and could he think of any way of restoring it?**

(Ludovic Kennedy, *On My Way to the Club*, p. 345)

In this extract the journalist Ludovic Kennedy has just interviewed a famous healer as part of his job, and decides to take the opportunity to seek the healer’s help for a personal problem. His request begins in IS form, but the emboldened part is clearly FIS: the use of a direct question (with inversion of subject and operator plus quotation mark) is typical of DS, but the tense and pronouns are appropriate to IS. On the one hand, the use of FIS here makes the narrative more immediate and dramatic than IS would have done; on the other hand, FIS is more effective than DS in conveying the deliberately casual and offhand tone of the narrator’s request.

To conclude, FIS displays considerable formal variation in fiction and, to a lesser extent, (auto)biography, but it is rather limited, both in frequency and contexts of use, in news reports. Its effects vary depending on the context, but in fiction and (auto)biography FIS often conveys a sense of distance, in the attitude of either the producer of the utterance, or the narrator reporting it.

#### 4.2.5 *(Free) Direct Speech ((F)DS) in the corpus*

In the process of annotating our corpus we followed Leech and Short (1981) and others in distinguishing between DS and FDS, even though, following Short (1988), we had doubts as to whether the latter constitutes a separate category. In our discussion of ambiguities in 7.4.2, we will present our conclusions as to the status of FDS in relation to DS. In this section, we adopt the label (F)DS to refer generally to the overall phenomena that we tagged either as DS or FDS in the annotation of the corpus. The more specific labels DS and FDS will be used only when we wish to distinguish the kinds of examples we tagged as FDS from those we tagged as DS.

Overall, (F)DS is by far the most frequent category of SW&TP in our corpus.<sup>2</sup> With 2,974 occurrences, (F)DS accounts for 17.99 per cent of all tags in the corpus and for just under 50 per cent of all (non-portmanteau) speech presentation tags. This lends quantitative support to Leech and Short's (1981) claim that DS is the 'norm' for speech presentation. Halliday (1994: 254 *et passim*) also sees DS as the typical and primary form for the presentation of speech (as opposed to IS). Table 4.1 shows that (F)DS is the most frequent category in all three genre sections of the corpus, but with some variation in its degree of prevalence over other SW&TP categories. More specifically, it is more than twice as frequent in the fiction section of the corpus as in the two non-fiction genres, which display similar frequencies of (F)DS to each other. This can probably be related to the fact that (F)DS serves the purposes of dramatization and characterization which are central to novels and short stories. It is also the case that, because of the nature of fiction, novelists can use (F)DS without concerns about the faithfulness relationship between their reports and any original utterances.<sup>3</sup>

Table 4.1 also shows that (F)DS is considerably more frequent in the popular than in the serious sections of the corpus – a difference that can again be related to the effects of dramatization and immediacy that the use of (F)DS helps to achieve (see Tannen 1989). The difference is particularly marked in the (auto)biography section of the corpus, where (F)DS is more than three times as frequent in the popular as in the serious sub-section. This may be due to the fact that serious (auto)biographies tend to be written in a formal, documentary style, and tend to use direct quotations when faithfulness to the original utterances is possible. Although the traditional view that direct quotations are verbatim reproductions of an original utterance has been questioned, it is undoubtedly the case that, in some contexts, the possibility of faithful reproduction is an important factor in the use of (F)DS (see Short *et al.* 2002 for a context-sensitive discussion of faithfulness in reporting). Thompson (1996: 512–13) identifies two main functions for direct quotations in written English: 'to indicate a higher degree of faithfulness to an original (or possible) language event', and 'to present the reported language event more vividly to the hearer by simulating the original event'. He also points out how, depending on the context, these two functions may coincide or conflict with each other.

Taken as a whole, the newspaper section of the corpus is the only section where IS is almost as frequent as (F)DS. However, IS is much more frequent than (F)DS in the broadsheet sub-section and much less frequent in the tabloid sub-section. Our broadsheet data therefore support the claim by various scholars that newspaper language privileges IS over DS, whereas the popular sub-section does not (see Bell 1991: 203; Fludernik 1993: 291). In any case, the news reports contained in our corpus seriously question Bell's claim that '[d]irect quotation is the exception not

the rule in news stories. Predominantly journalists turn what their sources say into indirect speech' (Bell 1991: 203).

Table 4.4 allows a comparison of the frequency of the DS and FDS tags in our corpus.

Overall, the DS tag is more than twice as frequent as the FDS tag. The relative proportions are similar in the popular and serious sub-sections of the corpus. However, in fiction the FDS tag is almost as common as DS, while it is much less common than DS in non-fiction, especially the press. This is probably due to two related factors. Fiction often contains stretches of dialogue with no reporting clauses, in order to give the impression of 'quick-fire' unmediated dialogue, but such stretches are infrequent in non-fiction texts. In addition, narratives with a more 'factual' focus, and particularly those in the press, tend to avoid the omission of reporting clauses, since this can lead to lack of clarity and possibly even litigation.

As mentioned earlier, the dominance of (F)DS over other forms is particularly evident in the fiction section of our corpus, where (F)DS accounts for just under 70 per cent of all non-ambiguous speech presentation tags. The dramatization of characters' voices is an important part of the effects of vividness, immediacy and involvement of fictional narratives. In addition, (F)DS is crucial to the construction of characters and the advancement of the plot. Typically, individual instances of (F)DS involve a single character and are part of a wider stretch of conversational interaction, which may be presented using different forms of speech presentation. As we saw in our discussion of IS, (F)DS can have a foregrounding effect when used alongside other, less direct, forms of presentation:

- (30) **'What a blotch!'** said the young Mary, as they topped the crest of the hill and looked down into the valley. Stanton-in-Teesdale lay below them, black with its slate roofs and its sooty chimneys and its smoke. The Moors rose up and rolled away beyond it, bare as far as the eye could reach. The sun shone, the clouds trailed enormous shadows. **'Our poor view! It oughtn't be allowed. It really oughtn't.'**

**'Every prospect pleases and only man is vile,'** quoted her brother George.

The other young man was more practically minded.

**'If one could plant a battery here,'** he suggested, **'and drop a few hundred rounds onto the place ...'**

**'It would be a good thing,'** said Mary emphatically. **'A really good thing.'**

(Aldous Huxley, *Point Counter Point*, p. 135)

The emboldened stretches in this extract were tagged as DS, while the stretch in bold underline was tagged as FDS, due to the absence of a reporting clause in close proximity (see 7.4.2 for our more detailed criteria

Table 4.4 Numbers of occurrences of DS and FDS tags in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction	Press	(Auto)biography	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
					Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
DS	2,047	832	684	531	485	347	398	286	410	121	1,293	754
FDS	927	737	86	104	455	282	58	28	80	24	593	334



in applying the DS and FDS tags). The use of (F)DS here is clearly central in dramatizing a particular scene in the narrative, and also in projecting the characters' different personalities and mutual relationships. Mary's choice of words is rather emphatic and openly evaluative (e.g. 'blotch', 'poor' and the repetition of 'oughtn't' and 'a good thing', both preceded by 'really'). George's speech suggests a more detached and philosophical attitude, whereas the other character's turn contains a deliberately extreme suggestion on how to remedy the perceived ugliness of the view, which also ties in with the fact that he is described as a 'military man' in the surrounding text. The use of (F)DS also enables the reader to see that, while nobody openly responds to George's view, the other two characters support each other's conversational moves, and Mary even completes the third character's utterance at the end of the extract. This could indicate something about how their relationship is going to evolve in the novel.

In formal terms, the extract shows the conventional device of marking the start of a new conversational turn with a paragraph boundary. It also shows how the position of the reporting clause can vary. The first two instances of DS have the reporting clause in final position, while the last two have it in medial position. Indeed, it is rare in fiction for the reporting clause to occur in initial position, probably due to the fact that this reduces the effect of drama and immediacy usually associated with DS.

The emboldened stretches in the above example also give a sense of the possible variation in the structure and length of (F)DS stretches. In prototypical cases the DS stretch involves a clause, but it can also consist of non-clausal structures (e.g. 'What a blotch!') or of more than one sentence. Where the reporting clause and the stretch of quotation are part of the same sentence, the exact nature of their mutual structural relationship is problematic in grammatical terms (see Oostdijk 1990; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1022–4). However, the reported clause of DS clearly has a grammatical independence that contrasts with the grammatical subordination typical of reported clauses in IS.

In the fiction section of our corpus, FDS usually involves the presence of quotation marks and the omission of the reporting clause, as in the emboldened and underlined stretch of example (30). As we will see in the next chapter, this contrasts with what is the case for FDT. In most cases the co-text provides fairly unambiguous clues as to the relevant speaker, but, as is well known, long stretches of conversation presented in FDS can make it difficult for readers to keep track of the identity of speakers, especially when more than two characters are involved:

- (31) Wycliffe and Tony would have preferred to linger, to digest the experience, but they had no choice. They found the Ballards' car.

**'Will you drive, Tony, or shall I?'**

**'You drive, dear.'**

(W. J. Burley, *Wycliffe and the Scapegoat*, p. 30)

- (32) In the centre of the parade ground a group of twelve-year-old boys were playing marbles on the baked earth. Seeing the turtle, they ran towards Jim. Each of them controlled a dragonfly tied to a length of cotton. The blue flames flicked to and fro above their heads.

**'Jim! Can we touch it?'**

**'What is it?'**

**'Did Private Kimura give it to you?'**

Jim smiled benignly. **'It's a bomb.'**

(J. G. Ballard, *Empire of the Sun*, p. 169)

In (31) the relevant scene only includes two characters, and so the fact that the first FDS report contains an address to Tony leads to the conclusion that it must have been uttered by Wycliffe. The second example of FDS is a response to the first, and is therefore attributable to Tony. As we mentioned above, the use of a paragraph boundary is commonly used, as in this case, to separate the turns of different characters. In (32), on the other hand, it is impossible to attribute all the instances of FDS to a specific source. The first three cases of FDS are not attributed, so that they create the impression of individual but unidentified voices coming from the group of boys. The final turn, however, follows a narrative sentence focusing on Jim, and can therefore be attributed to him. He is also the main character in the novel, and the person who can provide the answer to the questions posed by the other boys.

The motivation for using (F)DS in news stories is generally rather different from what is the case in fiction. Bell (1991) suggests that direct quotations serve three main purposes in newspapers: (i) to provide 'a particularly incontrovertible fact' that can be used as evidence in a potential libel suit, especially if the reporter has made a recording of the original speech (Bell 1991: 207–8); (ii) to distance the reporter from what the source said, so that the reporter will not be held responsible for either the form or the content of the quotation; and (iii) to provide 'a flavour of the newsmaker's own words' (Bell 1991: 208).

Unlike fiction, (F)DS in the press is normally used to present individual utterances in isolation, i.e. not as part of an exchange or interaction (although in some cases different instances of (F)DS are used in close proximity to one another in order to present different sides within a particular debate). Consider the following examples:

- (33) **'We are not at liberty to change the word of God just to be politically correct,'** said the Rev. Tony Higon. **'If you are going to tear some pages out of the Bible and rewrite others where will it finish?'**

**'You end up with something that would ultimately be a different religion.'**

(*'For God's sake stop rewriting our Bible'*, *Daily Express*,  
5 December 1994)

- (34) Witnesses said the plane plummeted at a 75 degree angle. **'It was terrible. Nothing could have survived that,'** said Daniel Muelhaupt, a local flying instructor who had been giving a lesson. **'I thought it was doing a manoeuvre but it didn't pull up and, wham!'**

(*'Doomed passengers bought cheap tickets for aircraft with history of engine trouble'*, *The Times*, 3 May 1996)

Example (33) is taken from a report concerning various negative reactions to the publication of a politically correct version of the Bible (see 8.3 for a discussion of how this particular story was reported in different newspapers). The use of direct quotation to represent the words of one specific clergyman brings to life a particular voice, and gives a sense of the strength of his reaction. In addition, the reporter is able to present the rather extreme statement made in the last sentence of the extract (*'You end up with something that would ultimately be a different religion'*) without having to take responsibility for it. In example (34), the use of DS allows the reporter to present the scene of an air crash in a dramatic fashion and from a personal perspective. The inclusion of the informal expression *'wham'* at the end also serves the third function mentioned by Bell (1991), namely that of giving a strong flavour of the eyewitness's own words.

As we noted in relation to fiction, reporting clauses in our press data mostly occur in final or medial position (see also Oostdijk 1990). There is, however, more variation in the sources to which (F)DS stretches are attributed. In both the examples above, the source is a specific individual, identified by name and profession. Like other forms of speech presentation, (F)DS can also be attributed to well-known public figures, who are identified by name only, or to unidentified sources, such as *'one source'*, *'a friend'* or *'a member of the Shadow Cabinet'*. In the latter cases the reporter *'plays safe'* by making it difficult, if not impossible, for others to challenge the veracity and accuracy of the (F)DS report.

Example (33) also demonstrates a formal device that is particularly typical of tabloid newspapers. When an individual quotation is several sentences long, it is split into different paragraphs, probably due to a general strategy to keep paragraphs short in order to make reading easier. In such cases, each new paragraph opens with a new set of quotation marks, even though no closing quotation marks are used at the end of the preceding paragraph. This is presumably meant to remind readers that what follows the paragraph boundary is still part of the same quotation (see also

Halliday 1994: 25). In such cases we tagged the stretches of quotation appearing in each new paragraph as FDS, due to their separation from the original reporting clause. This applies, for example, to the last sentence of (33) above.

Indeed, in the press section of the corpus all the instances of quotation that we tagged as FDS involve the use of quotation marks and the omission of the reporting clause (the only exception is represented by headlines, which are discussed below). However, FDS is only found following another form of speech presentation which is clearly attributed to a source. In this way journalists avoid the kind of uncertain attribution that we noted in relation to fiction.

Newspaper headlines can contain stretches of FDS with quotation marks, or stretches that are deictically marked as direct quotations, but have no quotation marks:

(35) Fundholding: **'GPs cannot cope'**

(*Independent*, 13 May 1996)

(36) **Come and get your millions**

(*Daily Express*, 12 December 1994)

Short (1988) has pointed out how, in such cases, the texts of the articles show that the headlines do not provide 'faithful' reports of the relevant original, but rather short and punchy summaries of much longer utterances from one or more people. This is the case with both our examples above. In Short *et al.* (2002) we have pointed to newspaper headlines as a particular context where the conventional expectation of faithful reproduction associated with (F)DS in factual reporting often appears to be suspended.

In (auto)biography, the main function of (F)DS is to foreground significant utterances by the protagonists or by people who knew them, dramatizing the protagonists' lives, and, in the case of biographies, emphasizing the wealth of evidence that the author has at his or her disposal. As a consequence, (F)DS in this genre displays a combination of the formal and functional variation we have already seen in relation to fiction and the press. The use of the free direct form, in particular, is less constrained than in news stories, so that some examples are more reminiscent of its use in fiction.

(37) More sinister still, she slipped into the habit of using the royal 'we' in public. (**'We are a grandmother'**).

(Julian Critchley, *A Bag of Boiled Sweets*, p. 215)

(38) Our long weekend leave was about to start. Friday till Monday!  
Where to spend it?

‘Edgington,’ I said, as I shaved with a thousand year old blade, my face a sea of cuts, ‘All my born days I’ve wanted to see the ruins of Carthage.’

‘I think you’ve only got a pint of blood left,’ says Edgington.

**‘I must hurry.’**

‘What’s a Carthage?’ said Doug Kidgell.

**‘A great archaeological site.’**

‘Oh?’ said Kidgell. ‘Why we goin’, you got friends there?’

**‘It’s to improve my education.’**

(Spike Milligan, *Monty – His Part in My Victory*, p. 58)

In (37), an infamous statement by Margaret Thatcher is reported in FDS form in parentheses, in order to exemplify the point the narrator is making. Example (38), on the other hand, shows how popular (auto)biography can resemble fiction in its presentation of dialogue. The extract involves seven instances of (F)DS in close succession. Of these, three (in bold) were tagged as FDS due to the absence of reporting clauses. In these cases readers have to rely on inferencing and contextual clues in order to attribute the relevant utterances to one of the participants in the scene.

The verbs that are used in our corpus to introduce DS stretches are listed in Appendix 4. The overall number is similar to that for IS (93 different verbs), but there is wider variation in the types of verb chosen, especially in fiction (e.g. verbs which indicate paralinguistic phenomena that accompany speech). As with IS, ‘say’ is the most frequently used verb. In addition, there are many examples of ‘tell’ and of other verbs indicating illocutionary force (e.g. ‘question’) or relating to the structure of the conversation (e.g. ‘go on’). Compared with IS, however, there are many more verbs indicating how a particular utterance was articulated (e.g. ‘murmur’, ‘snarl’, ‘bark’). Appendix 4 also includes a few verbs that indicate actions that accompany speech and that involve the production of sound (e.g. ‘laugh’ and ‘cough’). DS reporting clauses can also involve structures without a speech-related verb (e.g. ‘the cry went up’), but much less frequently than in reporting clauses introducing IS. There are also very few examples of non-clausal NRS (e.g. ‘Another question:’).

### 4.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we have seen how (F)DS outnumbers all other speech presentation categories by a long way, thereby confirming its status as the main form of speech presentation. NRSA(p) is the second most frequent category in all genres, followed by IS, NV and FIS respectively.

We have also seen that all the categories of speech presentation occur in all three genres represented in the corpus, but in different proportions. Fiction is responsible for the scale of the overall preponderance of (F)DS,

in that it contains more instances of (F)DS than the other two genres put together. However, it has less NV, NRSA and IS than the two non-fiction genres. This leads to the conclusion that, in quantitative terms, fiction is characterized by a greater use of the most direct form of presentation, and a smaller use of the categories at the non-direct end of the scale. We have also seen that fiction is characterized by greater variation in the form of FIS, and different uses of NV and FDS from the two non-fictional genres. The press section, on the other hand, is characterized by a high frequency of NRSA(p) and IS, which can be related to the fact that these forms are particularly useful in summarizing long or multiple utterances in a relatively short space. Overall, (auto)biography also privileges the indirect end of the scale much more than fiction, but it makes a much smaller use of NRSA(p) and IS than the press.

A comparison of the popular and serious sections overall (see the right-most two columns in Tables 4.1 and 4.2) shows that (F)DS in particular is considerably more frequent in the popular sections (by nearly 10 per cent), while the other categories are marginally more frequent in the serious section. This, we have suggested, can be related to the fact that the popular sections aim to achieve effects of vividness, dramatization and immediacy, and are less concerned with faithful reporting than more serious texts. The latter, on the other hand, tend to adopt a more formal, detached tone, and to rely more on forms of presentation that have a high summarizing function.

## Notes

- 1 It is important to note that our distinction between speech acts and writing acts means that, contrary to normal usage in pragmatics (Searle 1969; Thomas 1995: 51), we do not use the term 'speech act' to refer generally to illocutionary acts or illocutionary force, regardless of whether the relevant acts are realized in speech or writing. Rather, we distinguish between references to the illocutionary force of spoken utterances (NRSA(p)) and references to the illocutionary force of (parts of) written texts (NRWA(p)). This distinction, however, does not amount to a theoretical redefinition of the concept, but is simply a result of our decision to consistently separate the presentation of speech from the presentation of writing.
- 2 In considering our figures for (F)DS, it should be borne in mind that, when the reporting clause is in medial position, each of the two parts of the reported clause counts as one occurrence for the purposes of our calculations. We estimate that our figures would be reduced by approximately one-third if the two parts of each reported clause counted together as one instance. This would reduce the extent of the preponderance of (F)DS among speech presentation categories, but (F)DS would remain the most frequent speech presentation category in our corpus by a long way.
- 3 Indeed, it could be argued that, even though most fictional narratives are told in the past tense, readers may have the impression, particularly in third-person narration, that the relevant events and verbal exchanges are unfolding as the narrative progresses, so that (F)DS would involve 'listening' to the character's own utterances, rather than to a report on the part of the narrator.

## **5 Writing presentation in the corpus**

### **A quantitative and qualitative analysis**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter we turn to writing presentation and provide a detailed discussion of the use and distribution of individual categories, as we did for speech presentation in Chapter 4. As we pointed out in 2.2.1 and 3.1.3, while the study of speech and thought presentation has a long tradition, a separate focus on writing presentation is a feature of the work that has arisen out of our own corpus-based project. Initially, therefore, we listed writing presentation last in our label for the phenomenon that is the concern of this book (i.e. ‘speech, thought and writing presentation’) and its associated acronym (ST&WP). However, speech and writing presentation are much more closely related to each other than thought presentation is to either of them. As we pointed out in 3.3.1, both speech and writing are modes of communication which result in observable and potentially public verbal behaviour and ‘texts’, which can then be reported/(re)presented. Thought, on the other hand, is a private phenomenon that is, at best, only partly verbal in nature. In this chapter we will also show that the speech and writing presentation categories share many formal and functional characteristics, and that many reporting verbs can be used for both speech and writing presentation. For these reasons, we now talk about ‘speech, writing and thought presentation’ (SW&TP), and indeed we use this ordering in the title of this book. Similarly, we discuss writing presentation in this chapter before turning to thought presentation in the next chapter.

#### **5.2 The writing presentation categories in the corpus**

We originally decided to tag writing presentation separately in our corpus for the following reasons. First, we felt that it was important to signal those cases where it was made clear that a written source was being reported. Second, we wanted to see whether the presentation of writing functioned in ways similar to, or different from, the presentation of speech (and thought), both in terms of the nature of the relevant categories, and in terms of their distribution.

In 3.3.1, we noted that writing presentation is considerably less frequent in our corpus than either speech or thought presentation, and suggested some of the reasons why this might be.<sup>1</sup> Here we will focus on the relative frequencies and distribution of the various categories of writing presentation. As we pointed out in 2.2.1, we adopted for writing presentation a parallel set of category tags to those used in the annotation of speech (and thought) presentation. The scope of these tags should be partly predictable from our discussion of the speech presentation tags in Chapter 4, but will receive some detailed discussion below.

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the frequency of the main five writing presentation categories in the whole corpus and in each of its sub-sections (without distinguishing among the phenomena captured by our 'e', 'h' and 'q' suffixes). Table 5.2 provides the mean length of each category in the whole corpus and in its sub-sections.

Because of the relatively low frequency of the relevant tags, it is difficult to draw reliable conclusions from the number of occurrences of writing presentation categories, but some meaningful patterns do seem to arise. As we have already noted in 3.3.1, the (auto)biography section of the corpus in particular has considerably more instances of the main writing presentation tags than the other two categories. This is because (auto)biographies include references to documentary material concerning the protagonists and to written texts produced by the protagonists themselves. It is also notable that the serious (auto)biography section has twice as many instances of the writing presentation tags as the popular (auto)biography section. This is because serious (auto)biographies make greater use of written sources than popular ones, and are also more likely than popular (auto)biographies to be concerned with people who are themselves the authors of written texts. Indeed, the difference in the distribution of the five writing presentation categories in the serious vs popular sub-sections of our (auto)biography data is statistically significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level. The serious and popular sections of the press part of the corpus, in contrast, have similar numbers of occurrences. In fiction, the serious section has more than twice as many instances as the popular section, but the figures are altogether too low here to be meaningful. It is important to bear in mind that these patterns are quite different from those that apply to speech presentation, since the latter is slightly less frequent in (auto)biography than in the other two genres, and slightly more frequent in the popular than the serious sections of the corpus.

We will discuss the distribution of individual tags as we go through the various categories in the rest of this section. In overall statistical terms, however, the difference in the distribution of the five writing presentation categories in our three text types is significant at the  $p = 0.014$  level. The difference in the distribution of the five categories in the popular and serious sections is not statistically significant for fiction, moderately significant for the press data ( $p = 0.022$ ), and highly significant for



Table 5.1 Numbers of occurrences of the writing presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
								Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NW	41	10		3	28		1	9		2		13	15	16	25
NRWA(p)	215	29		53	133		8	21		35	18	43	90	86	129
IW	74	5		25	44		2	3		8	17	25	19	35	39
FIW	31	4		8	19		0	4		2	6	7	12	9	22
(F)DW	141	19		24	98		9	10		13	11	19	79	41	100
Total	502	67		113	322		20	47		60	53	107	215	187	315

Table 5.2 Mean word length of the writing presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
								Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NW	9.95	5.70	3.33	12.17	3.00	6.00	2.50	5.00	16.00	8.86	13.50	7.68			
NRWA(p)	12.00	11.75	11.96	12.08	14.00	10.90	9.28	17.16	11.41	12.40	10.79	12.82			
IW	18.40	17.00	17.36	19.15	16.50	17.33	13.25	19.29	20.84	16.94	18.85	18.00			
FIW	15.78	10.40	23.12	14.10	–	13.00	17.50	25.00	15.57	13.25	14.40	16.40			
(F)DW	18.63	7.52	17.75	21.01	3.66	7.70	17.30	18.27	18.00	21.73	4.00	19.95			

(auto)biography ( $p < 0.001$ ). We will discuss these differences in relation to individual categories below. It is also worth pointing out that the rank-ordering of the writing presentation tags in terms of frequency is also different from that which we noted for speech presentation. In 4.2.5 we saw how (F)DS is by far the most frequent speech presentation category in the corpus, followed by NRSA(p). As far as writing presentation is concerned, however, NRWA(p) is more frequent than (F)DW. We suggest some explanations for this difference below.

The differences we have noted so far between speech and writing presentation in our corpus suggest that it is indeed appropriate to treat them separately in annotation and analysis. We will notice some further similarities and differences in our discussion of individual writing presentation categories in the rest of this chapter. As with our discussion of speech presentation, we will start from the most indirect end of the writing presentation scale and move, step by step, to the direct end.

### 5.2.1 *Narrator's Representation of Writing (NW) in the corpus*

The category of the narrator's representation of writing (NW) is the written counterpart of NV. It is used to capture minimal references to writing activities, which do not provide any information as to the illocutionary force, content and wording of the relevant text. As Table 5.2 shows, the mean length of NW instances in our corpus (9.95 words) is, not surprisingly, lower than that of other writing presentation categories and is similar to that of NV (8.91 words). Table 5.2 also shows that NW is, on average, longer in (auto)biography (and popular (auto)biography in particular) than in the other genres. This is probably due to the fact that some instances of NW contain details about the circumstances of the relevant writing activity (e.g. when or where it took place). Consider the following examples:

- (1) I know he suspected that I ate the wrong food for while I was convalescent in the country **he wrote to me frequently**; I still have his letters. 'Be sure to eat the right food,' he says repeatedly.  
(Muriel Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, p. 204)
- (2) We were both of us living alone at that time, **scribbling poetry in neighbouring streets**, so for a while we visited each other quite often, establishing a defensive minority of two.  
(Laurie Lee, *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning*, p. 40)
- (3) She acquired an IBM golfball typewriter and **did academic typing at home in the evenings** and various well-paid temping jobs during the day.  
(A. S. Byatt, *Possession*, pp. 13–14)

As these examples show, NW is very similar to NV in its minimal reference to the activity of writing. Like NV, it can also have the function of introducing the process of writing a text (or texts), which are then reported in more detail in the following text. This is the case in example (1), where the sentence following the NW includes a direct quotation from the relevant texts.

There are also, however, some differences between NV and NW which are to do with more general differences between speaking and writing. The most prototypical form of NV involves reference to the fact that someone spoke (e.g. 'She talked on'). The situation is different with NW, due to the fact that the process of writing results in the physical production of texts, which are often ascribed to specific text types (e.g. letters, poems, etc.). As a consequence, with NW it is almost inevitable that, implicitly or explicitly, the relevant genre or text-type will be indicated. The examples above involve letters, poetry and academic papers/books respectively. It is, of course, possible to think of plausible NW examples where this is not the case (e.g. 'From the window I could see her writing'), but no such examples occur in our corpus. In addition, NW can also include a reference to the physical and/or technological means used for the purposes of the writing activity, as in the case of 'typing' in example (3).

In many other ways, however, NW is less varied in form and function than NV. While English has many different verbs for speaking, it has very few for writing, so that the verb 'write' features in most of our examples. While the NV category also includes references to speech events including several speakers, NW in our corpus exclusively refers to a single individual writing, on one or more occasions. Unlike speech, writing does not normally involve immediate interaction (or, rather, it did not at the time when our texts were produced), so that we have no writing equivalents of references to speech events in our corpus. One can, however, think of possible examples. A reference to students sitting a written examination would count as an event where writing is the main activity, even though the people involved do not interact with each other in the way in which people do in speech events (such as interviews or diplomatic talks). Advances in technology (e.g. Internet chat rooms), however, have generated activities that make writing more similar to speech in terms of interaction in real time. So, our NW tag would apply to a reference to an online discussion on an Internet site, which makes its potential scope more similar to that of NV.

Overall, however, NW only occurs 41 times in the corpus, which makes it the second least frequent writing presentation category in our corpus, after FIW. This parallels the situation with speech presentation, where NV is the second least frequent category after FIS. The distribution of NW across the corpus partly reflects the overall pattern for writing presentation that we noted above, but the figures are too low for meaningful conclusions to be drawn.

### 5.2.2 *Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts (NRWA(p)) in the corpus*

As the written counterpart of NRSA(p), the category of the narrator's representation of writing acts (NRWA(p)) captures references to writing which specify the illocutionary force, or, more generally, the action performed by means of writing (NRWA), and possibly the topic or content of the resulting text (NRWAp).

Some instances involve references to significant actions that are inherently written in nature, and which have a particular social, political or institutional import:

**(4) More than 6,000 signed an anti-Blobby petition.**

('Bare ladies' protest puts end to Crinkley Bottom',  
*Independent on Sunday*, 4 December 1994)

Here the verb 'signed' refers to a specific socially relevant action which can only be performed by means of writing. This example was tagged as NRWA. References to voting (when this is done by writing), for example, would be treated in the same way.

In the majority of the cases, however, NRWA(p) involves references to the illocutionary force of (part of) texts, and is therefore entirely parallel to NRSA(p), in terms of structure, function, and the verbs used to refer to the relevant illocutionary act.

**(5) Leonard dedicated a poem to him [. . .].**

(L. S. Dorman and C. L. Rawlins, *Leonard Cohen: Prophet of the Heart*, p. 60)

**(6) One of the papers had attacked the commercial for being too emotive.**

(Rupert Thomson, *The Five Gates of Hell*, p. 125)

**(7) But the report [. . .] questions ministerial claims that the system is the driving force for innovation in the NHS.**

('Fundholding: "GPs cannot cope"', *Independent*, 13 May 1996)

Example (5) was tagged as NRWA, while examples (6) and (7) were tagged as NRWAp. The latter two examples, in particular, are very similar to the instances of NRSAp we discussed in 4.2.2. The two verbs that are used indicate the illocutionary force ('question' and 'attack') apply both to speech and to writing. In both cases, the verb is followed by a lengthy noun phrase which indicates the content of the relevant (part of the) text, and which includes embedded clauses (in example (7) the NRWAp also contains an instance of embedded IS: 'claims **that the system . . .**').

As with NRSA(p), NRWA(p) often has an introductory position in

textual terms, and is followed by more detailed reports from the same text. This is the case with the NRWAp in example (7), which is immediately followed by further summaries and quotations from the same report in the form of FIW, IW and DW. The NRWAp variant also has the summarizing function that we describe in relation to NRSAp in 4.2.2, especially in the non-fiction sections of our corpus.

Interestingly, however, in NRWA(p) the grammatical subjects of the verbs indicating illocutionary force are not always the authors of the relevant text. In example (6) this grammatical slot is filled by a reference to the news outlet, and in example (7) by a reference to the text itself. In such cases, there is a metonymic relationship between the entity mentioned in the text ('the report', 'one of the papers') and the actual agents (i.e. the author(s) of the report, the journalist(s) writing for a particular newspaper).

As we mentioned earlier, NRWA(p) is by far the most frequent category of writing presentation in our corpus. Table 5.1 shows that, like NW, it is considerably more frequent in (auto)biography than in the other genres, and in the serious sub-sections of the corpus as opposed to the popular sub-sections. Indeed, around 40 per cent of all instances are contained in the serious (auto)biography data (which makes up about 16 per cent of the corpus), for the reasons to do with the protagonists' activities that we have mentioned above. However, the press section bucks the trend in this case, since the tabloids have nearly twice as many instances as the broad-sheets.

In terms of length, Table 5.2 shows that NRWA(p) has an overall mean length of 12 words, which is similar to that for NRSA(p) (12.20 words). As with NRSA(p), the serious press sub-section has the highest mean length for NRWA(p) of all sub-sections of the corpus (17.16 words). As we explained in our discussion of NRSA(p) the grammatical complexity that results from lengthy NRWA(p) structures appears to be a feature of broad-sheet writing (e.g. example (7) above), but tends to be avoided in our tabloid data, where the mean length of NRWA(p) is only 9.28 words.

### 5.2.3 *Indirect Writing (IW) in the corpus*

Like its counterpart for speech presentation, IW is the third most frequent category of writing presentation. However, with 74 occurrences, it lags far behind NRWA(p) and (F)DW. As with all the other writing presentation categories, it is most frequent in (auto)biography, but its frequency in fiction is lower than for the other forms of writing presentation (only 5 occurrences). The popular and serious parts of the corpus do not differ significantly as far as IW is concerned, but, in contrast to what we saw with NRWA(p), the tabloids have many fewer instances than the broadsheets. Table 5.2 shows that IW has the highest mean length of all writing presentation categories in our corpus (18.40 words).

IW is parallel to IS in both form and function. It involves a separate reported clause, and is used to focus on the content rather than the wording of texts, often resulting in summary:

- (8) The report warns **that windfalls from late invoicing by hospitals for work carried out for GPs will result in higher prices elsewhere in the NHS unless they act as a stimulus for the hospital to improve efficiency.**

(‘Fundholding: “GPs cannot cope”’, *Independent*, 13 May 1996)

- (9) But because of Helsinki, I was down as the favourite, according to the British press. They said **I had a good chance at winning gold.**

(Fatima Whitbread, *Fatima*, p. 155)

- (10) The local Tory MP, Sir Mark Lennox-Boyd, wrote to the Lancaster town clerk suggesting **that Crinkley Bottom should go and Happy Mount be restored.**

‘I fear,’ he said, ‘that one must inevitably conclude that the development has been a failure and a most unhappy experience for the people of Bare.’

(‘Bare ladies’ protest puts end to Crinkley Bottom’, *Independent on Sunday*, 4 April 1994)

In example (8), the reported clause provides a detailed summary of the contents of the relevant report. In (9), what is being presented is the most relevant point from a number of newspaper articles. In (10), IW is used to provide the main point of a letter, part of which is then quoted in DW in the following paragraph. Here we can see the same kind of foreground vs background contrast that we noted in relation to IS and DS: IW is used to summarize the letter as a whole, while DW foregrounds the part of it that is regarded as particularly significant and representative.

As we saw in relation to NRWA(p), the reporting verbs used in IW reporting clauses are not specific to writing, but also apply to speech reporting. The complete list provided in Appendix 5 contains 18 different verbs. These include ‘say’, and many verbs indicating illocutionary force (e.g. ‘warn’ and ‘suggest’), but no instances of ‘write’. Not surprisingly, the press and (auto)biography sections of the corpus contain a wider variety of different verbs in IW reporting clauses than the fiction section, where IW occurs only five times.

As with NRWAp, our IW examples show how the grammatical subjects of reporting verbs can include not only the authors of the text(s) (as in example (10)), but also other entities which stand metonymically for the author(s). These include the text itself (e.g. ‘the report’ in example (8)) and collective references to parts of the media (e.g. ‘they’ referring to ‘the British press’ in example (9)).

### 5.2.4 Free Indirect Writing (FIW) in the corpus

With only 31 instances overall, FIW is the least frequent form of writing presentation in our corpus (as well as the least frequent category of SW&TP as a whole). As Table 5.1 shows, approximately 60 per cent of instances are contained in the (auto)biography section, while the serious sections have over twice as many instances as the popular sections, both overall and within each genre (the popular press section contains no instances at all). The latter pattern parallels what we noticed in relation to FIS in 4.2.4, and can be explained along the same lines: the free indirect forms are linguistically more complex and potentially more ambiguous than other forms of presentation.

The forms and contexts of use of FIW in the newspaper and the (auto)biography sections of the corpus are similar to those we noticed in relation to FIS in the newspaper data. Normally, a form of writing presentation (usually IW or (F)DW) is followed by a new sentence which continues on the same topic and which displays the kind of linguistic mix that is characteristic of the free indirect form. Consider the following example:

- (11) It [the report] says: ‘Most fundholders are not making full use of the increasing body of knowledge about clinical effectiveness to inform their commissioning decisions. One reason is that they face conflicting demands from their patients.’

**Fundholders were increasingly purchasing services such as physiotherapy, counselling and complementary therapies because they were requested by the patients, but they had not been proven to be effective. Few fundholders met Patient’s Charter day surgery targets, and most were failing to maximise efficiency savings from day surgery, mainly because the GPs still leave it to the consultant to decide.**

(‘Fundholding: “GPs cannot cope”’, *Independent*, 13 May 1996)

In the first paragraph of this example, an extract from a report on the organization of medical care is presented in DW (with ‘say’ as the reporting verb). The following paragraph provides more detail from the report, and is cast in the past tense. As we mentioned in our discussion of FIS in the press (see 4.2.4), this tense would be appropriate to a potential IW report, but not normally to the reporter’s own narrative, which would require the present tense (e.g. ‘Fundholders *are* increasingly purchasing services’). In other words, the second paragraph of (11) involves what could be seen as IW without a reporting clause, which thus leads to an FIW interpretation. The use of the past tense also serves as a non-factive marker: by using it in place of the present tense, the reporter signals that he is merely reporting the claims made in a particular document, and not



making these claims himself. Example (11) also shows how FIW stretches can be quite lengthy in the serious press section of our corpus (this particular example is 59 words long). Overall, the mean length of FIW in the corpus is 15.78 words, but the mean length for the serious press section is 25 words. This is because of examples such as (11), where FIW is used to present in some detail the contents of substantial written documents.

In cases such as (11), the use of FIW seems to be motivated primarily by the need to avoid the repetition of reporting clauses, where it has already been made clear in the co-text that a report of writing is being made. In other cases, however, the use of FIW also adds to the immediacy and vividness of the narrative.

- (12) Back came a charming letter. **A book of stories would be very acceptable. Was I interested?**

(Muriel Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, pp. 205–6)

Here Muriel Spark is recalling the correspondence she had with the fiction editor of an important publishing house in the early days of her career. The first sentence indicates the arrival of a letter from him, and describes its tone. The following sentence is clearly a summary of the main import of the letter, with no reporting clause. The final sentence of the extract is a direct question in interrogative form (as would be typical of (F)DW), but the use of the past tense and the first-person pronoun ‘I’ (rather than ‘you’) are appropriate to the reporting narrative context (as would be typical of IW). This leads to an FIW interpretation.

The few examples of FIW in fiction are limited to the presentation of a character’s viewpoint while reading a book or a newspaper, and are similar to (12) above.

### 5.2.5 *(Free) Direct Writing ((F)DW) in the corpus*

In dealing with the direct end of the writing presentation scale, we will follow the convention that we adopted for the direct end of the speech presentation scale. We will use the label (F)DW to refer generally to the phenomena that were captured by means of the DW and FDW tags. This is because, as is the case with FDS, we have come to regard FDW as a variant of DW, rather than as a category of writing presentation in its own right.

As we mentioned earlier, (F)DW is the second most frequent category of writing presentation after NRWA(p). Table 5.1 shows that its distribution across the corpus is not very dissimilar from what we have noted for other forms of writing presentation: approximately 70 per cent of all instances are contained within the (auto)biography section, but 80 per cent of the (auto)biography occurrences belong in the serious section. On the other hand, the popular and serious sections of the other two genres

contain very similar numbers of instances of (F)DW. Table 5.2 shows that (auto)biography also has the highest mean length for (F)DW stretches: 21.01 words. The mean length for the press is just a little lower (17.75 words), while in fiction the mean length is only 7.52 words. The overall mean length of (F)DW stretches is 18.63 words, which is higher than that for (F)DS (14.31 words).

The frequency and distribution of (F)DW in our corpus contrast considerably with what we discovered for speech presentation. (F)DS is by far the most frequent category of speech presentation, accounting for just under 50 per cent of the non-ambiguous speech presentation tags. In contrast, (F)DW is less frequent than NRWA(p), and accounts for 28 per cent of the non-ambiguous writing presentation tags. While (F)DS is particularly frequent in fiction, (F)DW is especially frequent in (auto)biography; and while (F)DS is slightly more frequent in the popular than the serious sub-sections of each genre, in (auto)biography (F)DW is much more frequent in the serious than in the popular sub-section (the two sub-sections of the press and fiction sections of the corpus have very similar numbers of occurrences).

We have already explained why writing presentation generally is more frequent in (auto)biography than in the other genres, and often more frequent in the serious than the popular sections. There are, however, further differences between (F)DS and (F)DW that need to be taken into account. As a mode of communication, writing does not normally involve immediate, let alone face-to-face, communication, and also has a general tendency to be more formal than speech (but note our comments in 5.2.1 on the impact of email and other technological innovations). As a consequence, the effects of dramatization and immediacy associated with (F)DS are considerably diluted with (F)DW. This is particularly relevant in fiction, where (F)DW is much less central and frequent than (F)DS. Where it is used, it tends to relate to texts that a character is reading, so that the quotation suggests a particular character's viewpoint:

- (13) I stood at the bar with the *Morning Line*, **WITCH WHO LIED FOR DR SEX. IT'S ONLY . . . PUPPY LOVE. I BACK IRA RED KEITH. MY SECRET LOVE BY TV'S MIDGE: SEE CENTRE PAGES.**

(Martin Amis, *Money*, p. 91)

Here the first-person narrator's statement that he is holding a newspaper ('the *Morning Line*') is followed by a series of short clauses which can be identified (via Grice's 1975 maxim of relation) as headlines he is reading: the use of capitals is a typical graphological device in headlines, the topics and vocabulary are typical of (tabloid) headlines (sex, terrorism, show-business), and the grammar displays some of the characteristics of 'block language', such as the omission of the articles (e.g. 'witch' rather than

'the witch') (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 845–9 and Semino 2001). There is also a reference to another part of the newspaper in 'SEE CENTRE PAGES'.

In news reports, (F)DW generally performs the same functions as those we noted for (F)DS in 4.2.5, except that, as mentioned above, (F)DW is not as effective as (F)DS in dramatizing the voices of participants in news stories. In addition, the fact that the source is a written text creates higher expectations that the quotation is a faithful word-by-word representation of (part of) the original. (F)DW quotations, therefore, can more easily provide the kind of 'incontrovertible fact' (Bell 1991: 207) that journalists can exploit for their own purposes. Consider the following example:

- (14) In a personal attack on the Queen, Stephen Tindale, a research fellow with Labour's Institute of Policy Research said she had 'the presentational skills of a tailor's dummy'. He writes in the socialist magazine *Fabian Review*: **'If heredity has no place in Blair's new Britain, then clearly the Royal Family has no place either.**

**'If Elizabeth Windsor can be shown to be ill-suited to reign, Britain's constitutional crisis could be on us sooner than we expect.'**

('Don't destroy our monarchy', *Daily Express*, 5 December 1994)

This extract comes from an article which takes a critical view of a proposal on the part of the UK Labour party (which was then in opposition) to reform and modernize the British monarchy. After reporting the views of various politicians, the reporter quotes some of the words written, in a magazine described as 'socialist', by someone who is associated with the Labour party, but not a Labour MP, let alone a member of the Shadow Cabinet. Stephen Tindale's words are first introduced in the first sentence of extract (14) by means of an instance of IWq and are then presented directly via a 40-word quotation. The quotation is clearly chosen in order to provide a very extreme version of the Labour party's proposal, and to suggest that some members of the Labour party talked about the Queen in a way that many *Daily Express* readers would have regarded as disrespectful (note particularly the fact that the Queen is referred to as 'Elizabeth Windsor', in addition to the fact that she is compared to 'a tailor's dummy' in the quotation included in the previous IW stretch). In other words, a direct quotation is used here not just to disassociate the reporter from Tindale's views and words, but also to get him to 'damn himself' in the eyes of the newspaper's readership, and to bring Labour's official (and much more moderate) proposal into disrepute. This example also displays the repetition of the quotation marks at the beginning of a new paragraph which we noted in our discussion of (F)DS in newspapers in 4.2.5, with closing quotation marks only being used at the end of the entire quoted stretch.

In (auto)biography, and particularly the serious sub-section, most cases of (F)DW involve quotations from letters or diaries produced by the protagonists or by people close to them:

- (15) Greene wrote to his mother, **‘I have little news in this dim and distant spot’**, and their isolation clearly troubled him.

(Norman Sherry, *The Life of Graham Greene*, p. 389)

This extract occurs in the context of a description of Graham Greene’s difficulties in adjusting to life in a small rural village. The use of DW provides a clear sense of Greene’s own perception of the place where he was living, and evidence of his state of mind at the time.

In terms of formal variation, as with (F)DS, (F)DW reporting clauses may occur before, after, or in the middle of the quotation. As shown in Appendix 6, the verb ‘write’ is used in DW reporting clauses in all three genres. The same also applies to ‘say’ (e.g. examples (1) and (10) above), while most of the other verbs listed in Appendix 6 can also be used for speech presentation (e.g. ‘add’ and ‘suggest’). The only exception is ‘read’, which is used to introduce written quotations from the perspective of the reader as in ‘The headline read: “. . .”’. This is parallel to the use of ‘hear’ for speech presentation that we discussed in relation to IS in 4.2.3.

In almost all the instances that we tagged as FDW (as opposed to DW), quotation marks were present but the reporting clause was omitted. Table 5.3 allows a comparison between the frequency of the DW and FDW tags in the corpus. The preponderance of the DW over the FDW tag is bigger than for speech presentation, especially in the non-fiction sections of our corpus (see 4.2.5). This may be due to the fact that FDS is often used in the context of the report of a conversational interaction, where readers can predict or infer the source of an unattributed quotation. This does not equally apply to writing presentation, where no such inferences can be made on the basis of turn-taking patterns.

### 5.3 Concluding remarks

In discussing writing presentation, we have noted that NRWA(p) is the most frequent category overall, followed by (F)DW, and then IW, NW and FIW. This contrasts with speech presentation, where (F)DS is by far the most frequent category, and NRSA(p) a rather distant second. The rank-ordering of the remaining writing presentation categories, however, mirrors that of speech presentation: NRWA(p) is followed by IW, NW and FIW. The main difference between the two modes of presentation, therefore, lies in the frequency of the direct form, which plays a much bigger role for speech than for writing presentation. As we have suggested, this may be because the effects of dramatization and vividness of (F)DS do not apply equally to (F)DW, and that the use of direct quotation from written

Table 5.3 Numbers of occurrences of DW and FDW tags in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction	Press	(Auto)biography	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
					Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
DW	109	11	22	76	5	6	11	11	16	60	32	77
FDW	32	8	2	22	4	4	2	0	3	19	9	23

sources normally imposes higher faithfulness constraints than from spoken sources (see Short *et al.* 2002 for a discussion of this issue).

As far as the three genres represented in our corpus are concerned, we have pointed out how all the writing presentation categories are most frequent in (auto)biography, and have suggested that this is to do with the fact that many of the protagonists did a great deal of writing themselves and were also written about. The differences between the genres are particularly marked for the two most frequent categories overall, NRWA(p) and (F)DW. As for the serious and popular sections of the corpus, almost all the categories of writing presentation are slightly more frequent in the serious sections. The only exception is IW, which has roughly the same number of occurrences in the serious and popular sections. The contrast is particularly marked in the (auto)biography section of the corpus, where NRWA(p) and (F)DW are used much more frequently in the serious than in the popular sub-section.

The analysis of specific examples has also shown how writing presentation is often introduced by the same verbs that are used for the presentation of speech, and how the text is often metonymically presented as the agent or bearer of its contents and wording.

## Note

- 1 We also pointed out, however, that our figures probably underestimate the actual frequency with which written texts are presented in our corpus. This is because we only applied our writing presentation tags when it was made explicit within one of our samples that a written source was involved. Because the verbs used to introduce writing presentation are often the same as those used for speech presentation, some instances of writing presentation will have been tagged as speech presentation.

## 6 Thought presentation in the corpus

### A quantitative and qualitative analysis

#### 6.1 Introduction

In section 3.3 we discussed the overall frequency of thought presentation in the corpus and its sub-sections. In this chapter, we will concentrate on the forms, functions and frequencies of individual thought presentation categories. Table 6.1 gives the numbers of occurrences of all non-ambiguous thought presentation tags in the corpus as a whole and in each of its sub-sections (without distinguishing the phenomena captured by our 'e', 'i', 'h', 'p' and 'q' suffixes).

Table 6.1 shows that the relative frequencies of the thought presentation categories are quite different from those we have noted for speech and writing presentation. NI is by far the most frequent category, accounting for 66 per cent of the non-ambiguous thought presentation tags in the corpus. However, as we will show in more detail below, the NI tag captures a wide range of phenomena, which are often quite different from those captured by our other thought presentation categories. The second most frequent thought presentation tag is FIT. This means that in our corpus FIT is proportionately much more central to thought presentation than FIS and FIW are to speech and writing presentation respectively. IT has a slightly lower overall number of occurrences than FIT, while NRTA(p) and (F)DT are the least frequent thought presentation tags in the corpus. This again contrasts with speech and writing presentation, where (F)DS/(F)DW and NRSA(p)/NRWA(p) are the two most frequent categories (though not in the same order). These differences can be explained in relation to the fact that, unlike speech and writing, thought is a private and often non-verbal phenomenon, so that thought presentation poses different problems, and results in different effects, compared with the presentation of speech and writing. We will discuss this in more depth when we deal with individual categories.

As far as thought presentation is concerned, the differences between the popular and serious sub-sections of each genre are not as marked as for speech and writing presentation. The difference in the distribution of the five thought presentation categories is only statistically significant in

Table 6.1 Numbers of occurrences of the thought presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
								Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NI	1,355	503	230	622	238	265	109	121	7	281	341	628	727		
NRTA(p)	114	62	9	43	29	33	2	7	21	21	22	52	62		
IT	201	95	24	82	55	40	7	17	43	43	39	105	96		
FIT	275	230	0	45	114	116	0	0	16	16	29	130	145		
(F)DT	107	77	7	23	37	40	5	2	18	18	5	60	47		
Total	2,052	967	270	815	473	494	123	147	379	436	975	1,077			



the popular vs serious section of the (auto)biography data (at the  $p=0.009$  level). However, there are interesting differences among the three text-types. The (auto)biography and fiction sections of the corpus have similar overall numbers of occurrences for thought presentation, while the news section has fewer. As for the particular forms of presentation, NI prevails in all genres, while FIT is particularly frequent in fiction, and completely absent from our press data. Similarly, the non-fictional genres privilege the more indirect forms of presentation (and particularly NI), while fiction has more than twice the instances of (F)DT than the other two genres put together. The difference in the distribution of the five thought presentation categories in the three text-types is statistically significant at the  $p<0.001$  level.

In order to make better sense of our figures for thought presentation, however, it is necessary to take into account an important distinction that we introduced in 3.2.3. Thought presentation can occur in two kinds of context: (a) where the reporter/narrator had direct access to the relevant thoughts, and (b) where the reporter/narrator had no such direct access, but had to infer the thoughts being presented on the basis of external evidence (i.e. a person's speech, facial expressions, actions, and so on). The former type of context arises where a (fictional) third-person omniscient narrator presents the thoughts and mental states of characters in a story, or where a first-person narrator/reporter presents his or her own thoughts and mental states. In such contexts, we have what we call 'pure' thought presentation, which is the only type of thought presentation that has been studied in depth so far. The latter type of context arises in all other cases, i.e. where a fictional first-person narrator or a non-fictional reporter present other people's thoughts and mental states. In such contexts we have what we call 'inferred' thought presentation, which is signalled in our annotation system by the addition of the suffix 'i' to the relevant thought presentation tag. Because the relative frequencies of pure and inferred thought presentation categories are genre-dependent, we begin by discussing pure thought presentation in 6.2 below. We then consider inferred thought presentation in detail in 6.3.

## 6.2 The pure thought presentation categories in the corpus

Table 6.2 provides the number of occurrences of all 'pure' (or 'non-inferred') instances of non-ambiguous thought presentation categories in the corpus. In contrast with the ordering we followed in our discussion of speech and writing presentation, in this section we will start our analysis of individual pure thought presentation categories from the *direct* end of the scale. This is in order to end our discussion with the NI category, where the differences between the thought presentation scale on the one hand and the speech and writing presentation scales on the other are more obvious.

Table 6.2 Numbers of pure (i.e. non-inferred) thought presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	(Auto)biography		Press		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
		Popul		Serious		Popul		Popul		Popul		Popul	
		Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NI	590	409	2	179	2	194	215	2	0	88	91	284	306
NRTA(p)	88	60	2	26	1	29	31	1	1	10	16	40	48
IT	136	85	12	39	2	48	37	2	10	16	23	66	70
FIT	251	227	0	24	0	113	114	0	0	10	14	123	128
(F)DT	99	70	7	22	5	35	35	5	2	17	5	57	42
Total	1,164	851	23	290	10	419	432	10	13	141	149	570	594

### 6.2.1 (*Free*) *Direct Thought* ((F)DT) in the corpus

In discussing the direct end of the thought presentation scale, we will follow the same convention that we adopted for that end of the speech and writing presentation scales. The acronym (F)DT will be used to refer generally to the phenomena captured by our DT and FDT tags together. The acronyms DT and FDT will be used when we want to distinguish between the phenomena that we tagged as DT or FDT.

As mentioned earlier, (F)DT is the least frequent category of thought presentation in our corpus. This is in direct contrast with speech presentation in particular, where (F)DS is by far the most frequent category. This is mainly because, although the thought presentation categories largely correspond in formal terms to those for speech (and writing) presentation, the effects that result from their use are quite different from those we have noted for speech and writing. Presenting thoughts in language involves ‘translating’ into words a phenomenon that might have consisted of non-verbal cognitive activities. This issue is particularly relevant to (F)DT, since, as Cohn puts it, the analogy with (F)DS ‘creates the illusion that [it] render[s] what a character “really thinks” to himself’ (Cohn 1978: 76). However, casting thoughts in the fully-fledged verbal form that is required by (F)DT foregrounds the artifice of turning thoughts into words, and results in the impression that what is presented is highly conscious, deliberate thought, rather like the kind of articulate reflection that is expressed in dramatic soliloquies. Not surprisingly, therefore, (F)DT often occurs at moments of heightened emotion or of sudden and momentous realization (Leech and Short 1981: 336–50; Cohn 1978: 80 *et passim*; see also Fludernik 1993: 77–8 *et passim*).

All this explains why (F)DT is more frequent in fiction than in the other two genres, and also why its frequency in fiction is much lower than is the case for (F)DS. It is also easy to explain why (F)DT is almost absent from the press data, since it does not provide the kind of quotation that can count as an ‘incontrovertible fact’ within a news story, as Bell (1991: 207) puts it. A comparison of the rows for (F)DT in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 shows that only a very small minority of instances were tagged as ‘inferred’. This is partly because most instances of (F)DT occur in fiction, where direct access to characters’ minds is conventionally possible. In addition, the apparently verbatim quotation of thoughts can sound particularly forced and artificial in contexts without direct access, so that, outside fiction, it is generally avoided in favour of other forms of (inferred) thought presentation.

Even in the fiction section of our corpus, (F)DT tends to be reserved for those cases where it is conceivable that characters could have mentally articulated their thoughts in verbal form. Prototypically, this is the case when what is presented is internal, self-addressed speech:

- (1) Kate thought he looked like a novelette villain. **'You've been reading too much Barbara Cartland,'** she told herself.  
(Shirley Conran, *Lace*, p. 395)

According to Cohn (1978: 58), this is historically the earliest kind of use of (F)DT (or 'quoted monologue', as she calls it). Here the similarity with speech is more obvious, since what is created is the impression of a conversation between different parts of a character's self.

In many other cases, however, the use of (F)DT corresponds with moments of heightened intensity in a character's inner life (see Cohn 1978: 80–81 and Leech and Short 1981: 342–4). As a consequence, it is common for (F)DT to involve exclamatory or interrogative structures, as in the examples below.

- (2) **'What an extraordinary face!'** thought Mary, as he approached.  
(Aldous Huxley, *Point Counter Point*, p. 136)

- (3) Then Creed said, 'Dobson's on his way out.'  
**The chairman? On his way out?**  
But Creed didn't give Jed time to think.  
(Rupert Thomson, *The Five Gates of Hell*, p. 128)

In example (2), DT is used to mark Mary's surprised reaction at the sudden appearance of a stranger. Here the reported clause has an exclamatory structure. The emboldened stretch of example (3), in contrast, was tagged as FDT, since it has no quotation marks and no reporting clause. The contents and interrogative structure of the two sentences, coupled with the subsequent reference to Jed's thoughts, lead to an FDT interpretation.

The lack of quotation marks is typical of FDT (whereas FDS and FDW normally involve quotation marks but lack reporting clauses). By omitting the quotation marks, writers decrease the impression that they are 'quoting' something that is, strictly speaking, unquotable. In some cases, this also makes it easier for readers to distinguish between direct speech and direct thought presentation. The lack of quotation marks for the emboldened part of (3), for example, clearly helps to mark it as thought rather than speech: if the emboldened stretch had been in quotation marks, it would be more likely to be read as a spoken response to Creed's previous statement. The contrast between the presence and absence of quotation marks also highlights the private nature of thoughts, especially where (F)DS and FDT occur in close proximity. As Cohn (1978: 82) points out, when (F)DT is used 'against the backdrop of dialogue', there is often a marked contrast between what the character says and what he or she thinks. In the case of (3), for example, Jed never voices out loud his surprise at the revelation that the chairman is leaving the company he works for.

The rare occurrences of pure (F)DT in the press and biography sections of our corpus are not part of the reporters' own narratives, but are all embedded inside other forms of presentation, usually (F)DS. In autobiography, in contrast, (F)DT is used in ways that are similar to what we have just seen in fiction.

- (4) Sometimes I think to myself: **'What am I rehearsing this for? It could turn out completely different.'**

(Cilla Black, *Step Inside*, p. 93)

- (5) **Those poor souls**, I thought.

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 95)

In example (4), Cilla Black uses DT to dramatize her moments of doubt during the rehearsals for the TV show *Surprise Surprise*. The use of the prepositional phrase 'to myself' suggests that this is another case of silent self-address. Here, however, the reporting verb is 'think' rather than a verb of speech as in example (1) above. In (5) another instance of FDT with no quotation marks is used to express the protagonist's emotional reaction to the news that a ferry has just sunk off the Belgian coast, causing a large number of casualties. As with our examples from fiction, the use of (F)DT in autobiography has the effect of dramatizing what is going on in somebody's head at a particular point in a narrative, so that the reader has the impression of 'listening in' on their thoughts.

Our examples of (F)DT also show that reporting clauses can be placed in initial, middle or final position (as with (F)DS and (F)DW). The variation in the choice of reporting verb is rather limited, however, as shown in Appendix 7.<sup>1</sup> Apart from 'think', our list includes only one verb of cognition ('muse'), and three verbs which prototypically relate to speech ('ask', 'say', 'tell'). This confirms our earlier point that (F)DT is often used to present unuttered 'speech'. By way of contrast, Appendix 8 shows that IT has a much wider variety of associated reporting verbs (30 in our corpus), most of which relate prototypically to cognition (e.g. 'believe', 'remember', 'think').

Table 6.3 shows that the FDT tag greatly outnumbers the DT tag in our corpus, which also contrasts with speech and writing presentation, where the situation is reversed. This pattern is primarily due to the dominance of FDT in fiction, where writers prefer to omit the quotation marks when presenting characters' thoughts directly, for the reasons we suggested earlier.

Finally, we have seen that (F)DT tends to be used to present thoughts which give the impression of having been mentally verbalized at particularly intense and dramatic moments. Table 6.4 shows that, in terms of overall mean length, (F)DT is similar to (F)DS (the mean lengths are 14.68 and 14.31 words respectively). When the presentations are longer, FIT is used instead, since it allows a vivid but less obviously artificial presentation of the thoughts of participants in narratives.

Table 6.3 Numbers of occurrences of DT and FDT tags in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction	Press	(Auto)biography	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
					Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
DT	38	19	7	12	7	12	5	2	12	0	24	14
FDT	69	58	0	11	30	28	0	0	6	5	36	33

Table 6.4 Mean length of the thought presentation categories in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction		(Auto)biography		Press		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
								Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NI	14.53	13.40	16.43	14.73	13.65	13.18	13.07	19.46	15.63	7.47	14.43	14.61			
NRTA(p)	10.73	9.41	18.77	10.95	9.93	8.96	10.00	21.28	13.95	8.09	11.55	10.04			
IT	12.26	11.94	17.20	11.19	11.20	12.97	13.42	18.76	9.69	3.97	10.73	13.94			
FIT	24.99	25.83	0.00	20.73	26.63	25.04	0.00	0.00	23.43	7.48	26.23	23.88			
(F)DT	14.68	14.03	18.71	15.60	15.62	12.57	17.20	22.50	16.05	18.60	15.88	13.14			

### 6.2.2 *Free Indirect Thought (FIT) in the corpus*

Table 6.1 shows that Free Indirect Thought (FIT) is the second most frequent thought presentation category in the corpus, after NI. In fact, given that, as we will argue, NI is quite different from other forms of thought presentation, FIT is perhaps best regarded as the most frequent of the 'canonical' thought presentation categories. Table 6.1 also reveals that the vast majority of instances of FIT (83 per cent) are contained in the fiction section of the corpus, where FIT tags occur 230 times, accounting for just under 23 per cent of all non-ambiguous thought presentation tags. This confirms the importance of FIT as a form of thought presentation in twentieth-century fiction. In contrast, the news section has no instances, and the (auto)biography section has 45. The popular and serious sub-sections of the fiction section are almost exactly equal as far as FIT is concerned, while serious (auto)biography has more instances than the corresponding popular sub-section, reflecting once again the greater preoccupation with thought presentation in serious (auto)biography.

A quantitative analysis of FIT in our corpus therefore suggests that, as far as our three genres are concerned, FIT is primarily, but not exclusively, a fictional phenomenon. Our figures do not, however, suggest that the preponderance of FIT can be used to differentiate serious from popular fiction, even though this form of thought presentation has normally been discussed in relation to the writing of prestigious authors.

A comparison between the rows for FIT in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 shows that, as with (F)DT, the proportion of inferred cases is rather small. This may be a consequence of the fact that FIT is prototypically associated with fiction, so that it is avoided in contexts where there is no direct access to the minds of participants in stories.

FIT is the form of thought presentation that has attracted most attention from linguists and literary scholars, who have studied it first and foremost in relation to fictional narratives (e.g. Banfield 1982; Cohn 1978; Fludernik 1993; McHale 1978; Pascal 1977). Its appeal for writers primarily lies in its flexibility in terms of formal features and its usefulness in presenting thoughts in a dramatic and immediate way, but without the more obvious artificiality of (F)DT. Cohn summarizes the advantages of FIT over (F)DT as follows (NB: Cohn's term for FIT is 'narrated monologue'):

By leaving the relationship between words and thoughts latent, the narrated monologue casts a peculiarly penumbral light on the figural consciousness, suspending it on the threshold of verbalization in a manner that cannot be achieved by direct quotation. This ambiguity is unquestionably one reason why so many writers prefer the less direct technique.

(Cohn 1978: 103)



Hence, FIT is used to provide more protracted access to the consciousness of characters than other forms of thought presentation, including (F)DT. Table 6.4 shows that FIT has the highest mean length (24.99 words) not just of all thought presentation categories, but of all SW&TP categories in our corpus.

FIT in fiction is also often associated with the creation of effects of closeness and empathy towards characters. Leech and Short (1981) were the first to reflect on the fact that the typical effects of FIT were opposite to the distancing effects associated with FIS (indeed, it was this observation which led them to distinguish between the speech and thought presentation scales). They explained this difference in terms of the position of FIS and FIT respectively in relation to what might count as the 'norm' on the speech presentation scale as opposed to the scale of thought presentation. As we mentioned in 1.3, Leech and Short (1981) argued that DS is the norm for speech presentation, so that the use of FIS amounts to a move away from the norm towards the narrator's end of the scale. For thought presentation, they argued that the norm is not DT, but IT (see also Halliday 1994: 253), so that the use of FIT amounts to a move from the norm towards the character's end of the scale. As we will show below, our quantitative findings lend support to Leech and Short's proposal, and also suggest that, as far as twentieth-century fiction is concerned, FIT is the most frequent choice among the forms of thought presentation traditionally distinguished (though the incidence of NI is more than double that of FIT in the fiction section of our corpus). We also need to bear in mind that, because thoughts are private, a writer's decision to provide access to a character's thoughts in itself creates a 'closeness' that is not normally possible in real life (where we are used to hearing other people speak but not think).

We will now demonstrate some of the variety of formal realizations and effects that FIT has in the fiction section of our corpus. In most cases, no reporting clause is involved, and a variety of co-textual and linguistic markers suggest that a particular stretch of text is an instance of FIT:

- (6) She looked from one to the other without speaking and walked away. **What louts they were!**

(Aldous Huxley, *Point Counter Point*, p. 138)

- (7) The pine siskin darted away and they walked on past, **now, thank God, the end of ugsome Rosslyn Park and the little new 'coffee bar'** – Sigbjørn glanced at it with pure hatred, **it was Sunday, but anyhow you could only buy Coca-Cola and Seven-Up – the big new schoolhouse, a great concrete block of mnemonic anguish, and reached a short stretch still comparatively unspoiled. What did he mean by this – 'comparatively unspoiled'? Were one's emotions of horror even quite the truth? Canada was indeed a pretty large**

country to despoil. But her legends, nearly all her most valuable and heroic history was the history of spoliation, in one form or another. But man was not a bird, or a wild animal, however much he might live in the wilderness. The conquering of wilderness, whether in fact or in his mind, was part of his own process of self-determination. The plight was an old-fashioned one, that had become true again: progress was the enemy, it was not making man more happy or secure. Ruination and vulgarization had become a habit. Nor – though they had found a sort of peace, a sort of heaven, and were now losing it again, – had they, very consciously, been looking for peace.

(Malcolm Lowry, *Gin and Goldenrod*, p. 205)

These examples show, first of all, how FIT stretches can vary considerably in terms of length. There is also variation in the kinds of linguistic signals that led us to an FIT analysis in each case. In (6), the first sentence is a piece of narration that focuses on the external behaviour of a character. The following sentence contains an evaluative comment that is consistent with the character's behaviour (walking away), and has an exclamatory structure. It is clear that the character's thoughts are being presented, but the use of the past tense bars the possibility of an FDT reading. This leads to the conclusion that the emboldened sentence is an FIT rendition of the character's thoughts (an FIS reading is barred by the fact that she has just walked away from the two other people involved, and is therefore unlikely to be insulting them out loud; moreover, in the sentence following our quoted extract the other two characters are described as following her).

In (7), on the other hand, readers of the story have already been introduced to the character's point of view, and are therefore aware of his views and of the sophistication of his verbal repertoire. The long emboldened stretch contains reflections and value judgements that are consistent with what we know about the character's beliefs, while the complexity of the lexis, and of some of the grammatical structures, is consistent with other instances of the presentation of his thoughts (even though it does not sound very 'natural' as far as thought presentation is concerned). More specifically, the emboldened stretch contains close deixis ('now'), interjections ('thank God'), highly evaluative and sometimes idiosyncratic vocabulary (e.g. 'ugsome'), direct questions, and an explicit metalinguistic reflection concerning an individual expression ('comparatively unspoiled'), which are all typical of (F)DT. However, the tense and pronouns are appropriate to IT and narration. This results in the linguistic 'mix' that, as we have noted, is typical of the free indirect forms. In addition, in example (7) some sentences begin with conjunctions (e.g. 'but') and/or include adverbial phrases or clauses in initial or medial position, which gives them a rather disjointed structure. In the last sentence of the extract, for example, the main verb is delayed by a long concessive clause

(‘though they had found ...’) and an adverbial phrase (‘very consciously’). This can contribute to the impression of one thought following another in a rather unplanned way.

In example (6), the use of FIT provides a quick glimpse of a character’s thoughts at a point where she experiences heightened feelings of indignation and rejection. This is also, to some extent, the case with (7), but the length of the FIT presentation provides a much more extended evocation of what is going on in the character’s mind. In both cases, the use of FIT increases the possibility of empathy between readers and the character whose thoughts are being presented.

While the biography section of the corpus only contains inferred and/or embedded examples of FIT, pure FIT occurs in the autobiography section of the corpus, usually to dramatize and foreground the protagonist’s thoughts at particularly significant moments. Its forms and effects are similar to those we have noted in our fiction examples:

- (8) My mind was racing. **What was going on? Could it be that Brigitte Bardot actually *fancied* me? Could I be that lucky?**  
(Michael Caine, *What’s It All About?*, p. 245)

In the first sentence, NI is used to introduce what was going in actor Michael Caine’s mind when he realized that Brigitte Bardot might be attracted to him. This is followed by a series of direct questions presenting the thoughts that were ‘racing’ through his mind. Because narration is usually composed of declarative sentences, the use of interrogative structures suggests that we are given a presentation of Caine’s thoughts at the time he met Brigitte Bardot. The use of italics for the word ‘fancied’ also acts as a typographical marker of expressivity, to use Fludernik’s (1993: 232) term, but the use of the past tense is appropriate for N and IT rather than (F)DT. All this results in the mixture of direct and indirect features that characterizes FIT. In this particular example, FIT contributes to the dramatization of the narrator’s emotional turmoil at a point where he is unexpectedly experiencing strong feelings of disbelief and excited hope.

Overall, we have shown how FIT varies in terms of its formal characteristics and how it is used to create sympathy or empathy at particularly heightened moments in the experiences of participants in narratives. The complexity of its formal realizations, its dependence on co-text for its interpretation, and its combination of features appropriate both to the narrator’s and the character’s situation may be among the reasons why it is seldom used in contexts where thoughts are inferred. This would help to explain why FIT does not occur at all in the press section of our corpus. In our discussion of ambiguity in 7.4, we will discuss how the characteristics of FIT create the potential for ambiguity with narration.

### 6.2.3 Indirect Thought (IT) in the corpus

Leech and Short (1981: 344) describe indirect thought (IT) as ‘the norm or baseline for the presentation of thought’. This, they argue, is because the use of the indirect forms in general is associated with the presentation of content rather than form or wording. Hence, the direct form is prototypical for the presentation of speech, since speech is directly accessible to others via the sense of hearing. In contrast, the thoughts of others cannot be directly perceived, so that, as Leech and Short put it:

[...] a mode which only commits the writer to the content of what was thought is much more acceptable as a norm. Thoughts, in general, are not verbally formulated, and so cannot be reported verbatim.

(Leech and Short 1981: 345)

Halliday (1994: 253) takes a similar view of the difference between the direct and indirect forms, and describes IT as the ‘typical pattern’ for presenting thoughts and ideas in language.

As we have shown in 4.2.5, our quantitative findings for speech presentation straightforwardly support the claim that (F)DS is the ‘norm’ for the presentation of speech. With thought presentation, the situation is not as clear-cut. As we have seen, NI is the most frequent form in all sections of the corpus, but the scope of this category goes beyond the kind of phenomena that are associated with other thought presentation categories (see 6.2.5 and 6.4 for more discussion). After NI, FIT is the most frequent category in the corpus as a whole, followed by IT. However, Table 6.1 shows that FIT is considerably more frequent than IT in fiction, whereas in the two non-fiction genres IT is the most frequent thought presentation category after NI. There is no significant difference, however, between the popular and serious sub-sections of each genre. All this lends some support to the view that, in non-fiction, IT is the most prototypical form for the presentation of thoughts *involving a propositional content*, whereas NI, as we shall see, is used to present more general and diffuse mind states. However, in twentieth-century fiction FIT is used more frequently than IT, because it allows the more complex and subtle effects that we showed in 6.2.2.

A comparison between the rows for IT in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 shows that just under a third of all instances have been tagged as inferred. Predictably, in fiction very few instances received the ‘i’ suffix, while in the two non-fictional genres approximately half of all instances of IT were tagged as inferred. We will discuss some examples of inferred IT in our discussion of inferred thought presentation in 6.3 below. Here we are concentrating on ‘pure’ cases, which are to be found primarily in the fiction and autobiography sections of the corpus.

Generally speaking, the use of IT does not have the summarizing

function that we noted in relation to many examples of IS and IW. In most cases, IT gives the impression that we are being given the entire propositional content of some particular thought that went through the mind of a participant in the narrative at a particular point.

- (9) 'Then, what in God's name have you left her for?'

'I want to paint.'

I looked at him for quite a long time. I did not understand. I thought **he was mad**.

(Somerset Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence*, p. 51)

- (10) Michael's election campaign coincided with the Hartley Wintney Christmas Fair which I duly attended. I was soon surrounded by a squad of retired colonels, majors and captains who asked me for whom I would be voting. I suspected **their loyalties lay with Margaret**, but I spotted at the back of the throng the mackintoshed figure of Field Marshal Sir John Stanier. 'Sir John,' I asked, 'for whom would you vote?' 'Heseltine, of course,' was his reply. The colonels, majors and captains were suitably impressed.

(Julian Critchley, *A Bag of Boiled Sweets*, p. 216)

- (11) He doubted his ability to find it in the maze of roads that wandered around the hillside at the edge of the town, wondered **if he would recognize the house again**, through the heavy dolorous recollections of the previous Sunday, and feeling in his right side still the pain of the fall in the black woods, he began to sweat.

(Malcolm Lowry, *Gin and Goldenrod*, p. 204)

Like other forms of thought presentation, IT can be used either as a counterpoint to speech, or in the context of a narrative interspersed with the narrator's thoughts. In example (9), IT is used to present an unspoken reaction on the part of the first-person narrator to the speech of another character. Similarly, in (10) the IT presentation provides an insight into what lies behind the narrator's outward behaviour at a particularly awkward conversational moment. In contrast, in (11) the context for the use of IT is a passage narrated from the point of view of a particular character.

These examples show how IT is a more understated and less dramatic form of thought presentation than (F)DT and FIT. The fact that it does not claim to represent any words going through the relevant person's head means that it avoids the potentially artificial impression that silent verbalization occurred. On the other hand, its lack of vividness and immediacy make it less attractive than FIT for fiction writers. Cohn (1978), who includes IT under the wider category of 'psychonarration', sums this up as follows:

Psychonarration is in fact rarely used simply to follow consciousness through its paces, since it can do so only in the form of unadorned indirect quotations – on the pattern ‘it occurred to him that ... he asked himself whether ...’ – which easily become monotonous.

(Cohn 1978: 38)

Indeed, as Table 6.4 shows, in our corpus IT stretches are shorter, on average, than FIT, especially in fiction. As we saw in the previous section, FIT has a mean length of 24.99 words overall in the corpus, and of 25.83 words in the fiction section. In contrast, the overall mean length of IT stretches is 12.26 words, while in fiction it is 11.94 words.

In formal terms, both the reporting clause and the reported clause are usually finite, as far as IT in our corpus is concerned. As shown in Appendix 8, the vast majority of the 30 IT reporting verbs found in our corpus are verbs of cognition, such as ‘think’, ‘suspect’ and ‘wonder’ in the above examples. However, while our press data have only a small number of these cognitive verbs, in fiction and, to a smaller extent, in (auto)biography there is more variation. As with DT, the NRTs introducing IT sometimes contain reporting verbs of speech, which are used to indicate silent self-address (e.g. ‘I was right **when I told myself** that it could not last like that’: Victoria Holt, *Daughter of Deceit*, p. 56). Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 244–6) see examples such as this as realizations of what they call the ‘thought as language’ metaphor, whereby thinking is conceptualized as speaking or writing (as in ‘**I made a mental note** of what she said’).

In other cases, the NRT includes verbs or expressions which refer metaphorically to cognitive activities, as in example (12):

- (12) She followed me, stiff with the determination that had got her here. Her eyes were everywhere, and the thought came into my mind that **she was pricing what she saw**.

(Doris Lessing, *The Memoirs of a Survivor*, p. 89)

In terms of cognitive metaphor theory (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999), the expression ‘the thought came into my mind’ constructs the mind as a physical object (a container), and ‘thinking’ in terms of the physical movement of an entity (‘the thought’) into the container. This is an example of well-known conventional metaphorical patterns whereby abstract cognitive experiences are presented in terms of concrete physical actions and events. Another well-known case is the use of the verb ‘see’ in examples such as ‘he could already see that it was as she said’ (Malcolm Lowry, *Gin and Goldenrod*, p. 207). Such examples have been explained with reference to a conceptual metaphor whereby understanding is constructed in terms of visual perception (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 53, 126). We will discuss more examples of metaphorical references to thought in the next sections.

#### 6.2.4 Narrator's Representation of Thought Acts (NRTA(p)) in the corpus

The category of the Narrator's Representation of Thought Acts (NRTA) was introduced by Leech and Short (1981: 337) as the thought presentation counterpart to the Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts (NRSA) on the speech presentation scale. However, suggesting an equivalence between thought acts and speech acts is rather problematic. Speech acts are defined in relation to the illocutionary force of utterances, and are therefore intimately related to communication. Thought acts, on the other hand, are not communicative acts, so that in most cases the notion of illocutionary force does not apply. Where the NRSA and NRTA categories can be seen as most similar is in the minority of cases in which someone is presented as performing mentally what would normally count as a speech act if it had been uttered. Consider example (13):

- (13) Indeed, he gave the assurance that he would never campaign against me. **Silently, I thanked God for small mercies.**  
(Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, p. 852)

The verb 'thank' normally refers to the illocutionary force of particular utterances. Here it refers to a mental act which can be seen as communicative insofar as it is 'addressed' to God. This example was tagged as NRTAp (where 'p' stands for 'topic'), since it includes a specification of the content of the thought act, as well as the mental 'illocutionary' force.

In most cases, however, the notion of NRTA(p) applies to references to the occurrence of a specific individual thought in the mind of a participant in the story, which do not include any indication of the propositional content or the 'wording' of the thought. This is usually achieved through the use of verbs such as 'think', 'remember', 'wonder', and so on. As with NRSA(p), however, NRTA(p) does not involve a separate reported clause, since, within our framework, this would result in an IT analysis.

Many instances of NRTA(p) occur in the context of presentations of conversational interaction and sometimes set up a contrast between verbal behaviour and private reflections:

- (14) She jumped up when she saw me and said 'Really, I think she might have waited a bit before dismantling the house!'  
'Who?'  
'Honor Klein.'  
**I recalled this lady's existence.** 'I suppose she's taking her own stuff anyway?'

(Iris Murdoch, *A Severed Head*, p. 77)

- (15) I made no comment on this at the time (**though privately I thought it a brash boast**) but when we met for the interview I asked if he had brought the pendulum with him.  
(Ludovic Kennedy, *On My Way to the Club*, p. 346)

In (14) an instance of NRTAp occurs in the middle of the presentation of a fictional conversation, and gives readers a brief insight into the thoughts that motivate the speech of one of the characters. Here the NRTAp also introduces the following FDS, and facilitates the attribution of the following conversational turn to the first-person narrator. In example (15), journalist Ludovic Kennedy is commenting on his inner reaction to the claim made by a famous psychic healer that he could use his pendulum to identify true and false statements on a piece of paper lying face down on a table. The NRTAp in parentheses serves to highlight the contrast between the narrator's lack of external reaction to the healer's claim, and his private evaluative reaction.

In other cases, NRTA(p) occurs in narrative contexts where there is a focus on the internal states of the protagonist, so that more than one form of thought presentation often occurs in close proximity:

- (16) It's the seventh night.  
**I keep on thinking the same thing.** If only they knew. If only they knew.  
(John Fowles, *The Collector*, p. 117)

This example involves an NRTA, given that the topic of thought is not made explicit within the presentation of the thought act itself. However, the specific thought is then presented in the subsequent two sentences. Hence the NRTA helps readers to interpret the following bit of text as FDT.

As our examples show, NRTA(p) typically involves the use of a verb of cognition (e.g. 'recall' or 'think'), which can be followed by a noun or prepositional phrase indicating the topic of the thought. Overall, approximately 60 per cent of all instances were tagged as NRTAp due to the presence of an indication of the topic of thought. However, the overall mean length of NRTA(p) is 10.73 words, which is lower than any other thought presentation category and also lower than NRSA(p).<sup>2</sup> This is because, rather like IT, NRTA(p) does not normally perform the summary function associated with its counterparts for speech and writing. Rather, it is used to provide brief insights into what somebody is thinking at a particular time. As a consequence, it is even less dramatic and immediate than IT, which may explain why it is a relatively infrequent form of thought presentation in our corpus, compared with NRSA(p) and NRWA(p).

Table 6.1 shows that the total number of occurrences for NRTA(p) is only slightly higher than that for the least frequent thought presentation



category, (F)DT. The table also shows that, unlike its counterparts for speech and writing, NRTA(p) is very rare in the press, while the fiction and (auto)biography sections of the corpus have comparable numbers of occurrences. There are also no significant differences between the serious and popular sub-sections of each genre, though the figures involved are, in any case, rather small. A comparison between the rows for NRTA in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 shows that less than a quarter of all instances were tagged as inferred. This is largely due to the influence of fiction (where only two instances are inferred), and autobiography. In the biography and news sections of the corpus, the majority of instances were tagged as inferred, and the few pure cases are embedded within another form of SW&TP.

### 6.2.5 *Internal Narration (NI) in the corpus*

In 3.1.2 we explained how, in the annotation of the corpus, we felt the need to add to Leech and Short's model a new category of thought presentation which we labelled internal narration (NI). We explained that this category captures the presentation of mental states and changes which involve cognitive and affective phenomena but which do not amount to specific thoughts. The scope of this category is very broad, as illustrated by the example below:

- (17) The water-workers scraped their clogs on the steps and stared into the sun, moving only to pick the ticks from between their ribs. Although emaciated, the process of starvation had somehow stopped a skin's depth from the skeleton below. **Jim envied Mr Mulvaney and the Reverend Pearce** – he himself was still growing.

(J. G. Ballard, *Empire of the Sun*, p. 169)

The emboldened stretch refers to an attitude (envy) that Jim, the novel's protagonist, felt towards two other characters. By our definition, this stretch of text is a prototypical example of NI, since it suggests a combination of cognitive and emotional processes which take place over a relatively long period of time. Jim's attitude is revealed by the omniscient third-person narrator, but it is not made explicit whether Jim *realized* that (part of) what he felt towards Mr Mulvaney and the Reverend Pearce was envy. As we made clear in 3.1.2, our NI tag was applied irrespective of whether characters were (presented as being) consciously aware of the experiences that were attributed to them.

This example begins to show how NI is rather different from the categories of thought presentation we have discussed so far. We tagged as NI those stretches of text that we felt suggested a *cognitive* state or process, i.e. an experience that can be seen as involving some form of cognition, but

without any indication of the occurrence of a specific thought act, let alone of any propositional content or wording that might have formed in the relevant person's mind. The fact that Jim's experience of envy presented in (17) is likely to be interpreted as spanning a long period of time also makes it difficult to see the emboldened stretch as referring to an individual thought.

Many examples of NI refer not just to prototypically cognitive activities but also to other experiences that are intimately related to them, such as emotional processes. This is why the phenomena captured by NI are often quite distant from those captured by other categories, which normally relate to thoughts with a (potential) propositional content that might have been verbalized in the person's head at some particular time. The distance from other forms of thought presentation is particularly noticeable in examples such as the ones below:

- (18) A fortnight or so later Claudie invited Dr Wardener to have a glass of my father's champagne and he called the nurses in to drink 'my health'. **The phrase made me a little sad.**

(Peregrine Worsthorne, *Tricks of Memory*, p. 127)

- (19) **One photograph imprinted itself especially on my mind – a huge enlargement in grainy black and white, more than six feet high, of a man's face with one side blown off by a shell.**

(Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, pp. 72–3)

In (18), the emboldened stretch of text refers primarily to an emotional reaction. However, the emotional reaction is itself triggered by the cognitive processing of a particular stimulus, namely the use of a particular expression on the part of another person. The fact that a cognitive process is involved was the basis for our decision to tag the emboldened sentence as NI. Example (19) involves the cognitive and emotional impact of a visual image. In both cases, the cognitive components of the relevant experience are clearly non-verbal in nature, and could not therefore have easily been presented by using other categories of thought presentation. These examples raise some very complex issues which are hotly debated in psychology but that lie beyond the scope of this book. These include the nature of thought itself, the relationship between verbal and non-verbal thought, the relationship between cognition and emotion, and the question of whether an emotional reaction can happen independently of any cognitive appraisal (see Eysenck and Keane 2000).

In formal terms, the examples of NI from our corpus vary considerably in terms of the vocabulary they use to refer to mental states and processes. In some cases, we have the use of lexis to do with cognition and emotion (e.g. verbs like 'envied', 'amazed', 'sad', 'mind', and nouns like 'longing', 'curiosity', 'revulsion', 'obsessed'). However, other cases involve

metaphorical representations of cognitive and emotional experiences, often using vocabulary drawn primarily from the world of physical entities and actions. In example (19), the verb 'imprint' is used to refer to the formation of a memory as a result of a visual experience. Other examples involve expressions such as 'He was perpetually **in the grip of** some obscure, niggling, unexplained bitterness' (Margaret Drabble, *Jerusalem the Golden*, p. 28) and 'A revulsion **hit me like a heavy punch to the head**' (Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, p. 75). As we mentioned in our discussion of IT, metaphor theorists have pointed out that we often draw from our experience of our bodies and the physical world generally to talk about the less palpable domain of our mental and affective experiences (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 199; Kövecses 2000). The use of metaphorical expressions in NI and other thought presentation categories in our corpus supports these observations.

Given that our NI category captures a very wide range of mental experiences, it is not surprising that it occurs more frequently in our corpus than the other thought presentation categories. With 1,355 occurrences, NI accounts for 66 per cent of all non-ambiguous thought presentation tags. Table 6.1 also shows that NI is more frequent in (auto)biography and fiction than in the news section of the corpus, and that it is slightly more frequent in the serious than the popular sections. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between 'pure' NI and inferred NI (NIi) before attempting to make general comments.

A comparison of the NI rows in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 shows that pure NI accounts for approximately 43 per cent of NI in the corpus, so that NIi is more frequent overall. The distributions within the three genres differ considerably, however. The news section has only two examples of pure NI, but these are actually embedded inside DS. Apart from these examples, all other cases of NI in the press data are inferred, and will be discussed in 6.3 below. In the fiction section of the corpus, over 80 per cent of the examples of NI are pure cases. This is due to the presence of omniscient third-person narrators having direct access to the minds of characters, and to first-person narrators representing their own internal states and changes. The *inferred* cases in fiction normally involve first-person narrators or characters representing the internal states/changes of state of other characters. In (auto)biography, pure NI accounts for approximately 29 per cent of all cases of NI. This is due to the influence of autobiography texts in this section of the corpus, where narrators report their own past cognitive states and changes. In the popular sub-sections of the corpus, however, pure NI and NIi are roughly equal in terms of frequency, while in the serious sub-sections NIi is more frequent than NI. This may be due to a greater preoccupation with internal states in serious narratives, even in cases where there is no direct access to the minds of participants in stories.

The main problem with NI, as we have started to show, is whether or

not it should be regarded as a thought presentation category on a par with (F)DT, FIT, IT and NRTA(p). We will consider this issue in more detail in 6.4 and in 9.2.

### 6.3 Inferred thought presentation in the corpus

In our discussion so far we have focused primarily on ‘pure’ thought presentation, which corresponds to the kind of phenomenon that is normally discussed in the discourse presentation literature, namely the presentation of thoughts or cognitive states that the narrator/reporter had direct access to. This applies to the presentation of characters’ thoughts by omniscient third-person narrators in fiction, and to the presentation of the narrator/reporter’s own past thoughts in all other contexts (notably first-person fiction and autobiography). The notion of ‘inferred’ thought presentation, on the other hand, was introduced to capture those cases where narrators or reporters clearly had no direct access to the thoughts they are presenting, so that thought presentation can only be based on inferences made on the basis of indirect evidence, such as speech, facial expressions and general behaviour. In biography and news reporting, the vast majority of thought presentation is of this kind. In first-person fiction and autobiography, inferred thought presentation occurs when protagonists present the thoughts of participants in their narratives other than themselves. The following is a representative example from our press data:

- (20) MPs loyal to the party are also worried about signs of growing cohesion among the rebels, to the extent that they could become an embryonic party.**

(‘Tory MPs want rebels reinstated’, *Independent on Sunday*,  
4 December 1994)

In general semantic terms, this example of NI is equivalent to the fictional instances discussed in 6.2.5: the expression ‘are ... worried about’ refers to cognitive and emotional states and processes that are attributed to a group of MPs. In pragmatic terms, however, the status of this expression, and others like it, is rather different from that of fictional examples, given that the reporter can only have inferred that the MPs were worried by observing their behaviour and/or talking to one or more of them, or someone who knew them. As we said in 3.2.3, the same thought presentation tags were used for pure and inferred cases, but the suffix ‘i’ was applied to all inferred instances so that we could study them separately. The occurrence of NI in the example above was therefore tagged as NIi.

The phenomenon of inferred thought presentation has so far received very little attention. Following Hamburger (1973), Cohn (1978) sees

the presentation of characters' thoughts and internal states as a defining characteristic of fictional narratives, which sets them apart from non-fictional narratives on the one hand, and fiction without narrators (poetry and drama) on the other (Cohn 1978: 7–8; see also Fludernik 1993: 198). Cohn describes the occurrence of thought presentation in non-fiction as 'sensationally contradictory' (Cohn 1978: 4), and as resulting in the fictionalization of real people (Cohn 1978: 4–5). In contrast, in a study focusing primarily on oral narratives, Hickmann (1993) recognizes that

[n]arrators can also report speech events in less explicit ways that do not *refer* to speech. For example, they can use propositional attitudes (such as *think*, *want*, *know*) rather than verbs of saying [...]. Such verbs do not represent speech *qua* speech, that is as a communicative event involving another interlocutor, but rather they focus on the speaker's deducible internal states and processes, e.g. thoughts, plans, emotions.

(Hickmann 1993: 66)

As we will show in section 6.3.2 below, an analysis of our corpus also suggests that inferred thought presentation is often an alternative way of presenting what people have said.

Thompson (1994) provides a comprehensive account of the different choices available for reporting thoughts, ideas and feelings, and points out that such reporting is often based on external evidence, especially in journalism. Although many of Thompson's examples include what we call inferred thought presentation, he does not, however, explicitly distinguish this phenomenon from 'direct access' thought presentation.

### 6.3.1 *The distribution of inferred thought presentation in the corpus*

Although the corpus contains inferred cases in *all* thought presentation categories, their frequencies and distribution are very uneven. Table 6.5 provides the number of occurrences of inferred thought presentation categories in the whole corpus and in each of the three genres represented in it (we have not provided separate figures for the popular and serious sections of each genre because the differences are too small to be significant). The figures in brackets indicate what proportion of the instances of a particular category was tagged as inferred. So, for example, the table tells us that the corpus contains 588 instances of NIi, which amount to 52 per cent of all instances of NI.

It is important to point out that the figures provided in Table 6.5 exclude all those instances of inferred thought presentation that were embedded inside other categories. In the extract below, for example, an instance of NIi is embedded within a stretch of DS in a newspaper article:

- (21) Asked repeatedly if he agreed with the withdrawal of the whip, Mr Portillo said: '**The Prime Minister felt it very strongly** and I do understand this. [. . .]'

('Get into line with party, Major is told,' *Daily Telegraph*,  
12 December 1994)

In such cases, we applied the 'i' suffix when the source of the 'host' category of SW&TP (e.g. Mr Portillo in the example above) presents somebody else's thoughts. This means that the patterning of embedded inferred thought presentation is not related to the status of the reporter or narrator of the relevant text, and is thus independent of the genre-based constraints we have mentioned above. This is why, in this section, we limit our attention to non-embedded cases, which represent 75 per cent of the total number of instances of inferred thought presentation (embedded SW&TP is discussed in 7.3). Our decision to exclude embedded inferred thought presentation from our quantitative analysis in this section also explains why the sum of the figures in Table 6.5 and those in Table 6.2 is less than the total figures for thought presentation given in Table 6.1.

*Table 6.5* Numbers of occurrences of inferred thought presentation categories in the corpus (and percentages out of all instances of a category) excluding embedded cases but including instances marked with the 'p', 'q' and 'h' suffixes (percentage figures have been rounded to the nearest decimal)

	<i>Whole Corpus</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
Nli (% of all NI)	588 (52%)	44 (10%)	189 (99%)	355 (69%)
NRTAi (% of all NRTA)	20 (22%)	2 (0.4%)	6 (100%)	12 (41%)
ITi (% of all IT)	52 (35%)	6 (0.7%)	8 (100%)	38 (58%)
FITi (% of all FIT)	22 (0.1%)	3 (0.1%)	0	19 (46%)
FDTi (% of all FDT)	7 (0.1%)	7 (0.1%)	0	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>689 (17.8%)</i>	<i>62 (2.2%)</i>	<i>203 (99.6%)</i>	<i>424 (53.5%)</i>

The bottom row of Table 6.5 shows that, overall, the (auto)biography section of the corpus has the largest number of instances of inferred thought presentation (424). The press section comes second, with about half the number of instances (203), while the fiction section has the fewest number of occurrences (62). However, the percentages given in brackets show that, in the press data, almost all instances of (non-embedded) thought presentation have been tagged as inferred. In the (auto)biography data, inferred thought presentation accounts for about half of all thought presentation, while in fiction it accounts for just over 2 per cent. These patterns can be related to general differences among the three genres. Both (contemporary) fiction and (auto)biography are often greatly concerned with the thoughts and internal states of characters/participants, and therefore have similar amounts of thought presentation,

as we saw in 6.1. However, the presence of omniscient narrators in third-person fiction (and of first-person narrators presenting their own thoughts) means that pure thought presentation largely outweighs inferred thought presentation in that genre. In biography, on the other hand, authors talk about the most intimate mind states and processes of protagonists rather like third-person narrators in fiction, but all such instances of thought presentation must logically be based on inferences, rather than direct access. This explains why, overall, (auto)biography has more inferred thought presentation than the other sections, and why inferred thought presentation makes up about half of the thought presentation in this section. In contrast, news reports tend to focus primarily on external, verifiable events or states of affairs, and hence contain much less thought presentation than the other two genres, as we saw in 6.1. Moreover, what thought presentation does occur in news reports is inevitably based on inferences, so that this section of the corpus contains practically no (non-embedded) pure thought presentation.

Table 6.5 also shows that individual categories of inferred thought presentation vary considerably in their frequency of occurrence. A log-likelihood analysis reveals that the difference in the distribution of the five categories across the three text-types in our corpus is indeed statistically significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level. Just as NI is the most frequent thought presentation category generally, so NIi is by far the most frequent of the inferred thought presentation categories. The corpus as a whole contains 588 instances of NIi, while no other category has more than 52 instances, and FDTi has only 7 (no instances of DTi were found in our corpus). This is probably due to the fact that, as we showed in detail in 6.2.5, our NI category captures the presentation of cognitive and emotional states and processes that tend to be more diffuse than the specific thoughts captured by other categories. More importantly, the use of NI does not involve any suggestion that particular thoughts were mentally articulated by the relevant person or people. In principle, then, the internal phenomena captured by NIi are easier to infer than those captured by other categories: while it is often possible to infer other people's general cognitive and emotional responses from their external behaviour, it is almost impossible to work out their specific thoughts with any accuracy or certainty, let alone any unuttered words that might go through their minds. NIi presentations may therefore appear more plausible and reliable than other forms of inferred thought presentation. At the other end of the thought presentation scale, the use of FDTi makes the problematic claim of presenting the words that were used in someone else's mind to realize some thought. This explains why FDTi is so rare, and only occurs in the (first-person) fiction section of the corpus.

Table 6.5 also shows that, apart from FDTi, the (auto)biography section of the corpus has the highest frequency of all inferred categories of thought presentation. This is probably because, in biography in particular,

the authority of the writer and/or the quality of the access he or she had to the protagonists gives the writer licence to write confidently about very intimate details, including specific thoughts (which could well, in some cases, have been presented to them as such in interviews). Biographers also need to dramatize the lives of the people they are writing about, and presenting their thoughts is one way of achieving this. News reporters, on the other hand, take fewer risks with presenting specific thoughts, and focus more on general moods or opinions, which fall under the scope of NIi.

Table 6.6 gives the relative proportions of each inferred category in the biography and autobiography sub-sections of the corpus. The table shows that, while NRTAi and ITi are fairly evenly distributed in these two sub-sections, NIi and FITi are much more frequent in the biography than the autobiography sub-sections. This is clearly due to the fact that in biography the narrator and the protagonist are different people, so that the presentation of the latter's thoughts was always tagged as inferred. In autobiography, on the other hand, the book's protagonist is also the narrator, so that the presentation of his or her own thoughts counts as pure thought presentation for our purposes.<sup>3</sup>

Given its high frequency among inferred thought presentation categories, it is worth focusing briefly on NIi in particular. Table 6.5 shows that NIi is most frequent in (auto)biography and least frequent in fiction, and that it accounts for almost all instances of NI in the press, about two-thirds in (auto)biography, and only around 10 per cent in fiction (where it only occurs in first-person narration). These patterns are similar to those we have noted for thought presentation generally, and the same explanations apply. Table 6.6 shows that over 70 per cent of instances of NIi in the (auto)biography section of the corpus occur in the biography sub-section, for the reasons we have given above.

We will now introduce the main aspects of variation in relation to inferred thought presentation, namely the identity of the 'thinker', the nature of the thoughts or internal states represented, and the basis on which the inferences appear to be have been made. We will also briefly discuss the difficult issue of the varying degrees of reliability of different instances of inferred thought presentation.

*Table 6.6* Relative proportions of inferred thought presentation categories in the biography and autobiography sub-sections of the corpus

	<i>Biography</i>	<i>Autobiography</i>
NIi	72%	28%
NRTAi	40%	60%
ITi	55%	45%
FITi	84%	16%
FDTi	—	—



### 6.3.2 *Variation in inferred thought presentation in the corpus*

An important dimension of variation in inferred thought presentation is the identity of the person or people whom the thoughts or internal states are attributed to. In fiction and (auto)biography, inferred thought presentation usually involves an individual participant in the narrative. In the press, there is more variation. When single individuals are involved, they tend to be prominent public figures (e.g. ‘the Labour Leader’, ‘the Prime Minister’), or unknown individuals involved in newsworthy circumstances (e.g. the witnesses of a shooting). In many cases, however, inferred thought presentation in news reports involves groups of people (e.g. ‘police’, ‘ministers’). These groups are not always well defined, as in the reference to ‘MPs loyal to the party’ in example (20).

It is also quite common for the ‘thinkers’ to be referred to via metonymy. In the example below, the names of two countries (‘Britain and France’) stand metonymically for the British and French Governments:

- (22) **Britain and France believe that assisting Mr Milosevic is the only way to broker peace.**

(‘Milosevic supports peace moves’, *Independent*,  
5 December 1994)

In such cases of group attribution it is likely that the reporter has had some kind of access to (the speech of) individual members of the group or institution, and has then attributed an (inferred) thought or internal state to the group or institution as a whole. Reporters may choose to present the contents of utterances as ‘beliefs’ rather than as statements because this exposes them (and their sources) much less than would be the case if the same content was presented via speech presentation (e.g. ‘Britain and France say that . . .’).

Example (22) is also useful in explaining how we distinguished between NIi and ITi when tagging cases where a clause including a verb of cognition was followed by a separate reported clause. When reference was made to relatively permanent beliefs and opinions, we tagged the relevant stretches of text as NIi. In contrast, when reference was made to specific thoughts that appear to have occurred at a particular moment in time, we applied the tag ITi. So, while example (22) was tagged as NIi, the example below was tagged as ITi:

- (23) Les Gore, part-owner of the pub, had heard gunfire in the distance and **thought it was someone shooting rabbits.**

(‘Frenzy of the psycho surfer’, *Sun*, 29 April 1996)

In this case what is presented is a specific thought by a specific individual at a specific time, rather than a more general and/or more permanent opinion or belief.

The press section of the corpus and, to a lesser extent, the (auto)biography section also contain examples of inferred thoughts where there is no explicit attribution to an individual or group of thinkers. Both of the examples below involve NIi:

- (24) **Dr Meenaghan was believed to have only one living relative, an elderly mother.**

(‘Gun murder of lecturer baffles police’, *Guardian*,  
12 December 1994)

- (25) Contingency plans had been discussed – but with little conviction – **as doubts grew last week over M Delors’s candidacy.**

(‘Delors gives up race to be president’, *Daily Telegraph*,  
12 December 1994)

In example (24), an agentless passive (‘was believed to’) is used to introduce a particular belief. In context, however, readers are likely to attribute the thought to the police investigating the murder of Dr Meenaghan. In the emboldened part of example (25), on the other hand, the relevant (inferred) cognitive activity is expressed by a noun (‘doubts’) which acts as the grammatical subject in the clause. Here it is less easy to attribute the doubts to a particular group, even though they are likely to apply to a subset of those involved or interested in French politics at the time. In such cases reporters are in a fairly safe position, since it is almost impossible to challenge the veracity of such unattributed cases of inferred thought presentation.

As well as displaying variation in terms of the identity of the ‘thinker’, inferred thought presentation also varies in terms of the nature of the thoughts or internal states that are presented. This variation can be related both to differences among different forms of presentation and to differences among the genres represented in our corpus.

In the press section of the corpus, the focus tends to be on beliefs, opinions and emotions relating to particular (real or possible) states of affairs (e.g. examples (20), (24) and (25) above). It is rarer to find cases where specific thoughts or thought acts are presented, as in example (23). In (auto)biography, there is much greater variation in the nature and depth of the internal revelation. While some examples fall within the patterns we have described for the press, others tend to provide greater and more intimate detail:

- (26) **The Prince, who managed to contain his emotion, became obsessed with the urgent need to protect Sprecher from being pilloried by the media for leading them to disaster and to explain what had happened before false rumours began to circulate.**

(Jonathan Dimbleby, *The Prince of Wales*, p. 413)

This example, which we tagged as NIi (we will not discuss the embedded speech presentation here), relates to the aftermath of a skiing accident in which Prince Charles was involved. One member of the skiing party was killed and another was seriously injured. The group's guide, Sprecher, was uninjured, as was Prince Charles himself. In this case NIi is used to convey the strength of the Prince's feelings after the accident (using words such as 'emotion' and 'obsessed'), as well as his concern for the mountain guide. The provision of such intimate detail is a feature of biography, where it gives readers a sense that they are gaining privileged access to the most private aspects of the celebrity protagonist's life. In this particular case, the revelation of Prince Charles's internal state also serves the purpose of portraying him in a positive light, and to counter the aloof and unemotional image that was often presented in the media at the time (see also our discussion of examples (34) and (35) below).

The sense of intimate access is particularly strong when FITi is used, as in the emboldened part of the example below, from Melvyn Bragg's biography of the actor Richard Burton:

- (27) 'In a wretched part [...] Richard Burton showed exceptional ability' wrote the *New Statesman*. He would claim that it was the sentence which changed his life, convinced him that acting was worth doing. **All that and an accolade from the intellectual socialist weekly! If only he could keep in touch with that centre of himself, which somehow, mysteriously, enabled him to do this acting business – then all the rest would be his.**

(Melvyn Bragg, *Rich – The Life of Richard Burton*, p. 72)

Here Burton's reaction to a positive review is initially introduced by means of IS ('he would claim ...'), where the reported clause contains some embedded thought presentation ('changed his life, convinced him ...'). The subsequent two sentences present, in vivid FITi form, the thoughts that supposedly passed through Burton's mind in the life-changing moments that followed his reading of the review. The use of italics, exclamation marks and dashes contributes to the impression of intimate access to Burton's thoughts, and to an appreciation of the intensity of those excited thoughts. Examples (26) and (27) also show how (auto)biography can read rather like fiction, particularly as far as thought presentation is concerned.

Indeed, the fiction section of the corpus also displays considerable variation in the kinds of experiences presented via inferred thought presentation, but with an even greater focus on attitudes and emotional states (as opposed to opinions and beliefs).

- (28) **He wants desperately to please me.**

(John Fowles, *The Collector*, p. 117)

- (29) His brain is saying (*no don't look; look away*): **Eliza Peabody, oh my God, not her again. The mad woman. Needs a shrink. What's Mother Am doing, letting her in here?**

(Jane Gardam, *Queen of the Tambourine*, p. 110)

In example (28) the novel's heroine describes via Nli the internal attitude of the man who is keeping her captive in a cellar. In example (29), the first-person narrator is a patient in a mental hospital, who sometimes feels that she can 'see' inside other characters' minds. In this case she presents, via FDTi, the thoughts that she imagines are passing through the mind of the curate who is speaking to her.

Even more than with FITi, the effect of using FDTi is that we are being presented with specific and mentally verbalized thoughts. As a consequence, these forms run the risk of sounding highly artificial in a context where there is no direct access to the thinker's mind. It is not surprising, therefore, that the use of FDTi in example (29) occurs when a mentally unstable character thinks she has direct access to another character's mind. Something very similar happens in Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*, one of the source texts for the serious fiction section of our corpus. In this novel, the first-person narrator relates the lives of his own ancestors as if he were an omniscient narrator, and sometimes uses a combination of ITi, FITi and FDTi to present their thoughts. This impression of near-omniscience, however, contrasts with occasional remarks where the Moor questions the reliability of his own sources. This undermines the authority of his narrative and the status of the novel's text world in a way that is typically associated with postmodernist fiction (cf. McHale 1987).

One of the general characteristics of inferred thought presentation is the fact that, in the vast majority of instances, narrators/reporters do not make clear the basis on which the relevant inferences were made. In this sense readers normally have to take inferred thought presentation on trust, but in some cases may well wish to question its validity and reliability. It is often possible, however, to infer from the context and from general background knowledge what evidence the narrator/reporter might have had for presenting somebody else's thoughts or internal states. This is the third dimension of variation in inferred thought presentation that we wish to discuss.

In most cases it is reasonable to conclude that the basis of the inference is something that the 'thinker' said (or, less often, wrote), but which the current reporter/narrator decides to present as a thought, opinion or feeling. This is partly because the kinds of thoughts and internal states that are presented could often only have been inferred from speech or writing (assuming, of course, that the narrator/reporter did not invent them). In the press in particular, inferred thought presentation often occurs in the vicinity of speech or writing presentation with the 'thinker' as source. In the case of Nli, approximately half of all instances in the

newspaper section of the corpus immediately follow an instance of speech presentation. Example (20) is both preceded and followed by reports of what individual MPs said. Example (23) is preceded by a presentation of what the relevant person said. Example (20) is also one of many cases where the use of a category of inferred thought presentation appears to be based on multiple utterances from one or more individuals in separate speech events. Indeed, NIi in the press is sometimes used to make brief references to opinions that a prominent public figure has expressed many times and is therefore widely known to hold, as in example (30):

**(30) The Labour leader wants a quick replacement for Clause 4, which commits the party to nationalisation.**

(‘Blair puts Labour troops on alert for snap election’,  
*Independent on Sunday*, 11 December 1994)

In other words, as Hickmann (1993: 16) has also noticed, inferred thought presentation is often an alternative way of presenting speech (or writing). Rather than presenting what someone said (or wrote), one can present the thoughts or mental states that can be attributed to them on the basis of their public pronouncements. At worst this may lead to misleading or obscure reporting, but in some cases the choice of inferred thought presentation may also be due to a need for elegant variation in the writing, and particularly the need to avoid excessively high repetition of ‘he said’ reporting clauses. For example, if we paraphrase (23) above in order to spell out that this information was still part of what Mr Gore said, we would obtain a much more cumbersome sentence than the original (additions have been italicized below):

**(31) Les Gore, part-owner of the pub, *said that he* had heard gunfire in the distance and *that he* thought it was someone shooting rabbits.**

(‘Frenzy of the psycho surfer’, *Sun*, 29 April 1996)

In our discussion of example (22) above, we also mentioned that presenting somebody else’s words by means of thought presentation can have the advantage that it commits the reporter to a claim that is much harder to verify or challenge than if speech presentation was used.

Another major type of evidence on which inferred thought presentation can be based is the external behaviour of the ‘thinker’, including facial expressions, bodily movements and more general actions. In example (28), for instance, the basis for the fictional first-person narrator’s internal inference, described in the co-text, is the other character’s general behaviour over a long period of time, as well as the things that he says. This can also be the case in non-fiction, as in the example of NIi below:

- (32) **Emergency workers were perplexed and appalled by a crash which has left almost no remains.**

(‘Doomed passengers bought cheap tickets for aircraft with history of engine trouble’, *The Times*, 13 May 1996)

Here, a combination of speech, facial expressions and tone of voice are likely to have been the source of the inference that emergency workers experienced particular mental states. In addition, the reporter could also rely on general background knowledge concerning the kinds of reactions that people are likely to have in dealing with the aftermath of a fatal plane crash.

General knowledge of the world appears to be the main basis for inferred thought presentation in a number of cases, including the fictional example below:

- (33) **I suppose the whole town knows.**

(John Fowles, *The Collector*, p. 121)

Here, the narrator’s inference about the state of knowledge of the people metonymically referred to by ‘the whole town’ derives from her background knowledge: she has been kidnapped, and she knows that a person’s sudden disappearance is likely to have been reported in the local news, and is therefore known to (many of) the inhabitants of her town.

Having discussed the main dimensions of variation in inferred thought presentation, we will finish by briefly considering the difficult issue of the varying degrees of reliability that can be attributed to individual examples. Overall, reliability depends on the interaction among all the various factors we have considered so far, as well as on the nature of the contact or access that the narrator/reporter had with the ‘thinker’. Consider the following two extracts from Andrew Morton’s biography of Princess Diana (which was originally published while she was still alive):

- (34) At formal dinners at Sandringham or Windsor Castle she frequently had to leave the table to be ill. Instead of simply going to bed, she insisted on returning, believing **that it was her duty to try and fulfil her obligations.**

(Andrew Morton, *Diana: Her True Story*, p. 135)

- (35) On one occasion she threw herself against a glass display cabinet at Kensington Palace while on another she slashed at her wrists with a razor blade. Another time she cut herself with the serrated edge of a lemon slicer; on yet another occasion, during a heated argument with Prince Charles, she picked up a penknife lying on his dressing table and cut her chest and her thighs. Although she was bleeding her husband studiously scorned her. As ever he thought **that she was faking her problems.**

(Andrew Morton, *Diana: Her True Story*, p. 133)

The emboldened parts of the two extracts are both instances of ITi. In extract (34) the thinker is the biography's protagonist, Princess Diana. In (35) it is her increasingly estranged husband, Prince Charles. The context is the difficulties Diana allegedly experienced as a new member of the Royal Family and as the wife of the heir to the throne. The second extract, in particular, relates to the time when she took to harming herself physically as a result of serious psychological problems.

In terms of potential reliability, these two examples are rather different from each other. Morton's biography was published in order to put forward Diana's side of the story of her marriage to Charles, and was based on many hours of (taped) interviews with her (indeed, what she said is often presented in DS, and the first chapter of the book, entitled 'In Her Own Words', is a 46-page 'transcript' of excerpts from the tape recordings). Therefore, although the author of the biography did not himself observe the events he is narrating, he had extended access to the main protagonist of his book. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the presentation of Diana's thoughts is based on what she told him (whether she actually experienced those thoughts is a different matter, of course). With Prince Charles, the opposite is true. As far as we are aware, Morton had no direct contact with him at all, so that any reports of his thoughts must have been mediated by Diana's own accounts of past events, the accounts of other people, and the view that Morton himself had of him. The thought presentation in (35), therefore, could only have been inferred by Diana on the basis of Charles's behaviour and, possibly, words, and then reported to Morton. Hence, the report in (35) is much further removed from the original thinker than in (34). It is also difficult to disregard the fact that, as is often the case in this book, the two instances of inferred thought presentation in (34) and (35) present Diana in a positive light and Charles in a negative one: whenever Charles's speech or thought is presented in the book, it is usually in order to construct him as a selfish and warped human being. This potentially adds to the reader's suspicions concerning the reliability of these reports. Indeed, the book about Charles from which we extracted example (26) above was written to present Charles's side of the story after the publication of Morton's book (and is therefore also likely to be biased, but in the opposite direction).

Whether individual readers weigh up the reliability of inferred thought presentation in the way that we have done above is not something that we can settle here. However, it may be that the similarities between fiction and (auto)biography that we have noted could well lead to some kind of suspension of disbelief on the part of at least some readers of (auto)biography. In addition, in the case of books such as Morton's, many readers may well have opted to read the book because they already thought that Diana had been wronged, in which case they would be unlikely to question the veracity of the information that is presented, including what is presented via thought presentation. These are matters that only infor-

mant-based empirical research can properly investigate, and even then it may be difficult to arrive at firm conclusions.

In sum, the analysis of our corpus has shown how inferred thought presentation varies along a number of dimensions, and how these dimensions of variation can affect, in principle at least, the degree of reliability of individual instances. Our analysis has also undermined Cohn's (1978: 4) claim that thought presentation outside fiction is 'sensationally contradictory': on the contrary, it seems that writers (like people in general) cannot refrain from making claims about the contents of other people's minds, even in supposedly factual writing. On the other hand, the non-fiction section supports Cohn's idea that non-fictional thought presentation can lead to the fictionalization of the real experiences of real people, though this depends on a number of factors, including the particular category of thought presentation and the nature of the thoughts/internal states being presented.

#### **6.4 Concluding remarks**

Our discussion of thought presentation in the corpus has shown that thought presentation categories pattern quite differently from speech and writing presentation categories. In particular, (F)DT is proportionately much less dominant in thought presentation than (F)DS and (F)DW are for speech and writing presentation respectively. Conversely, in the fiction section of the corpus, FIT is much more central a category of thought presentation than FIS and FIW are for speech and writing presentation. We have also seen that the differences between the popular and serious sub-sections are much less marked for thought presentation than for speech and writing presentation, but that there are considerable differences among the three text-types. The press section of the corpus, in particular, has less thought presentation than the other two genres, and almost all thought presentation instances were tagged as inferred. In (auto)biography inferred thought presentation accounts for just over half of the thought presentation, while in fiction it accounts for a very small proportion, for the reasons we have pointed out above.

We have also pointed out that there is an issue with the status of NI, the most frequent of the categories included in Table 6.5. It is not clear whether or not NI should be regarded as a thought presentation category, to be placed on the thought presentation scale in the way assumed in 3.1.4. Having annotated and analysed the corpus, we have reached the conclusion that there are arguments both for and against the view that NI should be treated as a category of thought presentation. These arguments relate particularly to the similarities and differences that we have noticed between the thought presentation scale on the one hand, and the speech and writing presentation scales on the other.

As we have shown, the NI tag was applied when the experience being



described involves cognitive states and processes that can be subsumed under the widest understanding of the notion of ‘thought’. However, the fact that these experiences are normally non-verbal in nature means that writers could not easily have chosen to represent them using the other categories of thought presentation, especially IT, FIT, and (F)DT. This contrasts with speech and writing presentation, where, in principle, any speech or writing activity can be presented using any of the categories on the respective scales, subject to the availability of the original utterances or texts.

The differences between thought presentation and the other two modes of presentation go further than this. The categories of speech and writing presentation are means to present, in language, phenomena that are themselves linguistic in nature. In contrast, the categories of thought presentation are largely a means to express, in language, phenomena that are not necessarily linguistic in nature. In formal terms, all the categories of thought presentation apart from NI are clearly parallel to those for speech (and writing) presentation. However, this formal parallelism appears to reflect (and reinforce) what we may refer to as a ‘folk theory’ of thought, according to which thought amounts to silent, unuttered speech, and can therefore be presented in language in the same way as speech can (see also our reference to Lakoff and Johnson’s ‘thought as language’ metaphor in 6.2.3 above). However, as we, and others, have shown, some of the thought presentation categories (notably (F)DT and FIT) have very different effects from their counterpart for speech (and writing) presentation precisely because, whatever its precise nature, thought is clearly *not* silent, unuttered speech. We have also noticed how NRTA(p) differs from both NRSA(p) and NRWA(p) because the notion of illocutionary force does not straightforwardly apply to thought.

Let us now focus more specifically on the relationship among NV, NW and NI, namely the three corresponding categories at the non-direct ends of the three scales of SW&TP. As mentioned earlier, NV and NW are quite similar to each other, apart from some differences resulting from the fact that speech is often face-to-face and interactive, while writing is not. Both NV and NW capture minimal references to speech or writing, which provide no detail of the illocutionary force and contents of the relevant utterance or text, let alone the words that might have been used. Prototypical instances of NI can be said to be similar to NV and NW in that they give minimal accounts of mental experiences with no detail of the specific thoughts that might have accompanied it. In example (17), for example, we are told that Jim ‘envied’ two other characters, but we do not know the contents (never mind the potential wording) of the thoughts that this particular attitude might have generated in Jim’s head. However, NI does not have to be minimal. In extract (19) above, for example, we are given a detailed description of a photograph that became a visual image in the narrator’s memory. Moreover, because what is involved is a visual image,

the relevant cognitive experience is not expressed in a way that corresponds to categories such as IT, FIT or (F)DT, precisely because no propositional content or words were involved. This means that NI accounts of mental experiences can be rich and detailed in ways that NV and NW cannot be.

What we are noticing in more and more detail is that, because thought is ontologically different from speech and writing, the thought presentation scale turns out to be based on a rather loose analogy with the speech and writing scales. As we have seen, this analogy privileges the kind of thought presentation that can easily be expressed in language, so that, in our annotation of the corpus, reference to any other types of thought have ended up in our NI category. The fact that the thought presentation scale is based on a somewhat imperfect analogy with speech and writing presentation is something that analysts should take into account. On the other hand, this does not mean that the thought presentation scale should be abandoned, since, after all, it helps to account for a number of important effects in relation to IT, FIT and (F)DT in particular.

If, as we assumed in the analysis of our corpus, NI properly belongs on the thought presentation scale, it is clearly the overall quantitative norm for thought presentation in our corpus. The situation is different, however, if we only consider as thought presentation those categories that present the speech-like or potentially verbalizable thought that is privileged by most approaches to thought presentation to date, including Leech and Short's model. Within such a restricted definition of thought presentation, NI would be part of narration, and IT would become the quantitative non-fiction norm in our corpus overall, and FIT the quantitative norm in our (twentieth-century) fiction data.

In the rest of this book, we will continue to include NI alongside other thought presentation categories. However, in our concluding remarks in 9.2, we will return to its problematic status, and suggest a possible alternative structure for the non-direct end of the thought presentation scale.

### **6.5 An overview of our findings on the major speech, writing and thought presentation categories**

For the reader's convenience, we will now summarize the main findings of our analysis of the main SW&TP categories in this and the previous two chapters. Overall, we have found the following differences in the frequencies of speech, writing and thought presentation:

- Speech presentation is more frequent than writing and thought presentation in the whole corpus and in all its sub-sections
- Thought presentation is more frequent than writing presentation in the whole corpus and in all its sub-sections.

As for the distribution of SW&TP in the three genres included in our corpus, we have found that each of the three modes of presentation is significantly more frequent in one of the three genres than in the other two:

- Speech presentation is more frequent in news reports than in fiction and (auto)biography
- Thought presentation is more frequent in fiction than in (auto)biography and news reports
- Writing presentation is more frequent in (auto)biography than in news reports and fiction.

The overall differences between the popular and serious sub-sections are much less marked. Thought presentation is only marginally more frequent in the serious than the popular sections of each genre; speech presentation is slightly more frequent in the popular than the serious sub-sections of the fiction and (auto)biography data; and writing presentation is much more frequent in the serious than the popular sub-section of the (auto)biography data.

*As far as the five categories of speech presentation are concerned*, we have found that, overall, they differ significantly in their distribution across the three genres and in the serious and popular sub-sections of each genre. More specifically:

- (F)DS is the most frequent category overall, followed by NRSA(p) and IS
- (F)DS is more frequent in fiction than in news reports and (auto)biography
- (F)DS is more frequent in the popular than the serious sub-sections of each genre, and the difference is particularly marked in (auto)biography
- IS and NRSA(p) are most frequent in news reports and least frequent in fiction
- FIS is more frequent in fiction and (auto)biography than in news reports
- FIS is more frequent in the serious than the popular sub-sections of each genre, and the difference is particularly marked in news reports and (auto)biography.

As far as our three genres are concerned, therefore, the main quantitative differences are that fiction privileges the direct end of the speech presentation scale, while the non-fiction genres in our corpus privilege the non-direct end (notably IS and NRSA(p)). FIS, on the other hand, sets both fiction and (auto)biography apart from news reports. Our qualitative analysis of selected examples has shown how each category tends to have

different forms and functions depending on the genre. More specifically, we have found a contrast between fiction and news reports in the use of all categories (but especially NV, NRSA(p) and FIS), while (auto)biography shows a combination of the uses associated with the other two genres. The contrast between the serious and popular sections of each genre is not as marked as the contrast among genres. However, we have found that the popular sub-sections privilege (F)DS more than the serious sub-sections, while the opposite applies to FIS.

*As far as the five categories of writing presentation are concerned*, we have found that, overall, they differ significantly in their distribution across the three genres and in the serious and popular sub-sections of the (auto)biography data, and, to a lesser extent, the press data. More specifically:

- All categories are more frequent in (auto)biography than in news reports and fiction
- Apart from NW, all the categories are least frequent in fiction
- NRWA(p) is the most frequent category overall, followed by (F)DW
- NRWA(p) and (F)DW are more frequent in the serious than the popular sub-section of the (auto)biography data.

Here there is a contrast between (auto)biography and the other two genres in the frequency of all categories, but it is also possible to see a contrast between the non-fiction genres on the one hand, and fiction on the other. There is also a contrast between the serious and popular sub-sections of the (auto)biography data: the former has considerably more occurrences than the latter of the two most frequent categories (NRWA(p) and (F)DW). Our analysis of specific examples has not highlighted obvious contrasts in the use of individual categories in each of the three genres. However, the form and functions of FIW are more restricted in news reports than in the other two genres. We have seen how writing presentation categories are very similar to their counterparts for speech presentation, although they sometimes have a more restricted range of forms and functions. We have noticed in particular the differences between (F)DW and (F)DS in terms of their dramatizing potential and faithfulness implications. We have also seen how writing presentation shares most of its reporting verbs with speech presentation.

*As far as the five categories of thought presentation are concerned*, we have found that, overall, they differ significantly in their distribution across the three genres and in the serious and popular sub-section of the (auto)biography data. More specifically:

- NI is the most frequent category overall
- FIT is the second most frequent category overall and in fiction
- IT is the second most frequent category in news reports and (auto)biography

- NRTA(p) and (F)DT are the two most infrequent categories, in contrast with the other two scales
- All the categories are more frequent in fiction and (auto)biography than in news reports
- NRTA(p) and (F)DT are particularly rare in news reports
- FIT is most frequent in fiction but absent from our press data.

Here there is an overall contrast between news reports on the one hand and fiction and (auto)biography on the other, and a more limited contrast between fiction and the two non-fiction genres in the relative frequencies of IT and FIT. There are hardly any differences, however, between the serious and the popular sub-sections of each genre. In our discussion we have emphasized how thought presentation contrasts with both speech and writing presentation in terms of the frequency, distribution, uses and effects of individual categories.

## Notes

- 1 Appendix 7 and Appendix 8 list *all* the verbs that occur in DT and IT reporting clauses, including inferred and embedded instances.
- 2 The only sub-section of the corpus which has a high mean length for NRTA(p) is the serious press sub-section (21.28 words). However, this is derived from only seven instances, and so does not suggest a pervasive trend.
- 3 Clearly, what we call 'pure' thought presentation is not necessarily more reliable than inferred thought presentation. In autobiography, for example, the protagonist may well misremember their own thoughts, or, for strategic reasons, deliberately choose to present them in a less than truthful way. Our distinction between pure and inferred thought presentation simply captures a basic difference in epistemological access, rather than any clear-cut difference in ontological status (see also note 5 in Chapter 3).

## 7 Specific phenomena in speech, writing and thought presentation

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, we concentrated on the main categories of SW&TP on each of the three discourse presentation scales. In this chapter, we turn to three specific phenomena that we noticed in the process of annotating our corpus, and that we took into account in various ways in our annotation system. These phenomena can all be found on each of the three presentation scales. We will examine quotation phenomena in 7.1, hypothetical SW&TP in 7.2, and embedded SW&TP in 7.3. We will conclude the chapter with a discussion of ambiguity in SW&TP, based on an analysis of portmanteau tags in the corpus and a more general consideration of the way in which we established boundaries between our categories in the process of annotation (section 7.4).

### 7.1 Quotation phenomena

In 3.2.2 we introduced what we refer to as ‘quotation phenomena’ or ‘q’ forms, namely the presence of a stretch of text surrounded by quotation marks within a non-direct form of SW&TP.<sup>1</sup> The emboldened part of the extract below, for example, is an instance of NRWAp where four words are enclosed within quotation marks.

- (1) Writing in the *Sunday Telegraph*, **he accused Mr Major of an ‘act of crass stupidity’ in withdrawing the whip from the eight.**  
(‘14 Tories ready to defeat VAT rise’, *Daily Telegraph*,  
5 December 1994)

As explained in 3.2.2, we adopted the suffix ‘q’ in order to indicate the presence of a quotation within a stretch of text which was annotated as an instance of an SW&TP category (or as N, as we will show below). The emboldened part of example (1) was therefore tagged as NRWApq. In this section, we consider the distribution of ‘q’ in our corpus, both in relation to different text-types and in relation to different categories on each of the three presentational scales.

The analysis of our corpus suggests that, although the ‘q’ forms are a

general phenomenon in the use of SW&TP in narrative, they are particularly common in non-fictional narratives, and especially news reporting. Overall, our corpus contains 493 instances of SW&TP categories containing 'q', representing approximately 3 per cent of all tags (16,555) in the corpus. However, the distribution across the three genres included in the corpus is not even. The newspaper section contains 266 instances, corresponding to 54 per cent of all 'q' forms; the (auto)biography section contains 176 instances, corresponding to 36 per cent; and the fiction section contains 51 instances, corresponding to 10 per cent of all 'q' forms.

As we said in 3.2.2, these findings can be explained in terms of the presentational advantages associated with the use of the 'q' forms. The inclusion of a stretch of quotation within a non-direct form of SW&TP allows narrators/reporters to summarize what a particular individual said, wrote or thought, while at the same time highlighting some particularly important or newsworthy part of the relevant utterance, text or thought. These quotations are therefore particularly useful in a context such as news reporting, where on the one hand reporters are under pressure to keep their articles brief due to space constraints, while on the other hand they may often wish to attribute individual words or expressions to participants in their stories. This is for the same reasons that we discussed in relation to the use of (F)DS and (F)DW in 4.2.5 and 5.2.5 respectively: the quotation may constitute irrefutable evidence that supports the reporter's own claims (especially if it is taken from a written text or from speech that has been recorded); or it may include words that vividly evoke the original speaker's voice, and/or words with which the reporters may not want to be associated. More generally, the words included within what we call 'q' forms are singled out because they are particularly apt, shocking, controversial or revealing.

As we mentioned in 3.2.2, a number of previous studies have discussed the phenomenon of the 'q' forms (Clark and Gerrig 1990; Thompson 1996; Volosinov 1973; Waugh 1995). However, with the exception of Thompson (1996), these studies have only noted their presence in IS and so have missed the extent of the phenomenon. The analysis of our corpus shows that embedded quotations can occur in all non-direct forms of SW&TP except for NV and NW, which, by definition, are too minimal to include even the shortest stretch of quotation. They also occur in what we call 'narration' (Nq), as shown by example (17) in Chapter 3. However, the number of 'q' forms in the speech, writing and thought presentation sections of our corpus vary considerably: 308 instances occur in speech presentation, 75 instances in writing presentation, and only nine in thought presentation. In addition, we have found 'q' forms in 28 instances of SW&TP that were tagged as ambiguous between categories, and in 75 stretches of text that were tagged as narration.

The preponderance of speech presentation as far as the use of the 'q' forms are concerned is consistent with the general dominance of speech

presentation over thought and writing presentation in the corpus. It is also not surprising that writing presentation has many more instances of 'q' forms than thought presentation (even though, as we saw in 3.3.1, thought presentation is more frequent than writing presentation overall). The use of 'q' forms draws attention to specific choices of words, and strongly suggests that these words were used in the speech, thought or writing event being presented. Given that, as we have repeatedly said, thoughts are private and not necessarily verbal in form, it is quite natural that non-direct forms of thought presentation very rarely include stretches within quotation marks.

In Table 7.1 below we list the eight most frequent SW&TP tags in our corpus which include the 'q' suffix, i.e. tags involving 'q' which occur ten times or more in the corpus. The table provides evidence for the pattern we mentioned above, whereby most 'q' forms occur within speech presentation, followed by N and writing presentation. The eight most frequent 'q' tags do not include any thought presentation categories, but they do include the three relevant non-direct categories for both speech and writing presentation: NRSAp and NRWAp,<sup>2</sup> IS and IW, and FIS and FIW. They also include N, and the portmanteau tag IS-FIS, which we applied to all those cases where an indirect reported clause was accompanied by a parenthetical reporting clause (see 7.4.2 below for a discussion of this). For both speech and writing presentation, embedded quotations occur most frequently in categories that lie at the left-most end of the relevant scale: NRSApq and NRWApq are the most frequent categories in each case, followed by ISq and IWq, and then by FISq and FIWq. This pattern is consistent with the relative overall frequencies of these categories (see 4.2 and 5.2).

It is also the case that, overall, the 'q' forms are more frequent in the serious than the popular sub-sections of the corpus: out of a total of 493 instances, 327 occur in the serious sections and 166, about half as many, in the popular sections. If we consider the eight most frequent 'q' categories in Table 7.1, we can see that they are all more frequent in the serious than in the popular sub-sections of the corpus, both overall, and for each of the genres (the exceptions are ISq and IWq in fiction, but the figures for the 'q' forms in fiction are in any case too low to be meaningful). This reflects the patterns we noticed in Chapters 4 and 5, whereby the non-direct speech presentation categories and *all* writing presentation categories are more frequent in the serious sections of the corpus.

An interesting aspect of variation that is not captured by our annotation system is the length of instances of 'q' forms, and the proportion of space they occupy within the instance of SW&TP they occur in. Generally speaking, 'q' forms vary in length from one to a couple of dozen words, and can, in some cases, take up most of the instance of the SW&TP category they occur in. There are, however, different tendencies in different sections of our corpus. In fiction, apart from a few cases involving



Table 7.1 The eight most frequent ‘q’ tags in the corpus

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
								Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
NRSApq	136	17		83	36		7		10	35	48	13	23	55	81
ISq	129	4		96	29		4		0	33	63	4	25	41	88
Nq	75	12		35	28		2		10	15	20	8	20	25	50
NRWApq	38	4		9	25		1		3	5	4	8	17	14	24
FISq	24	2		12	10		0		2	2	10	1	9	3	21
IWq	24	2		6	16		1		1	0	6	7	9	8	16
ISq-FISq	18	1		15	2		0		1	7	8	0	2	7	11
FIWq	10	0		4	6		0		0	0	4	1	5	1	9

quotations from proverbs or poems, the length of embedded quotations tends to be limited to one or two words:

(2) **Dr Ransome often called Jim a ‘free spirit’** [...]

(J. G. Ballard, *Empire of the Sun*, p. 164)

(3) Having the other two women in the house taught Lisa something new about herself; she and Jonathan stopped sleeping together, which left them all short of space. Phoebe felt betrayed by Lisa’s desertion. **She and Jim talked together secretly about leaving the house and going off to somewhere ‘more committed’** [...].

(Sara Maitland, *Three Times Table*, pp. 146–7)

Both examples involve an instance of NRSApq where the quotation is only two words long (in example (3), the NRSApq is actually embedded inside a long stretch of FIT – Phoebe is thinking about the relations among the occupants of the house she lives in, including a conversation she has already had with Jim). Example (2) is representative of a distinct tendency for instances of ‘q’ forms in fiction to be concerned with expressions habitually used by specific individuals, often to address or refer to someone else. Example (3), on the other hand, is representative of the alternative tendency where the quotation contains an expression which was used on a specific occasion, and which is significant in context for one reason or another. In example (3), the quotation of the expression ‘more committed’ helps to convey the characters’ personalities and the context in which they operate: the two characters are lovers who live in a 1960s ‘alternative’ household together with other couples, and who are presented as making decisions as to their next residence on the basis of its occupants’ degree of commitment to their particular political cause.

In the non-fiction sections of the corpus, and particularly in the newspaper section, there is also variation in length, but, in general, embedded quotations tend to be longer than in fiction, and to reproduce what the author/reporter regards as the most significant or newsworthy part of an utterance or text. In example (1) above, for example, a 4-word quotation (as part of a 17-word NRWAPq) reproduces a very explicit and offensive criticism that a former Conservative party chairman, Kenneth Baker, made regarding an action on the part of the then British Prime Minister, John Major. In contrast, in the example below (which was also discussed as example (16) in 3.2.2), an 8-word embedded quotation makes up nearly half of the NRSAp in which it occurs:

(4) **The President of the Board of Trade accused Labour of ‘undermining the very fabric of our political constitution.’**

(‘Blair Backs Plans to Reform Monarchy’, *Independent*, 5 December 1994)

The examples below provide more evidence of the flexibility of the 'q' forms as a tool, particularly for news reporters:

- (5) [...] only last month Mr Pena told journalists concerned about ValuJet's safety record **that 'it is a safe airline like all other airlines'**.

('Swamp "swallows" crashed airliner', *Daily Telegraph*, 13 May 1996)

- (6) But Mr Lilley said Labour tactics could prompt many ordinary people who would otherwise support Labour to turn to the Conservatives.

'I regret very much that they have put the future of the monarchy into the political domain,' he said on BBC1's Breakfast with Frost. 'But having done so, I think that they risk losing the support of a lot of their voters.'

**While Labour activists were Left-wing, Labour voters were usually 'very pro-monarchy, very pro-Britain' and the Conservatives would 'vigorously defend' the Queen and the Royal Family.**

('Labour in row over Royal role', *Daily Telegraph*, 5 December 1994)

In example (5), the whole of the emboldened IS reported clause is enclosed within quotation marks except for the subordinator 'that', which led us to tag the clause as ISq. This is a rather unusual example, but it does show how embedded quotations can be stretched to allow reporters to combine the grammatical structure of IS with a quotation in full clausal form, which is more typical of DS. In example (6) the emboldened sentence was tagged as FISq (note that, although there is no reporting clause, the content of the sentence and the use of the past tense suggest that it is a representation of what Mr Lilley (a Conservative Cabinet member) went on to say after the part of his speech that is quoted in DS in the immediately preceding co-text). In the emboldened sentence, the use of two short quotations allows the reporter to weave in and out of quoting Mr Lilley, so that the politician's most significant and forceful expressions are seamlessly incorporated in the reporter's own grammatical and lexical structures.

Four out of the six examples we have given in this section, i.e. examples (2)–(5), also show how quotations tend to occur at the end of the relevant SW&TP category. This is not surprising. Given that the use of a 'q' form inevitably foregrounds the most relevant and important part(s) of a particular speech, thought or writing event, it is natural that it should occur in the position associated with 'new' information, i.e. the end of a particular grammatical structure, usually a clause. The fact that the majority of 'q' forms occur in this position is therefore consistent with the grammatical principle of 'end focus', and also, where the quotation is long

and/or grammatically complex, with the principle of 'end weight' (see Biber *et al.* 1999: 897–8 *et passim*).

In conclusion, it is worth reflecting a little further on the implications of the use of 'q' forms for any implied claims or expectations of faithful, verbatim reporting in relation to speech and writing presentation (the issue of faithfulness does not properly apply to thought presentation; see Short *et al.* 2002). Conventionally, the use of quotation marks has been taken to suggest that the material included within them is a word-for-word reproduction of an original utterance or text. However, a number of scholars have recently questioned this assumption, and pointed out the many ways and contexts in which the direct forms (and (F)DS in particular) cannot be verbatim reproductions (see Fludernik 1983; Slembrouck 1992; Sternberg 1982a, 1982b; Tannen 1989). In Short *et al.* (2002), we have argued in favour of a context-sensitive approach to faithfulness in SW&TP.

As far as the 'q' forms are concerned, it is arguable that the faithfulness stakes are particularly high. This is because the 'q' forms clearly involve an explicit decision to foreground the status of part of a non-direct structure, and to do this by means of the graphological device which is conventionally associated with word-for-word reproduction. In all of our examples of quotation phenomena, the quotation marks are, strictly speaking, unnecessary, as far as the grammaticality or comprehensibility of the surrounding structures is concerned (the quoted material is always selected in such a way that there are no deictic or grammatical inconsistencies with the narrating/reporting context). The use of these quotations can therefore only be taken to indicate that, in contrast with the surrounding material, they are a word-for-word reproduction of (an important) part of the original. We return to the issue of faithfulness in SW&TP in 8.3.

## 7.2 Hypothetical speech, writing and thought presentation

The study of discourse presentation has largely focused on contexts where it is assumed that the presented speech, writing or thought event has already occurred in the world of the text *prior to* the reporting of it within the text itself. In other words, most discussions contain examples of fictional narrators presenting what characters said or thought at a time that is (marked as) past with respect to the coding time of narration, or of media reporters presenting speech uttered in their recent past by the protagonists in news stories. Only a handful of discourse presentation studies have highlighted the fact that all kinds of texts also contain references to speech and thought events that are presented as future, possible, imaginary or counterfactual (see Fludernik 1993; Sternberg 1982a, 1982b; Tannen 1989), and none have pointed out that the same can apply to the report of writing. As we pointed out in 3.2.4, in the tagging of our corpus we employed the suffix 'h' (for 'hypothetical') at the end of our various

SW&TP tags in order to be able to study in depth the phenomenon that we generally refer to as ‘hypothetical’ speech, writing and thought presentation. In this section, we will begin by introducing the range of types of hypothetical SW&TP we have identified in our corpus. We will then look at the frequency and distribution of hypothetical SW&TP, and consider the implications of our findings for claims made by other scholars on the theoretical significance of this phenomenon (see Semino *et al.* 1999 for an in-depth discussion of hypothetical SW&TP in terms of possible-worlds theory).

### 7.2.1 *Types of hypothetical SW&TP in the corpus*

The prototypical instances of hypothetical SW&TP occur within hypothetical scenarios that include potential speech, thought or writing events. Our first example comes from Julian Barnes’s *A History of the World in 10½ Chapters* (see also examples in Fludernik 1993: 413; Haberland 1986: 225). Characters on an expedition to find the remains of Noah’s ark are commenting on the view of Great Ararat surrounded by clouds:

(7) ‘It has a halo,’ exclaimed Miss Logan. ‘Like an angel.’

‘You are correct,’ Miss Fergusson replied, with a little nod.  
**‘People like my father would not agree, of course. They would tell us that such comparisons are all hot air. Literally.’**

(Julian Barnes, *A History of the World in 10½ Chapters*, p. 154)

Miss Fergusson predicts what verbal reaction her father, and people like him, would give to Miss Logan’s comment. She starts off with an embedded hypothetical NRSA (eNRSAh) which summarizes the illocutionary force of the hypothetical response (‘People like my father would not agree . . .’). She then goes on to present in eISh form the objection to Miss Logan’s comparison between Great Ararat and an angel (‘They would tell us that such comparisons are all hot air.’), and finishes with a one-word sentence (‘Literally.’) which appears to be an ‘exact’ reproduction of the final part of the hypothetical response from sceptics like her father. We therefore tagged ‘Literally’ as embedded FDSH, since, within the hypothetical scenario in which this response takes place, it would have to be part of the speaker’s pun on the ambiguity of ‘hot air’ (which can be interpreted, metaphorically, as ‘nonsense’ or, literally, as referring to vapour).<sup>3</sup> The particular forms of hypothetical speech presentation used by the character in this example (eNRSAh, eISh, eFDSH) move from an impression of total narratorial control over the hypothetical report (by means of NRSAh) to an impression of listening directly to the Miss Fergusson’s father’s hypothetical response (by means of eFDSH). This movement rightwards on the speech presentation scale contributes to the dramatization of the hypothetical voice, and produces a final punch-line effect with

the eFDS presentation of the pun (as opposed to, for example, an IS presentation such as ‘They would say that such comparisons are literally hot air’).

In addition to straightforwardly hypothetical speech, thought or writing events like the above, our ‘h’ suffix was also applied to a range of other cases where a particular instance of SW&TP was explicitly presented as not having occurred in what counts as the actual world for a particular text. These non-actual scenarios are part of the presentation of wishes, obligations, intentions, predictions and interpretations of the verbal or non-verbal behaviour of others, and may be generated by characters/participants in stories or by narrators/reporters. The next example is taken from the autobiography of the English show-business personality Cilla Black, who at one time presented a show called *Surprise Surprise*, which, predictably, revolved around a series of surprises enacted live on the programme at the expense of unknowing victims:

- (8) A boy aged twenty-one – we’ll call him Colin – wrote to tell us that he and his girlfriend were getting engaged at Christmas-time and he thought it would be a lovely surprise **if he could propose to her on the show.**

(Cilla Black, *Step Inside*, p. 96)

The emboldened stretch of this extract presents in (embedded) NRSA form a proposal of marriage which is part of a wished-for scenario outlined in the young man’s letter to the programme organizers. The emboldened stretch was therefore tagged as eNRSAh. In the event, the young man did manage to realize his desired scenario by getting on the show, but his marriage proposal was interrupted by a resounding ‘No!’ from his girlfriend, live on television.

In contrast, in the next extract the performance of a particular speech act is presented not as part of a personal wish but as part of the duties that are associated with a particular job. The extract comes from a section of John Miller’s autobiography where he talks about the time he spent serving in the army in Northern Ireland:

- (9) Now the rules say that **you’ve got to shout out a challenge to the gunman and give him a warning that you’re a soldier.** That’s just bullshit. The very least that’s going to happen is the guy’s gonna get away, if he doesn’t panic.

**And then a few night’s later he’s gonna see you before you see him and you or one of your mates is dead.**

(John Miller, *Former Soldier Seeks Employment*, p. 75)

The first two emboldened stretches present, using eNRSAh and eISh respectively, the verbal behaviour that the members of the army are expected to

adopt in the relevant circumstances. In other words, these speech events are part of the obligation imposed by the army on the narrator and his fellow soldiers. What is interesting is that the narrator goes on in our final emboldened stretch to highlight how this particular verbal behaviour is unsuitable in the actual world, by spelling out the likely dangerous consequences of abiding by the rules. Nevertheless, the readers' general background knowledge will probably lead them to the conclusion that the speech acts that are presented as part of army rules have in fact been repeatedly realized by soldiers operating under those rules. This highlights the important point that, in some contexts, the actions referred to by means of hypothetical SW&TP may be incorporated within the readers' view of the text's 'actual' world as a result of inferences. We will return to this point below.

A number of instances of SW&TP that received the 'h' suffix involve the presentation of scenarios that are in the future at the relevant point in the narrative. This includes particularly the statement of intentions and predictions. The example below is another extract from Cilla Black's autobiography, again concerning the television programme *Surprise Surprise*:

- (10) We had what we thought was a lovely item about a fireman who had done voluntary service for thirty-three years. Not only that, he had raised thousands of pounds for the fire service charity. Of all the many rescues he had taken part in, the most unusual was when he had to save a pig and give it the kiss of life.

The pig survived, so did the fireman, and now we had him and the pig's grandson in the studio. The idea was **to ask this feller to show us how he brought the original pig back to life**, but just when he was about to start the kiss of life, **we'd say: 'That's all right. You don't have to blow into that one. Blow into this.'**

Then we'd hand him this balloon pig which we'd had made to order for £150. We never got that far. The grandson pig was impossible.

(Cilla Black, *Step Inside*, p. 98)

The emboldened parts of the extract involve instances of ISh and DSh respectively, both occurring within a plan for the future which the narrator shared with the other members of the team in charge of the production of the program. As with example (7), the move from IS to DS creates a greater dramatic effect at the point corresponding with the punchline of the planned surprise. The following narration tells us that, in the event, this joint plan was not successfully realized.

The following extract, from a newspaper article, describes the reaction of the British comedian Spike Milligan on receiving a comedy award:

- (11) 'I was going to say "About bloody time!"' he said, as the ovation died away.

(‘Milligan brings down the house of Windsor’,  
*Daily Telegraph*, 5 December 1994)

Strictly speaking, the stretch of embedded eDS ‘About bloody time!’ is presented as part of a past intention on Milligan’s part, since it is prefaced by the reporting clause ‘I was going to say’. However, by stating his intention in the very context to which it relates, Milligan amusingly performs the relevant utterance in the relevant context (note, by way of contrast, that if he had said the same thing privately after the award ceremony, his utterance ‘About bloody time!’ would have simply been the expression of part of an unrealized past plan). The interesting point is that the potentially offensive effect of this immodest utterance is defused by being presented only as an intention. Strictly speaking, Milligan does not *use* the expression ‘About bloody time’ but *mentions* it (in this case, quotes it) as part of a private plan. All this can, in turn, be explained in terms of politeness theory (see Brown and Levinson 1987): the placing of a rude and arrogant verbal act within an intentional scenario reduces the threat to the hearers’ positive faces and enables Milligan to get away with it. This example shows how what we call hypothetical SW&TP can in some cases be used strategically for interpersonal reasons such as politeness (see Semino *et al.* 1999 for a discussion of this and other examples in relation to different theoretical frameworks).

The newspaper section of the corpus contains many examples of speech, thought or writing events that are predicted to take place in the readers’ actual world at a time that is future for the reporters, but may or may not be future for the readers of the report:

- (12) Today, Malcolm Rifkind the Minister of Defence, is to fly to the Croatian port of Split **for urgent talks** with the UN commander in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose

(‘Milosevic supports peace moves’, *Independent*,  
5 December 1994)

Here the expression ‘urgent talks’ is an NVh reference to a future planned speech event of an official nature. In cases such as this, readers may assume that the speech event in question is already underway by the time they read the newspaper, unless they have reason to doubt the reliability of the report.

The situation is rather different when the prediction involves inferred thought presentation, as in the following example:

- (13) TODAY the News of the World exposes a sex and drugs scandal at the very highest level – right in the heart of Buckingham Palace.



**The Queen will be stunned to learn servants indulge in dope-fuelled orgies as she entertains heads of state just yards away.**

(‘Sex-mad staff took drugs at Buckingham Palace’,  
*News of the World*, 12 May 1996)

In this example, there is a reference to the Queen’s future reaction to the revelations contained in this particular issue of the *News of the World*. The emboldened sentence was therefore tagged as NIih. Clearly, in such cases the relationship between the predicted future scenario in which these internal states occur and a future state of the actual world is much less straightforward, since the reporter could only have guessed how the Queen might have reacted (she might have been outraged by the report itself, she might not have believed the story, she might have known all along, and so on). The writer’s main aim seems to be that of portraying the effects of the report in a highly dramatic way (a ‘stunned’ Queen finding out saucy details about her staff), rather than making a considered prediction about the future. Individual readers may therefore have varied considerably as to the extent to which they incorporated this prediction into their assumptions concerning the actual world, depending on their background knowledge and the authority they attributed to this type of report and to this particular newspaper.

Some instances of what we call hypothetical SW&TP turn out to be interpretations of (i) what is *suggested* rather than explicitly expressed in someone’s words or thoughts, or (ii) what is suggested by their non-verbal behaviour. The following example is taken from an action novel in the popular fiction section of our corpus. It occurs just after an extract of FDS in which Myers – a radio operator on a ship – has complained about the poor quality of an SOS message he is receiving on the radio:

- (14) ‘I have an SOS. I think – repeat think – vessel’s position is just south of Thera. All I have. Very garbled, certainly not a trained operator. Just keeps repeating “Mayday, Mayday, Mayday”’.

Myers, the radio operator on duty, sounded annoyed: **every radio operator**, the tone of his voice said, **should be as expert and efficient as he was**.

(Alistair MacLean, *Santorini*, p. 9)

We tagged the emboldened parts of the final sentence of the above example as ambiguous between ISh and FISh (ISh-FISh). The major category ambiguity is because a reporting clause is present (as is typical of IS), but has parenthetical status, so that the reported clause is not grammatically subordinated (as is typical of DS – see 7.4.2 below for more detail). What is interesting for the purposes of the current discussion, however, is that the emboldened material was clearly not uttered by Myers. What he

actually said is presented in the first four sentences of the quotation. In the emboldened part of the quotation, the reader is presented with the narrator's *interpretation* of what is suggested by Myers's tone of voice in producing the immediately preceding material in inverted commas (which, as we mentioned earlier, is presented in FDS). Sternberg (1982a, 1982b) refers to this kind of phenomenon as 'interpretive paraphrase', which, he claims, occurs when 'the original speech [is] either replaced by or (what is easier to demonstrate) juxtaposed with its reportive paraphrase' (Sternberg 1982b: 89). It is important to note here that this example shows that what we tagged as 'h' for 'hypothetical' is wider than more standard understandings of the term 'hypothetical'. It captures all presentations of discourse which are indicated as not actually occurring in the world evoked by the text, including this kind of 'interpretative paraphrase' as well as more 'standard' kinds of hypothetical discourse – for example the presentation of what someone would have liked to say, but did not actually say.

Another kind of hypothetical SW&TP involves the expression in verbal form of an interpretation of someone's non-verbal behaviour, as in the following example from Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*:

- (15) ... a decade before the century's turn Fearless Flory would haunt the boys' school playground, teasing adolescent males with swishings of skirts and sing-song sneers, and with a twig scratch challenges into the earth – ***step across this line.***

(Salman Rushdie, *The Moor's Last Sigh*, p. 73)

Here the first-person narrator expresses, in the form of a direct quotation, what he assumes was the communicative intent of his grandmother's action of drawing a line on the ground. Sternberg (1982a, 1982b) describes this kind of example as a case of 'intersemiotic transfer' since, unlike the above cases of interpretive paraphrase, it involves the verbalization of what he calls 'mute reality' (Sternberg 1982a: 134). Tannen (1989: 114–16) provides real-life examples involving the verbalization of other people's thoughts or reactions, and Fludernik (1993: 404–6) discusses fictional extracts where thoughts, reactions and attitudes are imputed to others in the form of direct or free indirect discourse. Our examples also support Sternberg's claim that the direct forms of SW&TP tend to be used in such cases because of the sense of immediacy and drama that they produce (Sternberg 1982a: 135).

The phenomena that we captured by means of the 'h' suffix also include instances of speech, thought or writing acts that fall within the scope of a negative expression (see also Tannen 1989: 111). The following example is taken from a newspaper article reporting the reasons why Jacques Delors decided not to stand as a French presidential candidate in 1994:

- (16) He said it would not be honest to **make promises which he could not deliver** [...]

('Delors will not run for Elysée', *Guardian*,  
12 December 1994)

The emboldened stretch was tagged as eNRS<sub>Ah</sub>, because, embedded inside an IS presentation of the relevant part of Delors' speech, it relates to a speech act that Delors presented as contrary to his moral principles. We therefore have a speech event that is presented as non-actual because it is prohibited by a common system of morality and social rules. This is the reverse of examples such as (9) above, which relate to speech events that are *imposed* by a particular system of regulations.

Our discussion so far has shown that our use of the term 'hypothetical' in relation to SW&TP is actually shorthand for a wide range of phenomena. It is therefore important to bear in mind that what is shared by all instances of SW&TP that received the 'h' suffix is the same ontological status: they are explicitly presented as occurring not in what counts as the 'actual' world of the text, but in non-actual scenarios of various kinds. As we have shown, the degree of overlap that readers will assume to exist between the different non-actual scenario and the 'actual' world of the text depends on a combination of factors, including the nature of the speech/writing/thought event, the text-type, the authority or reliability of the source, and so on (see also Sternberg 1982a: 139–40).

A major advantage of the availability of an annotated corpus is that we have arrived at a typology of non-actual SW&TP that goes well beyond the limited phenomena that have been noticed in previous studies. We will now turn to a detailed analysis of the frequency of occurrence of different formal categories of hypothetical SW&TP in our corpus, and discuss the theoretical implications of that analysis in the light of the claims made in previous studies.

### *7.2.2 A quantitative analysis of hypothetical SW&TP in the corpus and its implications for 'faithfulness' in SW&TP*

The fact that what we call hypothetical SW&TP occurs at all has been used in a number of studies as evidence against the notion of faithfulness as a criterion in the establishment of SW&TP presentation categories in general, and direct speech in particular. In a nutshell, the argument goes as follows: because it is possible to use the direct forms of SW&TP to present a speech, writing or thought event that has never taken place, the idea that the categories of SW&TP can be differentiated according to their degree of faithfulness to an original cannot be sustained. In particular, the traditional claim that a central characteristic of the direct forms of *speech* presentation is that they can provide a *verbatim* representation of the original utterance has been criticized as mistaken and untenable

(e.g. Fludernik 1993; Sternberg 1982a, 1982b; Tannen 1989). However, the evidence of our corpus suggests that hypothetical SW&TP is relatively infrequent in written British English, and so its occurrence should be considered with care when assessing whether or not to jettison faithfulness as a criterion to help distinguish the various discourse presentation modes (and their effects) from one another.<sup>4</sup>

Overall, there are 393 hypothetical SW&TP tags in our corpus (we have not applied the 'h' suffix to the stretches of text tagged as narration). This represents approximately 2 per cent of all tags in the corpus (16,533 in total), and approximately 4 per cent of the tags indicating categories of SW&TP (i.e. all tags excluding N, NRS, NRT, NRW and any portmanteau tags involving two of these, giving a total of 9,478 tags).<sup>5</sup> Thus, although hypothetical SW&TP is an interesting phenomenon which needs to be accounted for in a theory of SW&TP, our quantitative evidence suggests that it constitutes too minor a trend to undermine the relevance of the notion of faithfulness to the study of discourse presentation. Indeed, some more precise statistical information backs up our view.

Just over 62 per cent of hypothetical SW&TP in our corpus is embedded within other forms of discourse presentation (as is the case with several of our examples above). More specifically, over 67 per cent of embedded hypothetical SW&TP occurs within *speech* presentation, with DS, IS and FDS representing by far the most frequent 'host' categories. Hence, hypothetical SW&TP tends to be part of the (mostly spoken) discourse of characters/participants in the narratives, rather than originating from the voices of narrators/reporters, which, other things being equal, have greater authoritativeness. In other words, hypothetical SW&TP mostly occurs in contexts where expectations of faithfulness to an original are in any case reduced, partly due to the relatively low authoritativeness of characters/participants as opposed to narrators/reporters, and partly due to the limitations inherent in representing others' voices in speech as opposed to writing (see 7.3 below for a discussion of embedded SW&TP).<sup>6</sup>

Table 7.2 provides an overview of the number of occurrences of hypothetical SW&TP in the corpus as a whole. We have provided *separate* figures for each of the main speech presentation categories, and *combined* figures for thought and writing presentation, since the frequency of hypotheticals for writing and for thought presentation is low.

The table is divided into three columns. The first column presents the overall numbers of occurrences of hypothetical SW&TP tags in the corpus; the second and third columns provide separate figures for non-embedded and embedded hypothetical SW&TP respectively. In addition to the instances of hypothetical SW&TP relating to the categories included in the table, our corpus contains (i) 25 instances of hypothetical SW&TP which are ambiguous between categories (e.g. ISh-FISh), and (ii) 21 instances of SW&TP categories which are ambiguous as to their hypothetical status (e.g. NRSa-NRSaH). If we add the former to the overall total for

Table 7.2 Hypothetical SW&TP tags in the corpus

	<i>All hypothetical tags</i>	<i>Non-embedded hypothetical tags</i>	<i>Embedded hypothetical tags</i>
NVh	63	15	48
NRSAh	112	28	84
ISh	50	16	34
FISh	2	2	0
DSh	25	15	10
FDSH	32	26	6
Thought	65	21	44
Writing	19	9	10
<i>Total</i>	<i>368</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>236</i>

hypothetical tags given in Table 7.2, the total number of instances of SW&TP categories which received the 'h' suffix is 393.

First of all, Table 7.2 above shows that *all* categories of speech presentation can be used in hypothetical form, so that studies focusing exclusively on direct and free indirect forms only present part of the overall picture. Indeed, the most obvious tendency highlighted by the table is that instances of hypothetical speech presentation tend to cluster at the *opposite* end of the scale from DS. NRSAh is by far the most frequent category, whereas FISh is the least common. Considering that more than half of all instances of hypothetical SW&TP are embedded, it may be that forms such as NV and NRSA are favoured because they are easier to embed grammatically within the superordinate category of SW&TP (instances of NV and NRSA are shorter, on average, than more direct forms, and can be phrases rather than clauses; see also our discussion of embedded SW&TP in section 7.3). It may also be that the explicitly non-actual nature of hypothetical SW&TP leads more naturally to highly indirect forms of presentation, which are not prototypically associated with faithful word-for-word reproduction of an original.

It is worth noticing, nevertheless, that the least frequent hypothetical category is FISh (only two occurrences in the whole corpus), and that DSh and FDSH together make up 20 per cent of the hypothetical speech presentation in our corpus. The reason for the negligible occurrence of FISh may be the fact that FIS results from the mixing of the reporter's and reportee's perspectives, which could lead to ambiguity as to whose 'voice' we are hearing at each individual point. This may explain why FIS is an unlikely choice in cases where it is made explicit that there is no anterior speech event in which the reportee's perspective has been expressed in words. On the other hand, DSh and FDSH are, in suitable circumstances, less ambiguous, as well as being highly effective in dramatizing an imaginary speech event.

The tendency we mentioned earlier for the majority of hypothetical SW&TP to be embedded does not actually apply to the more direct forms

of *speech* presentation (FISh, DSh and FDSH). While the figures for FISh are too low to allow any explanation, it may be useful to reflect on why this is the case for DSh and FDSH. In part, this may be because the stereotypical formal characteristics of the direct forms (reporting clause, quotation marks) make it rather awkward to embed these categories within other categories of SW&TP, especially the more indirect ones (see also the discussion of embedded SW&TP in 7.3 below). In addition, it seems reasonable that the more dramatic forms of presentation should be used for strategic and rhetorical purposes by narrators/reporters rather than by characters/participants. This is particularly the case in one of the text-types in our corpus. In tabloid newspapers, the headlines often make use of (non-embedded) DSh and FDSH in order to dramatize the story and so catch, or keep, the readers' attention.

Table 7.3 provides figures relating to the frequencies of occurrence of hypothetical SW&TP in each of the three main text-types in our corpus (we have not distinguished between the popular and serious sections of each genre because the numbers of occurrences are too low for any numerical differences to be meaningful).

Overall, hypothetical SW&TP is not equally divided across the three parts of our corpus. While the press and fiction data contain similar amounts of hypothetical SW&TP (106 and 110 instances respectively), the (auto)biography section of the corpus contains 152 instances of hypothetical SW&TP, most of which turn out to be embedded. This may be related to the fact that (auto)biographies contain reports of the speech/thought/writing of the protagonists, and so these reports are likely to contain references to things that they said they might have said/done, or that they planned, wished or imagined they might say or do. In other words, the figures suggest that (auto)biography as a genre makes more use of speculation than fiction and news reports. The readers of (auto)biography, after all, are bound to be very interested in the wishes and plans of the protagonists, whether or not they were actually realized.

Table 7.3 also shows that, apart from FISh, all categories of hypothetical

*Table 7.3* Hypothetical SW&TP tags in the three genres included in the corpus

	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
NVh	17	27	19
NRSAh	28	40	44
ISh	15	17	18
FISh	1	0	1
DSh	8	3	14
FDSH	11	14	7
Thought	23	4	38
Writing	7	1	11
<i>Total</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>152</i>

speech presentation occur in all three text-types. There is, however, some variation in their relative frequencies. The press section has a higher frequency of NVh and NRSaH than the other two text-types. This is probably because news reports are generally more dependent than fiction and (auto)biographies on the speech presentation categories which summarize in relatively few words potentially long and complex speech acts or events. On the other hand, our press data contain much less hypothetical thought presentation than the other two text-types (only 4 occurrences, as opposed to 23 and 48 respectively in fiction and (auto)biography). This observation also applies to thought presentation generally, and can best be explained in the light of basic differences among the different kinds of narratives. As we have noted before, in fiction thought presentation results in large part from the presence of omniscient or privileged narrators who have direct access to the minds of characters. In (auto)biographies, narrators have (or claim to have) the status of authorities on the lives of the protagonists, and report intimate details in ways which are often reminiscent of omniscient fictional narrators. On the other hand, news reporters normally have less direct access to the people they are writing about, so thought presentation inevitably plays a more minor role in our press data. It is interesting, nevertheless, that the constraints that apply to thought presentation generally also appear to apply to hypothetical presentation: narrating voices who have little authority in presenting the thoughts of others also produce less speculation regarding thought than more authoritative narrators (whether the speculation originates from them or is attributed to participants in their stories, as in the case of embedded thought presentation).

Finally, the figures for hypothetical SW&TP in our three text-types highlight a phenomenon that we have often noticed in our more general work with the corpus, namely that differences in SW&TP (whether quantitative or qualitative) do not necessarily contrast the fiction section with the two non-fictional sections, but suggest much more complex similarities and contrasts among different text-types. In this section we have seen, for example, how the patterns for hypothetical SW&TP bring together fiction and (auto)biography in contrast with press reporting.

Whereas previous studies have tended to focus exclusively on prose fiction (Fludernik 1993; Sternberg 1982a, 1982b; see also Herman 1994) or on spoken dialogue (Myers 1999; Tannen 1989), our corpus, as outlined above, contains three types of written narratives – prose fiction, newspaper reports and (auto)biographies. Second, whereas previous studies have mainly discussed hypothetical reports in the form of direct or free indirect speech/thought, our approach highlights the hypothetical use of the whole range of forms of presentation, from the most indirect to the most direct. Thirdly, whereas the claims made in previous studies about the implications of hypothetical discourse presentation are not based on any assessment of the size of this phenomenon, our approach

provides us with valuable information about the frequency of occurrence of hypothetical SW&TP in the genres represented in our corpus. Hence a corpus-based approach puts scholars in a better position to assess the impact of hypothetical SW&TP on a general account of SW&TP.

### 7.3 Embedded speech, writing and thought presentation

All the examples of SW&TP we considered in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 involved authors, narrators or reporters presenting the words or thoughts of participants in their narratives. Now we will turn to consider those cases where individual instances of SW&TP themselves involve the presentation of more speech, thought or writing embedded within them. Consider example (17):

- (17) The girl mounted the steps to stand beside the master of ceremonies and they carried on a conversation which, though audible, was unintelligible.

‘They’re speaking in Cornish,’ Zelah said. **‘He’s asking her if she has brought the need-fire and she tells him that she has. He says: “Was this flame kindled at the altar of the Lord?” and she answers: “This flame was kindled at the holy fire.”** Actually she lights her torch at one of the candles in the church and somebody runs her up here in a car while she holds the torch out of the window. Of course, that’s not how it’s supposed to be done.’

(W. J. Burley, *Wycliffe and the Scapegoat*, p. 30)

Example (17) has already been briefly discussed as example (5) in 2.2.2. The second paragraph of this example is a long stretch of DS, where a character called Zelah (who is a historian) explains to some other characters the significance of a traditional ceremony they are watching. Part of the explanation consists in translating a piece of dialogue from Cornish into English. The stretch of DS attributed to Zelah therefore itself includes (in bold in the quotation above) two stretches of eIS followed by two stretches of eDS, all of which are embedded inside the main DS and preceded by embedded reporting clauses. As we explained in 2.2.2, all examples like these were annotated using our SW&TP tags, and the prefix ‘e’ was added in order to be able to distinguish them from their non-embedded counterparts. Thus, the quotation ‘Was this flame kindled at the altar of the Lord?’ in (17) was tagged as ‘eDS’, the preceding reporting clause as ‘eNRS’ and so on. Embedded instances of SW&TP were also indented in our electronic files, so that their status would be visually foregrounded when we were looking through the corpus.

What we are dealing with here is *discoursal* embedding, which occurs when a character or participant within a narrative is reported as presenting words or thoughts produced by others (or by themselves) in a separate



speech, thought or writing event. In example (17), the narrator presents Zelah's speech in DS, and Zelah herself presents the speech of two other unnamed characters using eDS and eIS. Although discoursal embedding sometimes involves the grammatical embedding of one clause within another, it is also possible to have discoursal embedding without syntactic embedding, as our discussion of example (24) will make clear.

Example (17) is a relatively straightforward case of embedded SW&TP, since it involves speech embedded inside speech, and only one level of embedding (in the annotation of the corpus, the attribute 'level' was inserted after the 'cat' attribute indicating the relevant SW&TP category to signal this). It is, of course, theoretically possible to embed (instances of) any of the three modes of presentation (i.e. speech, thought or writing) inside (instances of) any of the others, and to produce multiple levels of embedding. We provide examples of such cases below (NB: examples (18)–(20) below are given in a simplified version of their annotated form in order to make it easier for the reader to follow the various levels of embedding).

Example (18) is taken from Christopher Isherwood's autobiography, and is part of a long FDW quotation from his diaries:

- (18) <FDW>  
 [...] Thinking of Sister,  
     <eNRT level=1>  
     **I remembered**  
     <eIT level=1>  
         <eNRS level=2>  
         **how I asked her, once,**  
         <eIS level=2>  
         **what Vivekananda had been like.**  
 (Christopher Isherwood, *My Guru and His Disciple*, p. 199)

The FDW quotation from Isherwood's diary includes an embedded reporting clause of thought (eNRT: 'I remembered how ...') at level 1, which introduces an instance of eIT embedded in the FDW at the same level. The eIT reported clause itself concerns a memory about a spoken utterance, which is presented in an eNRS-followed-by-eIS mode ('I asked her once what ...'). The latter are therefore embedded at level 2. In this example all three modes of presentation are involved: an instance of speech presentation is embedded inside an instance of thought presentation which is in turn embedded inside an instance of writing presentation.

Example (19), which is taken from the autobiography of the English humourist Spike Milligan, involves the embedding of two levels of thought presentation inside speech presentation. The extract is part of the report of a conversation where both Milligan's and his interlocutor's turns are presented in FDS (the '<p>' notation indicates a paragraph boundary).

- (19) <FDS>  
 ‘What about your folks?’  
 <p>  
 <FDS>  
 [...] They’re natural worriers. My father would wake up at 3 in the morning  
     <eNIi level=1>  
     **and worry about his job,**  
     <eNIi level=1>  
     **and my mother would worry about**  
         <eNIi level=2>  
         **him worrying about his job.’**  
 (Spike Milligan, *Monty – His Part in My Victory*, pp. 59–60)

Here, two instances of eNIi (‘and worry about his job’ and ‘and my mother would worry about him worrying about his job’) are embedded at level 1 inside an instance of FDS. The second instance of eNIi (embedded at level 1) includes within it a further instance of eNIi, which is therefore embedded at level 2 (‘him worrying about his job’). Here the potentially infinite recursive potential of discoursal (as well as syntactic) embedding is exploited by Milligan in order to ‘prove’ humorously the point that his parents are ‘natural worriers’. His father is presented as worrying, and his mother is presented as worrying about his father worrying. It would then be possible for the reader to imagine the father worrying about the mother worrying about him worrying, and so on.

However, although discoursal embedding, like syntactic embedding, is potentially endlessly recursive, in fact it rarely gets more complex than the two examples above. As mentioned in 2.2.2, the deepest level of embedding found in our corpus is level 3,<sup>7</sup> an example of which is given below (again, the ‘<p>’ notation indicates a paragraph boundary):

- (20) <N>  
 Dolly lifted the curtain and stood before us.  
 <p>  
 <FDS>  
     **‘Ladies and gentlemen, it is with great regret that I have to tell you that Désiré is indisposed and cannot be with you tonight.’**  
 <p>  
 <DS>  
 ‘I have been in Désiré’s company just before coming to the theatre,’  
 <NRS>  
 went on Dolly.  
 <DS>  
 ‘[...]’

&lt;eNRS level=1&gt;

She begged me

&lt;eIS level=1&gt;

&lt;eNRSh level=2&gt;

to ask you

&lt;eISh level=2&gt;

&lt;eNRSAh-eNRTAh level=3&gt;

to forgive her [...]

(Victoria Holt, *Daughter of Deceit*, p. 62)

Here, a character named Dolly has to announce to a theatre audience that Désiré, the lead actress, will not perform that night and will be replaced by her understudy. Dolly's announcement, which is presented in DS, includes a report of a recent conversation she had with Désiré. The actress is reported as making a request to Dolly ('she begged me to ...'), which is presented in eIS-preceded-by-eNRS form, embedded at level 1. That request itself concerns a future speech act on Dolly's part, which is also presented in eIS-preceded-by-eNRS form, embedded at level 2 ('to ask you to ...'). The reported clause of the latter instance of eIS concerns a desired reaction on the part of the audience ('forgive her'). Because this reaction potentially involves both a thought act and the speech act that communicates it, we have tagged 'to forgive her' as an instance of ambiguity between eNRSA and eNRTA, embedded at level 3. We also tagged the embedded instances of speech presentation in 'to ask you to forgive her' as hypothetical, because they are presented as part of a wished-for scenario outlined by Désiré: she is reported as 'begging' Dolly to perform a request that aims to elicit a desired response from the audience.

An interesting aspect of example (20) is that, by reporting Désiré's request, Dolly is simultaneously complying with it, i.e. performing the action of asking the audience to forgive Désiré. Note that the same action could also have been performed by means of an utterance such as 'Please forgive her', which would have been simpler and briefer than reporting the original conversation via multiple embeddings. However, presenting Désiré as the source of the request has several advantages, from Dolly's point of view: (i) it plays down Dolly's involvement in the situation; (ii) it is likely to be better received by the audience, because Dolly becomes a spokesperson for Désiré; and (iii) the choice of 'beg' as the reporting verb of Désiré's request to Dolly suggests the strength of her feelings in making that request. This example shows how, for reasons that vary from context to context, embedded discourse presentation is sometimes used strategically to make clear that the source of a particular speech act is someone other than the current speaker.

Overall, our corpus contains 1,165 instances of embedded SW&TP, including 61 portmanteau tags (e.g. eNRSAh-eNRTAh in example (20)). This amounts to just over 12 per cent of all instances of SW&TP in the

corpus (as we mentioned earlier, the overall number of tags in the corpus, excluding N, NRS, NRT and NRW, is 9,478). Out of 1,165 instances, 1,085 (93 per cent of the total) involve one level of embedding; 76 instances (6.5 per cent of the total) involve two levels of embedding; and 6 (0.5 per cent of the total) involve three levels of embedding, the deepest level of embedding in our corpus. It is also worth noting that 218 (approximately 19 per cent of the total) of the instances of embedded discourse presentation fall into our hypothetical category (see 7.2 above). This contrasts significantly with the number of hypotheticals as a proportion of all instances of SW&TP in the corpus, which is approximately 4 per cent. We will discuss more examples in the next section, where we look in more detail at the distribution of embedded SW&TP.

### 7.3.1 *The distribution of embedded SW&TP in the corpus*

Our corpus contains embedded examples of all categories of SW&TP, but their relative frequencies vary considerably. Tables 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 provide the number of occurrences of embedded forms of speech, writing and thought presentation respectively, in the corpus as a whole and across its sub-sections. Table 7.6 does not distinguish between the popular and serious sections of each genre because the numerical differences are too small to be meaningful.

As the tables show, the corpus contains 697 instances of embedded speech presentation, 80 instances of embedded writing presentation and 327 instances of embedded thought presentation. This is generally in line with the relative proportions of all instances of speech, writing and thought presentation in the corpus, which we discussed in Chapters 4–6.

The tables also show that, overall, embedded SW&TP is distributed fairly evenly across the three main sections of the corpus. As far as embedded speech presentation is concerned, the main outstanding feature is the lower frequency in fiction compared with the other two genres. This may be a consequence of the fact that fictional third-person narrators have direct access to their characters and so can always choose to present their words or thoughts at first hand, rather than via the words or thoughts of other characters. In the two non-fiction sections of the corpus, the serious sub-sections have more instances of embedded speech presentation than the popular sub-sections, due to a higher frequency of embedded instances of the most indirect categories (particularly eNV and eNRSA(p)). In fiction, on the other hand, the popular sub-section has more embedded speech presentation than the serious sub-section.

Embedded writing presentation is more frequent in (auto)biography than in the other genres, for the same reasons that apply to the higher overall frequency of writing presentation in this genre (see Chapter 5). However, in some cases the relative frequencies of different embedded

Table 7.4 Occurrences of embedded speech presentation categories in the corpus (excluding ambiguities and without distinguishing h, p and q forms)

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
		Whole corpus	Fiction	Press	(Auto)biography	Fiction	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	(Auto)biography	Serious	Popular	Serious
eNV	133		39	54	40	27	12	18	36	16	24	61	72		
eNRSA(p)	237		49	96	92	26	23	35	60	30	62	92	145		
eIS	190		57	65	68	39	18	38	27	25	43	102	88		
eFIS	21		10	1	10	8	2	1	0	5	5	14	7		
e(F)DS	116		24	30	62	15	9	18	12	35	27	68	48		
Total	697		179	246	272	115	64	110	135	111	161	337	360		

Table 7.5 Occurrences of embedded writing presentation categories in the corpus (excluding ambiguities and without distinguishing h, p and q forms)

	<i>Whole corpus</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>	<i>All</i>	
					<i>Popular</i>	<i>Serious</i>
eNW	17	5	0	12	9	8
eNRWA(p)	40	9	7	24	16	24
eIW	9	1	2	6	4	5
eFIW	4	2	0	2	1	3
e(F)DW	10	3	3	4	9	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>

categories within each of the three scales differ quite dramatically from those that apply overall, for reasons that are to do with the nature of discursal embedding itself. Overall, embedded thought presentation is evenly distributed across the three genres. In fiction and (auto)biography, the popular sub-sections have more instances than the serious sections, while the converse is the case in the press data.

The relative proportions of the various categories of embedded speech presentation, in particular, are quite different from those that apply to all speech presentation categories (see Table 4.1 in 4.2). As we pointed out in 4.2.5, in the whole corpus (F)DS is by far the most frequent category of speech presentation: it is more than twice as frequent as NRSA(p) (the second most frequent category), nearly 3 times as frequent as IS, over 7 times more frequent than NV, and 18 times more frequent than FIS. In contrast, Table 7.4 shows that the most frequent categories of embedded speech presentation are those that fall at the most indirect end of the scale, i.e. eNRSA(p), eIS and eNV, while e(F)DS is the second most infrequent category, after eFIS, which has a very low number of occurrences.

Tables 7.5 and 7.6 show that the more indirect categories are also dominant for embedded writing and thought presentation respectively (even though the lower numbers of occurrences make any conclusions rather less reliable). With embedded writing presentation the figures are too low to be reliable, but eNRWA(p) is by far the most frequent category, and eFIW the most infrequent. As far as embedded thought presentation is concerned, eNI is by far the most frequent category, just as NI is the dominant category for thought presentation generally (see Table 6.1). However, whereas FIT is the second most frequent category of thought presentation overall, eFIT is the least frequent category of embedded thought presentation, with only four occurrences.

These patterns are fairly easy to explain. The embedding of the direct forms of SW&TP involves a various complications. As example (17) shows, the direct forms normally involve a marked deictic shift from the

Table 7.6 Occurrences of embedded thought presentation categories in the corpus (excluding ambiguities and without distinguishing h, i, p and q forms)

	Whole corpus	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
eNI	231	84	40	107	61	23	14	26	66	41	141	90			
eNRTA(p)	24	7	3	14	4	3	1	2	7	7	12	12			
eIT	48	15	16	17	14	1	3	13	7	10	24	24			
eFIT	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0			
e(F)DT	20	4	7	9	4	0	5	2	8	1	17	3			
Total	327	110	66	151	83	27	23	43	92	59	198	129			





Hume's (presumably oral) narrative in printed form involves the use of both single and double quotation marks to distinguish the 'host' FDS from the embedded eDS, and the omission of quotation marks from the embedded eFDT. Because Hume is reporting what he himself thought, this example does not involve any potential confusion as to the referent of the various occurrences of 'I' within the main FDS, but such confusion can potentially arise in different contexts. Not surprisingly, the corpus contains only three examples of the direct forms embedded at level 2, and none at level 3.

The indirect forms, on the other hand, do not involve the use of quotation marks or deictic shifts separating them from the narratorial/reporting context, and are therefore easier to embed than the direct forms. This makes it possible to embed them not just inside direct 'host' categories, but also inside other instances of the indirect categories, as in the example below.

(22) <NRS>

It was reported yesterday

<IS next=NRS>

<eNRS level=1>

**that Mr Blair told overseas newspapers last week**

<eIS level=1>

**there was a clear case for one.**

(*'Portillo piles on Euro pressure'*, *Daily Express*, 12 December 1994)

In this example, Mr Blair's announcement that he saw a clear case for holding a referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union is reported in eIS form (*'Mr Blair told overseas newspapers' ...*), and embedded at level 1 inside another instance of IS (*'It was reported yesterday that' ...*). By choosing this structure, the reporter avoids responsibility for the veracity of whether Mr Blair actually made the statement concerned. The fact that the 'host' reporting clause includes an agentless passive *'It was reported'* also leaves the identity of the source of the report unspecified, and therefore enables the current reporter to attribute a statement to Mr Blair without taking any direct responsibility either for its occurrence or for the nature of his own sources.

As we have seen, the free indirect categories are seldom embedded inside other categories. This is probably because their prototypical form (clausal structure, no reporting clause, deictic or other shifts from the surrounding context) makes it difficult to embed them without generating confusion as to whose 'voice' is being presented. The example of eFIS below is typical of the embedded free indirect forms in our corpus, in that it has a reporting clause, and owes its free indirect status to the presence, within the reported clause, of expressions that clearly evoke the voice of the original speaker.<sup>8</sup>



contrast, normally involve one or more clausal structures. If they are discursively embedded inside a direct discourse ‘host’ category, syntactic embedding does not normally occur, because direct reported clauses are themselves syntactically independent (e.g. example (17) above). On the other hand, if the ‘host’ category is *not* a direct discourse category, discursive embedding inevitably involves the syntactic embedding of clauses inside other structures, leading to greater grammatical complexity (e.g. example (22) above). This helps to explain why the direct discourse forms are the most frequent ‘host’ categories, but not the most frequent embedded categories.

Overall, although the direct forms are the most frequent ‘host’ categories for all forms of embedded SW&TP, the corpus contains examples of all categories functioning as ‘host’, except for NV and NW, which, by definition, are too minimal to include any other category.

#### 7.4 Ambiguity in speech, writing and thought presentation

As we explained in Chapter 2, in the annotation of the corpus we used portmanteau tags for those stretches of text which we regarded as ambiguous between two (or more) of our categories. For example, the tag N-FIT was used for stretches of text that we regarded as ambiguous between narration and free indirect thought. In this section we will discuss in more detail the nature of the phenomena that we captured by means of portmanteau tags, and their distribution in our corpus (for a discussion of ambiguities in our pilot corpus, see Semino *et al.* 1997).

In the course of the discussion we hope to demonstrate that the adoption of a corpus approach does not necessarily lead analysts to ignore the complexity and fuzzy-edgedness of the phenomena they analyse, nor to face the uncomfortable scenario that Fludernik (1993: 9) associates with a corpus-based ‘statistical analysis of forms of speech and thought presentation’. As we mentioned in 1.2, Fludernik makes the point that such a project would involve the establishment of ‘arbitrary definitions for the relevant categories’. This would lead to a methodological straitjacket, whereby analysts would have to choose between ‘larger categories that include marginal and ambiguous phenomena’ or ‘indulge in a proliferation of subcategories and intermediary categories which would [render] the statistics next to useless for interpretation’ (Fludernik 1993: 9). We have considered the nature of the definitions of our major categories in Chapters 2 and 3. At the end of this section, we will return to Fludernik’s misgivings about the possibility of reconciling the need to account for indeterminacy and fuzzy boundaries on the one hand with that of avoiding an unmanageable proliferation of categories and sub-categories on the other.

Out of a total of 9,478 tags for SW&TP categories in the corpus as a whole (excluding N, NRS, NRW and NRT), 885 (i.e. 9.3 per cent) were

portmanteau tags (again, excluding ambiguities involving NRS, NRW and NRT with each other and with N). This was in spite of the fact that, as we will explain in more detail below, some of our coding decisions reduced the fuzziness of the boundaries between certain categories, and that we tried, wherever possible and appropriate, to resolve the interpretative ambiguities that we encountered. Given that there will also be a tendency for coders to miss ambiguities, jumping to preferred answers without noticing other possibilities, the total amount of ambiguity is probably somewhat larger than the above figures suggest.

The frequency of portmanteau tags in our annotated corpus is high enough, in general terms, to lend support to the scalar approach to SW&TP that we, like many others, have adopted. However, we do not think that the figures are so large as to render our quantitative findings 'next to useless for interpretation', as feared by Fludernik (1993: 9). Overall we used 80 different portmanteau tags, but only 25 occur more than five times (see Table 7.7). These 25 most frequently occurring portmanteau tags make up 86 per cent of all portmanteau tags in the corpus, which suggests that the phenomena we classified as ambiguous form some fairly obvious patterns; we will discuss this in detail below.

The fiction and (auto)biography sections of the corpus contain similar numbers of occurrences of portmanteau tags (385 for fiction, and 317 for (auto)biography). The newspaper section of the corpus contains a much lower number (183). We will discuss these differences in relation to specific portmanteau tags below. In all three genres, the serious section contains more portmanteau tags than the popular section, although the difference is more marked in the press section of the corpus: the popular fiction sub-section contains 166 portmanteau tags, while the serious fiction sub-section contains 219; the popular (auto)biography section contains 147 portmanteau tags, while the serious (auto)biography section contains 170; the popular press section of the corpus contains 67 portmanteau tags, while the serious press section contains 116. Overall, the serious sections of the corpus contain 505 instances and the popular sections 380. This suggests that the texts we have classified as serious posed more interpretative and analytical problems than those we have classified as popular.

In section 7.4.1 we will discuss portmanteau tags involving non-adjacent categories on our SW&TP scales (e.g. IS-IW, N-FIT),<sup>9</sup> and then, in 7.4.2, we will move on to those involving adjacent categories (e.g. IS-FIS). As we will show, there is an important difference between these two types of portmanteau tags. Where the categories involved are not adjacent, the ambiguity that led us to use a portmanteau tag related to (our interpretation of) the text and the text world it projects (for example, whether a stretch of text represents the speech as opposed to the thoughts of a character). Where the categories involved are adjacent on the same presentational scale, the ambiguity relates to the definitions and boundaries between our categories, and is therefore relevant to the issue of whether

Table 7.7 The 25 most frequent portmanteau tags (occurring more than 5 times), without distinguishing e, i, h and q forms, and excluding ambiguities between NRS, NRT and NRW, and between each of these and N

	Whole corpus				Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All			
	Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		Fiction		Press		(Auto)biography		All	
	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious	Popular	Serious
IS-FIS	146	35	73	38	24	11	29	44	16	22	69	77		
N-FIT	123	98	1	24	46	52	1	0	17	7	64	59		
N-FIS	66	10	32	24	2	8	10	22	10	14	22	44		
IT-FIT	65	55	0	10	36	19	0	0	6	4	42	23		
N-NI	52	43	1	8	11	32	0	1	4	4	15	37		
N-NRSAp	52	10	11	31	3	7	4	7	17	14	24	28		
NI-FIT	37	33	0	4	9	24	0	0	1	3	10	27		
N-NRSA	35	8	7	20	5	3	0	7	8	12	13	22		
N-NV	22	7	2	13	5	2	1	1	8	5	14	8		
DS-FDS	17	8	4	5	6	2	0	4	2	3	8	9		
N-FIW	17	1	5	11	0	1	1	4	0	11	1	16		
NV-NRSA	16	3	6	7	2	1	0	6	1	6	3	13		
IW-FIW	15	3	6	6	2	1	1	5	1	5	4	11		
NRSAp-NRWAp	13	3	1	9	0	3	0	1	4	5	4	9		
IS-IW	12	1	2	9	0	1	0	2	6	3	6	6		
NI-FIS	12	4	1	7	0	4	0	1	1	6	1	11		
N-FDS	11	0	11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	0		
N-FDT	9	6	0	3	1	5	0	0	2	1	3	6		
N-IS	8	2	3	3	1	1	0	3	1	2	2	6		
IS-IT	7	4	1	2	2	2	0	1	2	0	4	3		
N-NRWAp	7	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	6		
FDS-FDT	6	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	3	0	3	3		
FIS-FIT	6	3	0	3	1	2	0	0	3	0	4	2		
N-NW	6	1	1	4	0	1	1	0	2	2	3	3		
NRSA-NRTA	6	4	0	2	1	3	0	0	1	1	2	4		

our categories form a cline of presentational forms on each of the three presentational scales.

#### 7.4.1 Portmanteau tags involving non-adjacent categories on the SW&TP scales

As Table 7.7 shows, 17 out of the 25 most frequent portmanteau tags involve non-adjacent categories. These tags fall into two main patterns: they either involve an ambiguity between a category of SW&TP and narration (e.g. N-FIT), or they involve an ambiguity between corresponding categories on different presentational scales (e.g. NRSAp-NRWAp). We will consider each of these patterns in turn.

##### *Ambiguities between N and a category of SW&TP*

The following portmanteau tags from Table 7.7 indicate an ambiguity between N and a category of SW&TP (in decreasing order of frequency): N-FIT, N-FIS, N-NRSAp, N-NRSA, N-FIW, N-FDS, N-FDT, N-IS, N-NRWAp. In all these cases, it is possible to interpret the relevant stretches of text either as part of the narrator/reporter's own discourse (i.e. with no SW&TP) or as some form of presentation of the words or thoughts of characters/participants (or, in a small number of cases, as both at the same time). Given their quantitative prominence in our data, we will begin by considering the ambiguities between narration and the free indirect forms (i.e. N-FIT, N-FIS, N-FIW). The second sentence of (25) below is an example of N-FIT:

- (25) Jim watched them through the netting of the pheasant trap.  
**Only the previous day they had shot a Chinese coolie trying to steal into the camp.**

(J. G. Ballard, *Empire of the Sun*, p. 163)

The first sentence of example (25) is narration from the point of view of Jim, the protagonist of Ballard's novel *Empire of the Sun*. Jim is described as observing the behaviour of the guards in the Japanese prisoner-of-war camp in which he is being detained. The second sentence recounts a particularly salient recent incident involving the guards. This sentence was tagged as N-FIT, for the following reasons. On the one hand, it is possible to read the sentence as originating exclusively from the novel's third-person narrator, who may be providing background information relevant to the story. On the other hand, it is possible to read the sentence as a free indirect representation of (part of) the thoughts that go through Jim's head as he is watching the guards: the novel is told primarily from Jim's point of view, and contains many uncontroversial examples of the presentation of his thoughts; the previous sentence tells us that Jim is

watching the guards, thereby giving us his perceptual point of view; the second sentence relates to some recent behaviour on the part of the Japanese guards that is relevant to Jim's immediate circumstances.

Last, but by no means least, the linguistic characteristics of the second sentence in example (25) are compatible both with N and FIT interpretations. As we mentioned earlier, the free indirect forms typically have the tense and pronouns that are appropriate to the narratorial context. Hence, ambiguities between N and the free indirect forms can easily arise, especially where, as in example (25), a particular stretch of text does not contain any linguistic characteristics that specifically evoke the character's verbal or mental habits rather than the narrator's, or vice versa. This potential ambiguity of the free indirect forms with narration has often been noted, especially in discussions of thought presentation in fictional narratives (see Fludernik 1993: 149–51; Leech and Short 1981: 339–40; Toolan 2001: 131). Indeed, with 123 occurrences N-FIT is the second most frequent portmanteau tag in our corpus, and (as Table 7.7 shows) its distribution is heavily weighted towards fiction, where it is often deliberately exploited to blur the boundary between narration and thought presentation as in the case of example (25) above. In the press, on the other hand, thought presentation is much less frequent, and FIT itself does not occur at all in our press data. Thus it is not surprising that N-FIT is also extremely rare in the press section of our corpus.

The phenomena we captured by means of the portmanteau tags N-FIS and N-FIW have the same linguistic characteristics as N-FIT, but they are both more frequent in the non-fictional genres than in fiction. N-FIS, in particular, is the third most frequent portmanteau tag overall, and occurs most frequently in the newspaper section of the corpus. The following is a representative example:

- (26) Neighbours said that in recent weeks he had kept his doors locked even when at home and would keep his curtains drawn all day. **He had also changed his telephone number, made it ex-directory and kept a sheet draped across a bedroom window.**

('Shot scientist died trying to make 999 call', *Daily Telegraph*,  
12 December 1994)

The first sentence in (26) contains an IS representation of what the neighbours of a murdered university lecturer said about his behaviour leading up to his death. In terms both of linguistic features and of content, the second sentence can be seen either as a continuation of the report of what the man's neighbours said without a new reporting clause (resulting in an FIS reading), or as additional information that the reporter provides without specifying his sources (and hence N). Therefore, we tagged this sentence as N-FIS.

What is interesting about examples such as (26) is that they leave

unclear whether reporters are implicitly attributing the relevant information to a previously mentioned source, or are themselves acting as the source, thereby taking responsibility for the veracity of the information they convey. This can explain why N-FIS is more frequent in the non-fiction sections of our corpus, and in the press section in particular. The same applies to N-FIW, which functions in the same way as N-FIS and is the eleventh most frequent portmanteau tag in our corpus.

The portmanteau tags NI-FIS, NI-FIW and NI-FIT capture phenomena similar to those we have just discussed, except that the relevant stretches of text are to do with a character/participant's internal states rather than the state of the external text world. As a consequence, the ambiguity is between a statement about those internal states on the part of the narrator (NI), or the narrator's free indirect presentation of the discourse of the character/participant, whether in speech, thought or writing (FIS, FIW, FIT). A typical example would be:

- (27) I once tried to interest Terry Linex in the idea of opening an airfood restaurant. Obviously you'd need proper seats, trays, mayonnaise sachets, and so on. You could even have video films, semi-darkness, no-smoking sections, paper bags. **Linex liked the way I was thinking**, but he said that you'd never get the punters in and out quickly enough.

(Martin Amis, *Money*, p. 92)

We tagged the emboldened part of (27) as NI-FIS because it can be construed as being either (i) the first-person narrator's inference about Terry Linex's positive cognitive state concerning the narrator's proposal (based, for example, on the narrator's interpretation of his facial expression, body posture and so on), before Linex tells him why the idea would not work; or (ii) a free indirect presentation of what Linex said to praise the narrator's suggestion before going on to point out its disadvantages, in which case the emboldened part of the extract is a conversational ploy on Linex's part to help let the narrator down gently.

In our corpus, examples of ambiguity between narration and the *free direct* forms are less frequent than those involving the *free indirect* forms: we have 11 instances of N-FDS and nine of N-FDT (but none of N-FDW).<sup>10</sup> These tags were used for cases that were rather similar to examples (25) and (26), except that the relevant stretch of text did not contain any tensed verbs or pronouns, or contained tensed verbs and/or pronouns that were appropriate both to the narratorial reporting context and to the original reported context. In the extract below, Jed, the protagonist of the novel, has just impressed his employer, Sir Charles, at a social event.

- (28) Either Sir Charles had forgotten what Jed did, or else nobody had bothered to tell him, because he now leaned forwards and,



impressed, it seemed, by Jed's ingenuity and verve, said,  
'Perhaps, young man, you should come and work for me.'

All eyes locked on Jed.

He waited three seconds. **You have to time things.**

'But Sir Charles,' he said, 'I already do.'

(Rupert Thomson, *The Five Gates of Hell*, p. 125)

The emboldened sentence provides an explanation as to why it was appropriate for Jed to pause before providing a potentially embarrassing response to Sir Charles. This could be read either as a thought that went through Jed's head at the time, or as a comment on the part of the narrator (as we mentioned in 4.2.5 and 6.2.1, in the fiction section of our corpus FDS and FDT tend to be systematically distinguished by the presence and absence of quotation marks, respectively). The use of the present tense and of the generic second person pronoun 'you' are appropriate both to the character's context within the text world and to the narratorial context. The relevant sentence, therefore, received the portmanteau tag N-FDT. Like N-FIT, N-FDT occurs only in fiction and (auto)biography. Our 11 examples of N-FDS, in contrast, occur exclusively in our press data, particularly in headlines or sub-headlines containing words that are later attributed to individual participants in news stories but which can also be interpreted as having been appropriated by the reporter(s).

The corpus contains few examples of ambiguity between narration and the indirect forms, largely due to the fact that the indirect forms involve reporting clauses, the presence of which tend to rule out the type of ambiguity we have seen in our previous examples. However, the portmanteau tag N-IS occurs 8 times, and is therefore one of the 25 most frequent portmanteau tags (the corpus only contains 3 occurrences of N-IT and one of N-IW). This type of ambiguity arises where there is a structure involving a potential reporting clause and a potential reported clause, but where it is not clear whether speech (or writing or thought) is being presented. This happens, for example, where someone is described as 'refusing to do X' (e.g. 'Mr Clarke is refusing to compromise his position on the Left of the Conservative Party', *Observer*, 13 May 1996). Such cases tend to leave it unclear whether it is being suggested that the person explicitly said something like 'I won't do X' (which leads to an IS interpretation), or whether the narrator/reporter concludes that they will not do X on the basis of other types of evidence (e.g. kinesic behaviour), which leads to an N interpretation.

A more significant proportion of our portmanteau tags signal an ambiguity between N and NRSA(p), NRWA(p) and NRTA(p) (NB: in Table 7.7 we have kept separate the figures for the 'p' vs 'not p' varieties for the sake of increased precision, but, as explained in 3.2.1, this is not a category distinction, but a distinction between variants of the same category). As Table 7.7 shows, the corpus contains 52 instances of N-NRSA(p), 35

instances of N-NRSA, and seven instances of N-NRWA(p) (in addition, we encountered four instances of N-NRTA(p), two instances of N-NRTA and one instance of N-NRWA). In all these cases we have references to actions which may or may not involve a speech, thought or writing act. More specifically, the tag N-NRSA was applied, for example, to references to refusals which did not involve a potential distinction between a reporting and a reported clause, such as when Margaret Thatcher refers to the possibility that her Cabinet colleagues 'refused their backing'. As we saw with N-IS in the previous paragraph, refusals may or may not involve the performance of a speech act. Similarly, we applied the N-NRSA tag to instances such as 'hailing a taxi', where the relevant action may either involve the production of speech or be performed non-verbally, e.g. by raising an arm.

*Ambiguities between corresponding categories on different presentational scales*

All the portmanteau tags considered so far signal an ambiguity as to whether SW&TP is involved or not in a stretch of text. The other type of ambiguity captured by portmanteau tags involving non-adjacent categories arises when it is clear that some form of SW&TP occurs in a stretch of text, but it is unclear whether what is being presented is speech, writing or thought. In all these cases, the portmanteau tag consists of the tags for two (or more) corresponding categories on different presentational scales. In Table 7.7, these include the following tags (in decreasing order of frequency): NRSA(p)-NRWA(p), IS-IW, IS-IT, FDS-FDT, FIS-FIT, NRSA-NRTA.

The example below is taken from a biography of the writer C. S. Lewis:

- (29) This is rather like the moment in Lewis's life **when he described philosophy as a subject** and **Barfield replied that to Plato, philosophy was not a subject but a way.**

(A. N. Wilson, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, p. 149)

Here it is not clear whether Lewis's description of philosophy as a subject and Barfield's objection to it were expressed in speech or in writing. The first emboldened stretch of text was therefore tagged as NRSA(p)-NRWA(p), and the second as NRS-NRW followed by IS-IW. Table 7.7 suggests that this kind of ambiguity between speech and writing is slightly more frequent in (auto)biography than in the other two genres. This correlates with the fact that much (auto)biography is based on the analysis of documentary evidence. In contrast, the few cases of ambiguity between speech and thought presentation included in Table 7.7 are equally divided between fiction and (auto)biography. In our sample from John Fowles's novel *The Collector*, for example, the female protagonist, Miranda,

talks in her diary about her (unusual) experience of praying to God while being kept captive in a cellar. The expressions she uses in order to relate the contents of her prayers leave it unclear whether she prayed silently or whether she spoke out loud. Examples such as ‘I ask him to help me’, therefore, were tagged as ambiguous between NRS followed by IS and NRT followed by IT.

#### ***7.4.2 Portmanteau tags involving adjacent categories on the SW&TP scales***

As we mentioned in 7.4, all the instances of SW&TP which were tagged as ambiguous between adjacent categories on the same scale involve ambiguities concerning the definitions of our categories and of the boundaries between them. As a consequence, the portmanteau tags discussed in this section are relevant to (i) our claim that the phenomena we discuss in this book are best seen in general terms as three clines, rather than three sets of adjacent hard-edged categories, and (ii) the resulting question as to whether all the category boundaries (as we have defined them) are equally clinal in nature. The relevant portmanteau tags from Table 7.7 are (in decreasing order of frequency): IS-FIS, IT-FIT, N-NI, N-NV, DS-FDS, NV-NRSA, IW-FIW, N-NW. Our discussion will be structured according to the sequence of categories on the three clines, starting from the non-direct end.

##### *The boundary between N and NV, NW and NI*

Although N is not a category of SW&TP, the ambiguities between N and our three least direct categories (NV, NW and NI) are relevant here, because they highlight the problem of what counts as speech, thought or writing and what does not. For example, one of our popular fiction novels contains a reference to a ‘spontaneous cry’ that ‘arose from a crowd’ (W. J. Burley, *Wycliffe and the Scapegoat*, p. 30), while several samples contain references to characters screaming. In tagging the relevant stretches of text, we considered the issue of whether cries and screams should be seen as verbal behaviour or not, and hence whether they should count as speech presentation for our purposes. We decided to tag such examples as borderline cases of speech presentation: while these kinds of behaviour involve the use of one’s voice to express some kind of reaction, they do not necessarily have to involve the production of words, and nor do they necessarily have a communicative intent. Cases such as these were therefore tagged with the portmanteau tag N-NV, which occurs 22 times in the corpus, and is fairly evenly distributed across our three genres.

While N-NW occurs only 6 times, N-NI is the fifth most frequent portmanteau tag in the corpus, with 52 occurrences. This tag was used to capture the fuzzy boundary between those internal states that are

described as being sufficiently ‘thought-like’ in nature to count for our purposes as thought presentation, and those that are not. Consider, for example, the sentence ‘Pain stabbed at her chest, twisting like a barbed snake’, which is used in one of our popular fiction novels (Andrew Taylor’s *The Raven on the Water*, p. 12) to describe the main character’s reaction when faced with evidence that her husband is being unfaithful to her. The sentence describes literally-cum-metaphorically an experience that is primarily affective and physical for the character, but which is the direct result of the cognitive appraisal of a situation that is highly negative for her. We therefore tagged this kind of example as a borderline case of thought presentation, using the tag N-NI. This boundary is much more problematic than the corresponding one for speech presentation, however, since it relates to complex philosophical and psychological issues that are beyond the scope of this book – namely the complex relationships between cognition, perception, bodily responses and emotion, and the nature of human thought. Our portmanteau tag can therefore only count as recognition of the fact that the boundary between what constitutes ‘thinking’ and what does not is fuzzy and problematic.

*The boundary between NV and NRSA, NW-NRWA, and NI and NRTA*

Our corpus contains 16 instances of the portmanteau tag NV-NRSA, which are fairly evenly distributed across the three text-types. In such cases the ambiguity relates to the issue of whether a particular expression refers to a speech act or not, thereby highlighting the well-known problem concerning the notion and definition of ‘speech acts’ in pragmatics (e.g. Thomas 1995; see also note 1 in Chapter 4). The NV-NRSA tag was used in cases where we regarded a particular activity as a borderline case of a speech act. This applied, for example, to a reference to ‘a howl of derision’ (D. H. Lawrence, *Tickets Please*, p. 335), where ‘derision’ seems to indicate illocutionary force but ‘howl’ suggests that the relevant behaviour was not straightforwardly speech. The corpus contains no instances of the corresponding ambiguity on the writing presentation scale (NW-NRWA), and only six instances of NI-NRTA(p).

*The boundary between NRSA and IS, NRWA and IW, and NRTA and IT*

The corpus contains no instances of ambiguities between NRSA and IS, NRWA and IW, and NRTA and IT. This, however, is a direct consequence of the tagging decisions we made when confronted with examples that could belong to one or the other category in each of the three pairs. Let us focus on NRSA and IS in particular. As we pointed out in 3.2.1, we had some difficulty with instances of NRSAp which had long and detailed indications of the contents of a particular speech act, but no grammatical separation between reporting and reported clauses, such as the following:

- (30) **Senior right-wing Conservatives are demanding the speedy reinstatement of rebel MPs stripped of the Tory whip on Monday in the vote over spending on Europe [ . . . ].**

(‘Tory MPs Want Rebels Reinstated’, *Independent on Sunday*, 4 December 1994)

The object noun phrase of ‘are demanding’ is 20 words long; it contains a propositional form in its underlying structure; and with little change it can easily be reformulated as IS:

- (30) Senior right-wing Conservatives are demanding that rebel MPs stripped of the Tory whip on Monday in the vote over spending on Europe be speedily reinstated.

This kind of example led us to the formulation of the coding convention we described in 3.2.1, whereby instances such as (30) were tagged as NRSap in order to suggest the presence of an extended topic. This led to the adoption of a clear-cut *grammatical* distinction between NRSA and IS. We applied the IS tag only in relation to structures with separate (grammatically subordinated) reported clauses. In pragmatic terms, however, the boundary between NRSA and IS (and their counterparts on the other two scales) is much more fuzzy. Also relevant to this boundary is our decision to tag non-finite reported clauses (e.g. She told him **to go**) as IS, where we could just as easily have decided to adopt the portmanteau tag NRSap-IS (indeed, Leech and Short (1981: 324) assumed that this type of structure fell under NRSA).

*The boundary between IS and FIS, IW and FIW, and IT and FIT*

Given that the free indirect forms themselves are defined as an amalgam of direct and indirect features, it would have been natural to suppose that there would be few IS-FIS, IW-FIW and IT-FIT ambiguities. On the contrary, IS-FIS is the most frequent portmanteau tag in the corpus, with 146 instances, while IW-FIW occurs 15 times and IT-FIT 65 times. This is because of the decisions we made concerning structures where an indirect reported clause is not grammatically subordinated to the reporting clause (or to whatever structure acts as NRS, NRT or NRW) in a straightforward manner:

- (31) **The painting was proof**, he said, **that Modigliani detested him**.  
(June Rose, *Modigliani: The Pure Bohemian*, p. 142)

- (32) According to some reports, **the gunman also fired at rescue helicopters taking the injured to hospital**.  
(‘Slaughter in the sun’, *Guardian*, 29 April 1996)

In example (31) the indirect nature of the reported clause is indicated in context by the use of the past tense and third-person pronouns. However, the reporting clause is in medial position and has a parenthetical status, so that the reported clause is arguably not grammatically subordinated to it. In example (32) the same situation results from the fact that there is no reporting clause, but rather a complex prepositional phrase ('According to some reports') that acts as the NRS. In such cases we could have decided that the syntactically free status of the reported clause was sufficient to lead to an FIS analysis. We preferred, however, to tag such examples as ambiguous between IS and FIS (IS-FIS).<sup>11</sup> This decision is consistent with the views of other scholars. Fludernik, for example, points out that this kind of structure has 'long been regarded [...] as an intermediary form between indirect and free indirect discourse' (Fludernik 1993: 165).

Our corpus shows that the phenomenon we captured by means of the tag IS-FIS occurs in all three text-types, but is most frequent in the press. IW-FIW is equally spread across the three text-types, while IT-FIT is a phenomenon primarily found in fiction, as is the case with some other forms of thought presentation.

*The boundary between FIS and (F)DS, FIW and (F)DW, and FIT and (F)DT*

Throughout the entire corpus there were no ambiguous codings involving the free indirect and the direct forms (i.e. we have no instances of FIS-DS, FIW-DW or FIT-DT). Given that the application of our DS, DW and DT tags requires the presence of both quotation marks and a reporting clause, this finding is not surprising: the free indirect forms may have reporting clauses, but they almost never involve quotation marks (though some of the FIS of Jane Austen<sup>12</sup> and Charlotte Brontë are notable exceptions).

Our corpus does contain some examples of ambiguities involving the free indirect and the *free* direct forms, but the numbers are very small: in all, we have three instances of FIS-FDS and five instances of FIT-FDT. This type of ambiguity is possible because, like the free indirect forms, the free direct forms often do not have quotation marks. However, the very low number of ambiguities at this particular boundary is probably because the free indirect categories and the (free) direct categories usually differ in terms of the deictic centre they adopt as far as tense and personal pronouns are concerned: in the free indirect forms the tense and pronouns are appropriate to the narrator/reporter, while in the (free) direct forms they are appropriate to the reported speaker/thinker/writer in the anterior context being presented by the narrator/reporter. Hence these two types of presentation normally differ clearly in linguistic terms, a factor which reduces the chances of ambiguity. Indeed, our few examples of

FIS-FDS and FIT-FDT tend to involve elliptical sentences (with no finite verbs or pronouns) immediately following a stretch of FIS or FIT, as in example (33):

- (33) 'Finn looks untrustworthy,' she thought. His eyes were so shifting, so leering and slippery; the slight cast made one unsure of the direction of his gaze. **And his ugly, noisy way of breathing through his mouth.**

(Angela Carter, *The Magic Toyshop*, p. 54)

Here the first sentence contains an example of DT, which led us to interpret the second sentence as FIT (the contents of the sentence expand on the DT reported clause, but with a backshift in tense from present to past). The third, emboldened, sentence continues the train of thought presented in FIT in the second sentence, and indeed is linked to it by the conjunction 'And', so that it can be interpreted as part of a single stretch of FIT. However, the absence of any finite verb also makes it possible to interpret it as FDT. We therefore tagged the last, emboldened, sentence of this example as FIT-FDT.

In any case, it appears that, of all the category boundaries we have discussed, the boundary between the free indirect and the (free) direct forms is the least clinal in nature. The SW&TP clines, therefore, are unusual clines, since some category borders appear to be more clinal than others.

#### *The relationship between the direct and the free direct forms*

We have already mentioned that, while Leech and Short (1981) presented FDS and FDT as presentational categories in their own right, we have come to view the free direct forms merely as sub-variants of the direct categories. This position was originally proposed by Short (1988), who pointed out that although a formal distinction between DS and FDS can be made there is no obvious functional difference between them, particularly in relation to faithfulness claims. Our decision to (try to) keep the free direct forms separate from the direct forms in the annotation of our corpus was partly aimed at testing the tenability of a distinction on formal grounds, and at investigating any potential functional differences that we might have overlooked.

The corpus contains very few instances of annotated ambiguity between the free direct and the direct forms: we only have 17 instances of DS-FDS, and 4 of DW-FDW. However, these figures disguise how fuzzy the DS/FDS boundary really is. Below we describe the coding conventions we adopted, which had the effect of reducing significantly the number of ambiguities by forcing particular stretches of text into either the direct or the free direct categories.

As we have already explained, we adopted Leech and Short's (1981) definition of the free direct form, whereby FDS, FDT and, by extension, FDW basically involve removing either the quotation marks or the reporting clause, or both, from DS, DT or DW. This definition, however, did cause us some coding difficulties in relation to the varying cases of discourse presentation enclosed in quotation marks. Let us focus on speech presentation in particular. The prototypical DS examples are like the following:

- (34) **'It's a very bitter atmosphere here,'** said one journalist.  
(*'Comrades Clash over Editorship of Star',*  
*Independent on Sunday*, 4 December 1994)

- (35) **'Let us stroll thither,'** said I, **'and see how the people live.'**  
(William Golding, *Rites of Passage*, p. 34)

In these two examples the reporting and reported clauses occur in the same sentence, but with different ordering patterns. However, it is easy to find examples where the reporting clause appears in a different sentence from (part of) the quoted material. Consider the emboldened stretch of text in the example below:

- (36) 'Thank you,' said Honor Klein. **'Now would you mind helping me stack these boxes on top of each other? I shall need the space.'**  
(Iris Murdoch, *A Severed Head*, p. 79)

All that has happened here is that the textual/hierarchical 'distance' between the reported and reporting clauses has been increased, from sentence to sentence rather than from clause to clause, and so we treated such examples as DS.

As the textual/hierarchical 'distance' increases further and further, it becomes more intuitively appealing to use the FDS label. In the following example, the reporting and reported elements are separated by a paragraph boundary:

- (37) I was silent for a moment in order to give greater force to my next remark. I spoke as deliberately as I could.  
**'You are a most unmitigated cad.'**  
(Somerset Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence*, p. 53)

There is a clear sense in which the first sentence acts pragmatically as an NRS for the second. However, the paragraph boundary forces the reporting and reported elements further apart than a mere sentence boundary. Examples such as these were coded as DS-FDS.



There were also cases where the function normally associated with reporting clauses was performed by a narratorial statement in an adjacent sentence in the same paragraph:

- (38) Louise smiled. **'That's exactly what she used to say about you ...'**  
(Colin McDowell, *A Woman of Style*, p. 4)

Here, 'Louise smiled' appears to 'do duty' pragmatically (*via* Grice's 1975 maxim of relation) for a reporting clause like 'Louise replied, smiling ...'. The next example is similar, but this time a paragraph boundary separates the direct quotation from the sentence of narration that enables readers to identify the relevant speaker:

- (39) I worked myself up into a state of moral indignation.  
**'Damn it all, there are your children to think of [...]'**  
(Somerset Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence*, p. 48)

In both of these examples we decided for coding purposes that the absence of an expression to do with speech either before or after the quotation warranted the FDS label (see also our discussion in 2.2.3 of the scope of the NRS tag).

In summary, therefore, our criteria for the application of the DS, FDS and DS-FDS tags in particular were as follows:

- The direct tag DS was used where (i) there were quotation marks, (ii) there was a reporting clause, or some other signal containing an expression to do with speaking (tagged as NRS), and (iii) the reported segment immediately followed or preceded the relevant NRS within the same paragraph (e.g. examples (34)–(36) above).
- The portmanteau tags DS-FDS were used where (i) there were quotation marks, (ii) there was an NRS or some other speech presentation category performing the introductory function of an NRS, but a paragraph boundary separated the NRS from the reported segment (e.g. example (37) above).
- The free direct tags FDS were also used where there were no quotation marks, or where, even in the presence of quotation marks, there was no reporting clause or other signal containing an expression to do with speaking (regardless of whether a general narrative statement in the same or the previous paragraph performed the function normally associated with reporting clauses) (e.g. examples (38) and (39) above).

Although these criteria were necessary in order for us to annotate the corpus, their sheer complexity and air of conventionality suggest that the relevant boundary is extremely fuzzy.<sup>13</sup> More importantly, the examples we

discussed clearly form a continuum that our tagging criteria 'slice up' in a way that appears to be rather arbitrary, and which, unlike other categories, does not coincide with a functional boundary in terms of faithfulness conditions (see 1.3). This supports the view that the distinction between DS and FDS is not a distinction between different categories, and also shows how demarcating FDS as a variant of DS is also rather problematic.

As far as thought and writing presentation are concerned, the quantitative data allow less solid conclusions than for speech presentation. The criteria we described above for using the DS, DS-FDS and FDS tags apply, *mutatis mutandi*, to DW, DW-FDW and FDW, and to DT, DT-FDT and FDT. The situation with writing presentation, in particular, is very similar to that we have described for speech presentation. However, direct writing presentation often involves the use of graphological devices other than quotation marks (e.g. italics or capital letters), so that it is difficult to use the presence or absence of quotation marks as a criterion.<sup>14</sup> With thought presentation, the main difference is that quotation marks are often missed out altogether, without being replaced by any alternative graphological devices (e.g. italics). However, the presence or absence of quotation marks does not appear to result in a major difference in meaning or effect, as far as we can see, which suggests that FDT should probably also be seen as a variant of DT.

We therefore conclude that, in spite of the low number of ambiguities at the direct/free direct interface, the experience of coding the corpus suggests that this interface does not correspond to a category distinction, but merely to a clinal distinction between variants of the same category.

#### 7.4.3 *Summary of ambiguities in the corpus*

Our discussion of portmanteau tags in our corpus has involved a distinction between (i) ambiguities resulting from different possible interpretations of the text and its text world (captured by portmanteau tags involving non-adjacent categories), and (ii) ambiguities resulting from difficulties in analysing specific examples in terms of our tagset and in defining the boundaries between our categories (i.e. portmanteau tags involving adjacent categories). Overall, the frequency and distribution of the latter type of ambiguity lends support to our clinal approach to the categories of SW&TP, particularly considering how hard we strove to avoid an excessive use of portmanteau tags.

More specifically, our findings suggest that while all category boundaries exhibit some clinal properties, some are more clinal than others. The boundary between the free indirect and the direct forms appears to be the most hard-edged, but relatively little evidence of fuzziness was found at some other category boundaries, notably NV-NRSA, NI-NRTA and NW-NRWA. In contrast, several boundaries are much more fluid,

notably that between the indirect and the free indirect categories on each of the three scales. Our discussion has also confirmed that FDS, FDT and FDW are best seen as variants of the direct categories.

Let us now return to Fludernik's critique of corpus-based quantitative approaches to SW&TP, which we mentioned at the beginning of our discussion of ambiguities (see also 1.2). We hope that our analysis has shown that it is possible, in practical terms, to cater for (a certain amount of) ambiguity without 'indulg[ing] in a proliferation of subcategories and intermediary categories which would have rendered the statistics next to useless for interpretation' (Fludernik 1993: 9). On the other hand, Fludernik is right to some extent when she says that annotating a corpus to some degree involves the imposition of arbitrary boundaries between similar phenomena. However, as we hope to have shown, we have always based our decisions on explicit linguistic and/or functional criteria. The most important thing is that others can see, check and, if need be, criticize our working. It is also essential that analysts are aware of the relationship between the tags used in corpus annotation on the one hand, and the phenomena they are trying to capture on the other. In the case of the boundary between NRSA and IS, for example, the introduction of the NRSAp tag creates an apparently clear-cut distinction between adjacent categories. However, our discussion of the examples captured by the NRSAp tag (and its counterparts on the other two presentational scales) has pointed out how the boundary between NRSA and IS is clear cut in linguistic terms but fuzzy in functional terms. As long as one is properly aware of the issues, any quantitative results are still interpretable, even though, as we have shown, they cannot always be taken at face value. More importantly, the process of annotation itself leads to findings and insights that would be difficult to arrive at in any other way.

## 7.5 Concluding remarks

The general remarks we made at the end of the previous section apply to all of the phenomena that we have discussed in this chapter. In each case we initially noticed the relevant phenomenon in the process of annotation, and were then able to study it in depth because of the way in which we developed and adapted our annotation system. Our discussion of the various phenomena has gone beyond the observations that had been made in previous studies, precisely because our corpus has provided us with a larger and more varied range of examples than have been considered by other scholars. And forcing ourselves to make explicit decisions over annotations has helped us to understand more clearly, and in more detail, the nature of the phenomena we have been investigating. That said, we are confident that others will be able to improve on our work. Indeed, we hope that the explicit nature of our study will help them to do so.

## Notes

- 1 In our previous publications we also referred to this phenomenon as 'embedded quotations'. However, we now prefer to avoid this label as it can create confusion with the separate phenomenon of embedded SW&TP, which is discussed later in this chapter.
- 2 We do not have any instances of NRSAq, NRWAq or NRTAq because the presence of a quotation, however short, is sufficient (for our purposes) to specify the topic of talk, and therefore lead to the use of the 'p' suffix, in addition to 'q'.
- 3 'Literally' often accompanies the use of metaphorical expressions, and can be used particularly to draw attention to the fact that a particular expression applies both literally and metaphorically, as in the case of 'hot air' in this example (see Goatly 1997: 173).
- 4 Moreover, the fact that all the instances we have tagged as hypothetical are clearly presented as non-actual in context means that the notion of faithfulness is indicated as not being applicable. Hence, such instances cannot be used as counter-examples to the relevance of the notion of faithfulness in non-hypothetical SW&TP.
- 5 When we consider the frequency of specific phenomena within SW&TP, it is no longer appropriate to calculate percentages out of all the tags in the corpus, but rather out of all the tags that relate to categories of SW&TP. This means excluding those tags that do not relate to SW&TP categories proper, namely the tag for narration (N), the tags for reporting clauses (NRS, NRW, NRT), and the tags signalling ambiguities among any of the above.
- 6 See Short *et al.* 2002 for a more in-depth discussion of the notion of faithfulness in discourse presentation.
- 7 Mike Hoey (personal communication) has pointed out to us that earlier forms of writing may well have used more layers of discourse embedding. Good examples would be the eighteenth-century epistolary novels of Richardson and others, where a narrator quotes letters which themselves contain examples of discourse presentation containing complex discursal embedding.
- 8 Other scholars would see this as an example of IS with 'mimetic' or 'subjectivity' features, due to the fact that the reported clause is grammatically subordinated to the reporting clause (e.g. Fludernik 1993; McHale 1978). As we said in 4.2.4, we do not regard the lack of grammatical subordination as a necessary feature of the free indirect forms.
- 9 For the purposes of this distinction, we are treating N as adjacent to the left-most categories on each scale, even though N is not a category of SW&TP.
- 10 The corpus contains no examples of ambiguities between narration and the direct forms (i.e. N-DS, N-DW and N-DT) due to the fact that we applied the direct discourse tags only to instances that involved both the presence of a reporting clause and of quotation marks. Hence the possibility of an ambiguity with narration was ruled out by definition.
- 11 In considering our figures for IS-FIS and its counterparts for thought and writing, it should be borne in mind that, when the reporting clause is in medial position, each of the two parts of the reported clause counts as one occurrence for the purposes of our calculations. We calculate that our figures would be reduced by approximately one-third if the two parts of each reported clause counted together as one instance.
- 12 Leech and Short (1981: 327) discuss one such example from Jane Austen's *Persuasion*.
- 13 In fact, our criteria were only fully developed towards the end of our work on

the corpus, so that in Semino *et al.* 1997 we provide a slightly different analysis of the examples discussed in this section.

- 14 Direct speech presentation can also involve graphological markers other than quotation marks (such as the use of long initial dashes), but we had no examples of this in our corpus.

## 8 Case studies of specific texts from the corpus

### 8.1 Introduction

The building of a corpus enables not just the quantitative work normally associated with corpus linguistics but also the qualitative study of individual texts from the corpus, a type of analysis which is typical of stylistics. In this chapter, we conduct two case studies on selected extracts from our corpus. The first case study focuses on a text sample from the popular autobiography section of our corpus, specifically from the autobiography of the English medium Doris Stokes. This text was selected because its peculiar characteristics raise a number of interesting (if idiosyncratic) issues which we became acutely aware of in the process of annotation. The second case study draws from the newspaper section of the corpus, and concentrates on the set of news reports published in our chosen set of newspapers about a particular news story. As we explained in 2.1.2, in selecting our newspaper data we focused on a number of prominent stories at the time, which were covered in at least three different newspapers. We are therefore in a position to compare different treatments of the same story with respect to SW&TP. The particular story we have chosen relates to the publication of a so-called ‘politically correct’ version of the *New Testament and Psalms*, and was selected because it raises issues to do with the notion of faithfulness to an original in reporting and with ideological bias in SW&TP.

We have placed this chapter where we have because, as we will show, our case studies involve issues and phenomena that we have discussed in the course of the book, and particularly in 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3. In addition, we want to show how ‘traditional’ stylistic analysis is enriched by the ability to relate the intensive study of individual texts to the results of the analysis of a larger corpus. Stubbs (1996) has raised the potential problems involved in analysing texts in isolation, and has advocated the ‘need for the stylistic analysis of individual texts to be based on comparisons with other texts and with corpus data’ (Stubbs 1996: 5).

## 8.2 Is the medium the message? The presentation of conversations with the dead in *Joyful Voices* by Doris Stokes

Our first text was extracted from the book *Joyful Voices*, the autobiography of Doris Stokes, a well-known British medium. In this extract Stokes provides an account of her role in relation to counselling the friends and relatives of victims of the *Herald of Free Enterprise* disaster, a counselling role in which she claims she conveyed messages from the dead to the living. The *Herald of Free Enterprise* was a 'roll on, roll off' ferry, taking passengers and cars across the North Sea between England and Belgium. It capsized on 6 March 1987 when leaving the Belgian port of Zeebrugge. Its cargo doors had not been properly closed, allowing sea water to get in to the vehicle decks, and so making the ship unstable. Nearly 200 people were drowned in the accident.

The text we will now discuss raises issues concerning (i) whether particular stretches of discourse presented in it are speech, thought or something else, and (ii) the scope of the phenomenon we have called 'hypothetical' SW&TP (see 7.2). These issues in turn hinge on ontological assumptions concerning what is real and what is not – do the dead still exist somewhere, and are they available for communication with us through mediums like Doris Stokes? Below, we first outline the various possibilities concerning the ontological beliefs which readers could apply to the text and show how different beliefs might affect the interpretation and, for our purposes, SW&TP annotation of the text. We then explore the patterning of discourse presentation categories in the text sample, and suggest that they are being used strategically in order to make it easier for readers to accept the veracity of what they are reading.<sup>1</sup>

### 8.2.1 *The ontological issues and their consequences for our annotation system*

The ontological issues can best be illustrated through a quotation. In the excerpt below, Doris Stokes is talking on the telephone to the parents of Jonathan Reynolds, who was drowned in the disaster along with his fiancée, Fiona Pinnells, and her younger sister Heidi. The telephone conversation takes place at a point when, although the bodies of Fiona and Heidi have been recovered, Jonathan's body has still not been found. Stokes has just stated in the first-person narration that there is no doubt from her perspective that Jonathan is 'definitely on the other side' (i.e. part of what she refers to as the 'spirit world'):<sup>2</sup>

- (1) As I talked to his parents on the phone a young man's voice suddenly chimed in on the conversation. I had Mrs Reynolds in one ear and Jonathan in the other. He gave me a few family names. His mother was called Joan, he said, his father was Alan and his sister was Sonya.

'They feel bad because my body is still trapped down there,' he said, 'but tell them not to grieve. It doesn't matter at all because I'm not under the water. I'm here and I'm safe.'

I passed this on to Alan and Joan and I tried to explain that a body is just a coat we put on when we come to this earth and that once our time here is done, we don't need it any more. It really doesn't matter what happens to our old clothes.

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 96)

Here Stokes represents herself as having direct access to the people of the 'spirit world' in much the same sort of way that she has to the people she is talking to on the telephone. Hence the DS used to represent what she says Jonathan says is given the same status as DS used elsewhere (such as when Stokes reports what her secretary says to her when, earlier in the chapter, he calls to tell her that Mr and Mrs Reynolds have telephoned to ask for her help). However, many others (including the current authors) do not believe in a 'spirit world' which mediums can communicate with. And if the relevant belief is not in place, the status of the communication cannot be assumed to be real, and the applicability of the notion of *speech* presentation is then thrown into question. In trying to annotate this text for SW&TP, we were therefore faced with the question: should the direct discourse remarks attributed to Jonathan above be analysed as speech or something else? Readers may also wonder whether, if we assume that this communication did not actually occur, the relevant stretches of text qualify for our 'hypothetical' (h) suffix or not.

Before we deal with these questions, it will be helpful if we lay out the various ontological possibilities as we see them. There is not just an issue about whether or not our belief system accords with that presented in the above quotation. There is also an issue concerning whether or not the author, Stokes (and/or her co-author – see below), has/had the belief system apparently assumed in the text. The conclusions we come to about these issues may result in very different reader attitudes to what is presented, and different annotational possibilities in analytical terms. In fact the situation is even more complex, in that *Joyful Voices* is co-authored. Like many popular autobiographies, although it uses a first-person narration, it was written with a co-author: 'with Linda Dearsley'. We have simplified our discussion below by assuming that the combined writing team shared the same ontological beliefs, whatever they were, and using 'Stokes' throughout as a shorthand for 'Stokes and Dearsley'. In popular parlance, Linda Dearsley would be a 'ghost writer' (and we assume, simply, that this designation is metaphorical, not literal). Doris Stokes died on 8 May 1987. Other mediums, according to their websites, claim still to be in communication with her now that she is 'on the other side'.

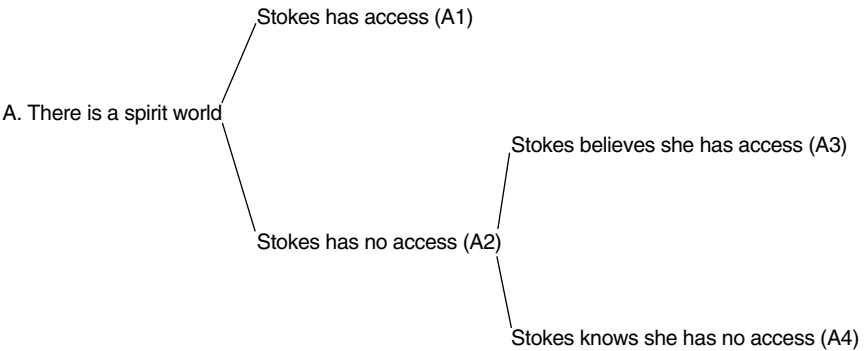
First we will discuss the possibilities that pertain if the reader/analyst



believes that there is a spirit world (belief system ‘A’). We present these diagrammatically in Figure 8.1.

The ontological state of affairs portrayed in the text is the one labelled A1 in Figure 8.1: there is a spirit world, and Stokes has access to it. For readers who believe A1, everything that Stokes depicts is to be believed literally, and what is presented as Jonathan’s direct speech actually occurs. If we try to reflect this system of beliefs in the process of annotation, therefore, the question of the applicability of the ‘h’ suffix does not arise, but there is still an issue about whether the words that are being presented constitute speech or not. Stokes’s communication with the spirit world may be straightforward, in a similar way that the telephone speech of others is to us non-mediums (note that even though telephonic speech is relayed electronically we do not think of it as different, in SW&TP terms, from what happens in face-to-face conversation). However, those who believe that Stokes can communicate directly with the dead may still construe the communication involved as different in kind – and, for a mad moment, in trying to work out how to cope with this text annotationally we did consider the possibility of an extra-sensory perception (ESP) scale to add to our speech, writing and thought presentation scales. We resisted this temptation to create another discourse presentation scale on the grounds that it would only be applicable on rare analytical occasions.

If the reader believes that there is a spirit world but, in spite of what she suggests, Stokes has no access to it (A2), then two further possibilities may pertain. One possibility is that she mistakenly believes that she has access to the spirit world (A3). In this case, the reader will construe the communication presented by Stokes as actual as far as she is concerned, but non-actual in absolute terms in the relevant text world. When Stokes presents the words of dead people, therefore, she would present a communication that only took place in her thoughts, and, consequently, unwittingly present her thoughts as speech. An analyst could consider using



*Figure 8.1* Diagrammatic representation of alternative sets of beliefs deriving from the assumption that there is a ‘spirit world’.

speech–thought portmanteau tags in order to signal the peculiar status of this communication.

Alternatively, the reader may believe that Stokes *knows* she does not have access to the spirit world but is *pretending* that she does. In this case, she is violating Grice's (1975) maxim of quality and trying to dupe the reader. Under this set of assumptions, the communication presented by Stokes is non-actual both as far as she is concerned and in absolute terms in the relevant text world. In this case, therefore, Stokes would be deliberately presenting as speech a conversation that she has consciously invented in her imagination. An analyst might therefore decide to capture this by using thought presentation tags, or, again, speech–thought portmanteau tags. It is also possible (likely?), of course, that a reader who believes A2 may not be able to come to a decision with respect to A3 vs A4, in which case the ontological and discursual issues cannot be resolved. An analyst trying to reflect this uncertainty in SW&TP annotation could once again use portmanteau tags to signal uncertainty as to whether what is involved is speech or thought presentation.

Now let us come to the set of possibilities related to the ontological belief that there is no such thing as a spirit world with which Doris Stokes can communicate (belief system 'B'). Figure 8.2 outlines the two possible variants of this belief.

If you are a reader/analyst who believes B, then no communication of any kind takes place, in spite of the portrayals in *Joyful Voices*, and hence the ESP possibility disappears. As with the possibilities under A, there is also an issue about one's beliefs concerning what Stokes herself believes. Under B1, Stokes mistakenly believes that there is a spirit world and that she has access to it, so that she 'honourably' presents her own thoughts as if they were someone else's speech (Jonathan in the above example). In this case we have a situation similar to A3, which one could potentially capture by means of speech–thought portmanteau tags. Under B2, there is just a pretence of speech presentation; as with A4, Stokes knows there is no spirit world and is just pretending that there is and that she has access to it, in which case the analyst could possibly tag Jonathan's 'direct speech' as DT or DS-DT. Note also, that there is likely to be considerable

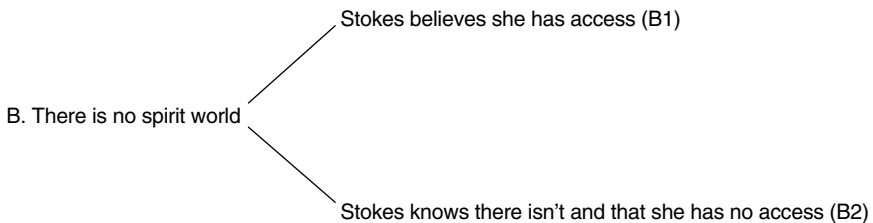


Figure 8.2 Diagrammatic representation of alternative sets of beliefs deriving from the assumption that there is no 'spirit world'.

ambiguity with respect to Stokes's beliefs in relation to B1 and B2, just as there was with A3 and A4, and so the use of portmanteau tags might also be considered to reflect this uncertainty.

In fact, readers may be relieved to hear that we decided not to use any of the annotational possibilities just suggested. Although aware of the various possibilities we have just outlined, we decided to tag Jonathan's direct speech in (1) as straightforward DS, and the same strategy was adopted for all other cases of presentation of communication with the dead in the text sample from Stokes's autobiography. This was because (i) any other decision would be less neutral, in the sense that it would involve choosing among the various ontological, and hence presentational, possibilities discussed above; and (ii) it was preferable to annotate discourse presentation *as it is presented in the text being analysed*.<sup>3</sup> Our overall analytical approach to our corpus, after all, has been specifically in terms of discourse *presentation*. This applies particularly to the use of our 'h' tag, which, as we said in 7.2, was applied only to those cases where it is explicitly signalled in the text that a particular instance of SW&TP relates to a speech, writing or thought event that has not (or not yet) occurred in the relevant text-world. Whatever conclusion a reader or analyst comes to in relation to the ontological status of the communication Stokes talks about and to Stokes's own good faith, there is no doubt that the communication between Stokes and the dead is *presented* as having actually taken place. Hence, our 'h' suffix would not apply under any of the belief systems outlined in Figures 8.1 and 8.2.<sup>4</sup>

### 8.2.2 *Discourse presentation and strategies of legitimization of the 'communication' between Stokes and the 'spirit world'*

Readers rarely have the ability to check the veracity of what they are told in texts, and there is probably a general tendency to believe, unless there is evidence to the contrary, that what is attested as occurring actually did occur in the text world, rather as one does when reading fiction. Doris Stokes's autobiography displays a number of writing strategies which help the reader to believe what she says, or engage in what Coleridge (1817: Ch. 14; edited 1975) famously described as 'that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith'. Moreover, from the perspective of Doris Stokes and her collaborator, Linda Dearsley, it is fortunate that the same strategies of legitimization work well no matter what the beliefs of the reader.

Before we look at strategies involving speech presentation in the *Joyful Voices* extract, it will be helpful if we first consider more generally the strategies involving factivity and reliability in Doris Stokes's writing. At the beginning of the chapter relating to the *Herald of Free Enterprise* disaster, Stokes and her husband John have just eaten their supper and are settling down with a cup of tea to watch television. The evening outside is

described as 'dreary'. The scene is therefore very normal in domestic terms, while the description of the world outside the window looks very like an example of the 'pathetic fallacy' involved in many fictional descriptions of scenes prefiguring unpleasant events. The Stokes' then see the *Herald of Free Enterprise* disaster unfold before their eyes on the television news:

- (2) Like most people, I think, our first reaction was one of total disbelief. I'd never been on one of those ferries but I'd seen pictures of them often enough. Huge and solid, seemingly crammed to overflowing with cars and excited holiday-makers, they looked stable, well-made and indestructible. How could one of these giants possibly turn over in a calm sea before it had even properly left the harbour? It just didn't make sense.

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 94)

What we see in the first sentence of this extract is a typical horrified reaction to disaster, characterized here metaphorically in the phrase 'total disbelief', a classic example of hyperbole, used to implicate the strength of the felt horror. Although the phrase is a cliché, its availability is helpful for Stokes, as it is part of a series of ways in which an attitude of disbelief towards some aspects of all-too-believable reality is established. The third sentence contains a non-factive adverb 'seemingly' modifying 'crammed to overflowing', a hyperbolic representation of the fact that the ship was carrying large numbers of vehicles and passengers, and a non-factive verb, 'looked', with 'well-made and indestructible' as its grammatical complement. However, although nothing man-made is indestructible, the ship was not actually destroyed in the disaster. It sank. And there is also no evidence to suggest it was not well-made. It sank because, to save time, the doors were being closed while the boat was moving out of the port, rather than before it set off. The writing is thus suffused with linguistic devices which suggest disbelief towards the real (note also the content of the FIT reaction of the couple in the last two sentences of (2) above).

This strategy of suggesting non-factivity, or disbelief in the real world, is matched by a strategy of factivity in relation to the spirit world. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the book includes photographs of some of the victims, and that a photograph of Jonathan Reynolds and Fiona Pinnells has a caption beneath it which identifies them and then describes them with the sentence: 'Victims of the Zeebrugge ferry disaster, they are now happy together in the spirit world.' Below we repeat the first three sentences of example (1), along with the two sentences at the beginning of the paragraph which introduces it:

- (3) There was no doubt in my mind. Jonathan was definitely on the other side. As I talked to his parents on the phone a young man's

voice suddenly chimed in on the conversation. He gave me a few family names. His mother was called Joan, he said, his father was Alan and his sister was Sonya.

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 96)

Stokes apparently hears Jonathan's voice while on the telephone talking to his parents. Each of the first two sentences of example (3) contain expressions ('no doubt' and 'definitely') indicating Stokes's certainty about Jonathan being 'on the other side'. Moreover, the third sentence represents Jonathan talking on the telephone in just the way that another family member might join a phone conversation by using another telephone extension in a house. This characterization of verbal contact with the dead is thus made to look just like a very mundane telephone conversation. Then, finally, Jonathan apparently confirms his identity by giving information about the names of family members, in spite of the fact that it would appear there is no obvious need for him to provide this kind of verification to Stokes. Indeed, this part of the extract looks more like the kind of 'verification' that a medium might use to validate her own abilities and credentials to her clients. In fact, it is likely (though it is not stated in the text, of course) that Stokes already possesses the information alluded to from the previous conversations that she and her secretary had already had with Mr and Mrs Reynolds (although, interestingly, she does not begin to refer to the Reynolds by their personal names in the text until just after the identity validation which Stokes says Jonathan provides).

There are many examples of this general kind, whereby the real world and 'the other side' are treated as co-extensive and interdependent. For example, at one point in the narrative we are told about a visit that the Reynolds made to Stokes's house:

- (4) We sipped our coffee and chatted about the weather and the journey and the problems with the drains and all the time I prodded with my mind at the spirit world.

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 98)

The public discussion of the drains, etc., and the private prodding of the spirit world are co-extensive in a way that everyone's public and private worlds often are. If 'finger' was substituted for 'mind' and 'scratch on my leg' for 'spirit world', the sentence would be mundane in the extreme.

The spirit world is also characterized as correcting the real world. Here, for example, is Jonathan, apparently talking to his fiancée, Fiona, in the spirit world while Stokes listens in:

- (5) 'Shush a minute, Fee,' said Jonathan, 'I just want to tell them we're together. They've been worrying about that. They think we

got separated but we didn't. We came over together and we're going to go on together from now on.'

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 99)

Mr and Mrs Reynolds have been worrying unnecessarily, it appears, and Stokes presents Jonathan, using DS, to set them straight. In general discursual terms, although Jonathan is apparently addressing Fiona, the information he gives is already known by her, and so need not be said if she is the only person whose viewpoint is being taken into account. Note here how the reader's faithfulness assumptions concerning DS are being used by Stokes to validate her access to the spirit world.

This strategy of validation and normalization of the spirit world can also be seen more generally in the way in which speech is presented in the text. If we add to example (5) the text which surrounds it, it looks like this:

- (6) [...] two bright young people stepped boldly into the picture. I could hear them laughing and chattering together for several moments before they moved close enough to speak to me. What a happy pair they sounded. I've never heard a couple laugh as much as these two.

'Shush a minute, Fee,' said Jonathan, 'I just want to tell them we're together. They've been worrying about that. They think we got separated but we didn't. We came over together and we're going to go on together from now on.'

All three Reynolds were visibly relieved when I told them this.

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 99)

Jonathan and Fiona's entry into the scene has the matter-of-fact factivity we have seen before, and their speech is portrayed from Stokes's point of view in a manner that assumes deictically that she is in the same general spatio-temporal location as them. Their talk is first of all presented in terms of NV, as if they are too far away for Stokes to hear them properly ('I could hear them laughing and chattering together for several moments'). Then, as if they had now moved closer, we get the DS we have already commented on above. By contrast, when Stokes tells the Reynolds what she says she has heard, a summarizing NRSA form is used ('when I told them this'). So the spirit world is made more palpable in terms of strategies of speech presentation than the real world. This kind of pattern is repeated consistently in the text. Consider the extract below:

- (7) 'There were seven of us,' he explained.

Later the Reynolds confirmed that Jonathan, Fiona and Heidi had indeed been part of a party of seven who'd set off on a day's shopping-trip in Belgium [...]

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 99)

Here, the DS presentation of the speech from the spirit world is followed immediately by an IS presentation of the speech of the real world. If we now join together examples (1) and (3), so that we see the full run of the text as it occurs in the extract, we can see another example of the combination of strategies we have seen so far (sentences are lettered in the extract below for ease of reference).

- (8) There was no doubt in my mind (a). Jonathan was definitely on the other side (b). As I talked to his parents on the phone a young man's voice suddenly chimed in on the conversation (c). He gave me a few family names (d). His mother was called Joan, he said, his father was Alan and his sister was Sonya (e).

'They feel bad because my body is still trapped down there,' he said, 'but tell them not to grieve (f). It doesn't matter at all because I'm not under the water (g). I'm here and I'm safe (g).'

I passed this on to Alan and Joan and I tried to explain that a body is just a coat we put on when we come to this earth and that once our time here is done, we don't need it any more (i). It really doesn't matter what happens to our old clothes (j).

(Doris Stokes, *Joyful Voices*, p. 96)

The factive narrative opening of this passage concerning the spirit world is followed by a sequence of forms of speech presentation giving the impression that Jonathan is 'coming nearer' to Stokes's position. Sentence (c) contains two instances of NV, sentence (d) is NRSA, sentence (e) is IS-FIS (with a medial reporting clause) and sentences (f)–(h) are DS, with a medial NRS in sentence (f). This involves a gradual move from the non-direct to the direct end of the speech presentation scale. In contrast, when what Jonathan says is relayed to his parents, Stokes's real-world speech to them is presented via NRSA (I passed this on to ...) and IS (I tried to explain that a body ...) in sentence (i). Thus the presentation of the real word discourse is backgrounded when compared with the use of DS for the spirit world. This kind of pattern can be found throughout the extract from *Joyful Voices* in our corpus, as can the other validation strategies we have described earlier.

The overall result is a complex piece of writing which exploits the ontological ambiguities in relation to the role of the medium and is written in a way that maximizes the possibility of confirming the views of believers, persuading the waverers and undermining the objections of disbelievers.

### 8.3 Discourse presentation in newspaper reports of a 'PC Bible' story

The articles we will discuss in this section were published in six UK national newspapers on Monday 5 December 1994 in reaction to the

imminent American publication by Oxford University Press of a politically correct version of the New Testament – *The New Testament and Psalms: An Inclusive Version*, edited by Victor Roland Gold, Thomas L. Hoyt, Jr, Sharon H. Ringe, Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite, Burton H. Throckmorton, Jr and Barbara A. Withers. We refer to this work below as Gold *et al.* (1995). As we pointed out in section 2.2, the sub-division of the press section of our corpus into serious (broadsheets) and popular (tabloids) sub-sections enable us in principle to compare these two varieties of UK newspapers, and our decision to select ‘parallel’ news reports of the same news story wherever possible enables us, as here, to compare different journalistic treatments of the same story. A related issue is that of how faithful the reporters are when they quote from the edition that they discuss. We discuss this in 8.3.3 below.

None of the Sunday newspapers in our corpus published on 4 December ran the ‘PC Bible’ story, suggesting that OUP announced it too late for the Sunday press to use. On Monday 5 December, four of the five daily tabloid newspapers in our corpus reported the story, and two of the four broadsheets. We list them in Table 8.1, with an indication of the lengths of the articles involved.

Hence the total size of the sample under discussion here is 1,518 words. We noted in 3.1.1 that just under 50 per cent of the words in our press data are speech presentation, while another 2 per cent or more are writing presentation. This indicates how much of what we think of as news is actually the report of what people considered socially or politically significant have said, and this story is a good example of ‘discourse news’. The six news stories are all concerned with (i) the publication of a particular edition of a written text, the *New Testament and Psalms*; (ii) reports of the (mainly spoken) adverse reaction to the wording of that edition by church traditionalists; and (iii) reports of the subsequent views of representatives of the publisher, defending the publication. Effectively, therefore, the story is all about language – written articles reporting speech about written language. What makes the episode specially remarkable is that the furore in the British Church establishment and press is about an edition which, as far as we are aware, was never published in the UK. Our commentary will, in general terms, take the form of an amalgam of stylistic analysis and critical discourse analysis, with special emphasis on issues raised in relation to faithfulness in speech and writing presentation.

Table 8.1 ‘PC Bible’ stories

<i>Tabloids</i>	<i>Word-length</i>	<i>Broadsheets</i>	<i>Word-length</i>
<i>Daily Express</i>	407	<i>The Times</i>	364
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	226	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	299
<i>Today</i>	111		
<i>Sun</i>	111		



The most obvious way to see how faithful a piece of reporting is to an original is to compare the report and the original. However, when we first wrote about the newspaper articles we discuss here (in Short *et al.* 1999) we could not get hold of a copy of the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms*, as it was only available in the USA. We therefore assumed that the journalists did not have access to it either, and were probably relying for their information on an OUP press release, to which we did not have access. This led us in our 1999 article to try to assess faithfulness by an indirect ‘triangulation’ method – namely the careful comparison of the six different news reports, looking for repetitions of words and phrases, on the grounds that such similarities would provide traces of the original press release. In 2002, however, OUP told us that no press release was actually issued, and we also managed finally to get hold of a copy of Gold *et al.* (1995), which the journalists must have had access to in order to write their copy (the general introduction to the work, pp. vii–xxii, helpfully summarizes for the journalists the gender-related terminological changes that form the initial impetus for their news reports). In this analysis we combine the cross-checking methodology we used in Short *et al.* (1999) with a comparison between the articles and the original. We keep both methodologies, as corpora of the kind we have constructed enable the cross-checking methodology, and comparison with an original is often not possible because the original is no longer available. In these cases, the cross-checking methodology using ‘parallel’ texts in the corpus will often be the only available investigative tool, and so an illustration of its use may prove helpful.

In terms of topic, the story we discuss below is considerably less weighty than some other items the newspapers carried that day (e.g. the war in Bosnia, the reinstatement of rebel Conservative MPs to the Government whip, and the opposition Labour party’s support for proposed reform of the monarchy). As Table 8.1 shows, four of the five daily tabloids reported the story, but only two of the four broadsheets. This pattern would appear to reflect an attempt by the various newspapers to address the preferences of their target readerships: readers of the tabloids tend to prefer a larger proportion of less weighty and more salacious material than broadsheet readers, and the more right-wing readership of *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* is more likely to see the news of a politically correct *New Testament and Psalms* as significant (perhaps even outrageous?) than is the readership of the more liberal broadsheets, the *Guardian* and the *Independent*.

### 8.3.1 *The story headlines and story ‘slant’*

All six newspapers take the same general ‘line’ on the story, concentrating on the opposition by Church traditionalists to the new text and ridiculing the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms*, directly or indirectly. This common slant, which presumably reflects the assumed editorial view of

the readerships of the newspapers, can be easily seen in the various story headlines:

- (9) For God's sake stop rewriting our Bible (*Daily Express*)
- (10) God is a Mother in Bible rethink (*Daily Mirror*)
- (11) PC Bible 'is an insult' (*Today*)
- (12) Storm as trendies censor the Bible (*Sun*)
- (13) Word is made PC for him-her (*The Times*)
- (14) Bishops pour scorn on non-sexist Bible (*Daily Telegraph*)

Although the new edition was just of the *New Testament and Psalms*, five of the above headlines refer to it using the word 'Bible'. This lexical choice has two advantages for the headline writers. It is briefer than a more accurate reference and conjures up more easily than 'New Testament and Psalms' the connotations which connect to the traditional values characterized by the articles as being under threat. The *Daily Mirror* and *The Times* concentrate in their headlines on the changes to the *New Testament and Psalms*, but in very different ways. *The Times* headline is clearly humorous, signalling a playfully critical flavour for the article as a whole. The *Mirror* is more straightforwardly antipathetic, as seen in 'God is a Mother ...' In other (e.g. feminist) contexts this statement might be seen as positive but, given the general concern of the tabloids to preserve the traditional in religious matters, it is unlikely to be positive here. If we compare the quotations in the relevant set of articles in our corpus, it would seem that the *Mirror* headline is misleading. There is considerable allusion in the set of articles to God being referred to in a gender-neutral way in the new edition. The expression 'Father-Mother' occurs six times in five different articles (the *Daily Express* is the only exception), and five of these references are within quotation marks (the exception is the first sentence of the article in *The Times*, with the removal of the quotation marks apparently related to the humorous strategy of the writer: 'The time has come to pray to God the Father-Mother and Jesus the Human One for the soul of William Tyndale'). Reference to the work described by the articles confirms the supposition suggested by analysis of the corpus. In the general introduction to Gold *et al.* (1995: xii), the editors explain that they consistently use 'Father-Mother' rather than the traditional 'Father' in order to point up the fact that such familial references are metaphorical, and to help readers to attribute 'both fatherly and motherly attributes' to God. No mention is made of God being referred to simply as 'Mother', and we can find no such use in the main text of the edition. As it happens, 'Father-Mother' even occurs in the *Daily Mirror* article, in spite of the fact that it contradicts the article's own headline: 'God is a Mother in Bible rethink.' This inconsistency suggests that we are looking at an example of sloppy writing by the sub-editor responsible for the headline (newspaper sub-editors often change the headlines suggested by the

writers of articles), rather than a full-blown intention to mislead *Mirror* readers.

Of the remaining four headlines, three concentrate on verbal opposition to the changes on the part of the Church of England establishment, using heavily emotional language to convey aspects of the speech acts and activity types involved in the verbal opposition. The *Sun* is well known for its inflammatory headline style, and its headline here lives up to its reputation: 'Storm as trendies censor the Bible.' 'Storm' refers metaphorically to a verbal activity type which itself is (a consequence of) a perlocutionary effect on various church leaders reading the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms* (or more likely, being told about it by journalists who had read the introduction to Gold *et al.* 1995!). 'Censor' is a rather radical speech act description, which assumes an institutional power on behalf of the anonymous 'trendies' (Gold *et al.*, the editors of the new edition) that they do not actually have. In any case, new editions, particularly new translated editions, typically use different words compared with earlier editions, and this practice of linguistic change is not normally seen as constituting censorship of the replaced words and phrases. The *Sun*'s headline thus appears to be playing rather fast and loose with the story, in terms of its speech act designation.

Inflammatory speech act descriptors seem to be the order of the day for the headlines to the other articles too. In the *Today* headline, 'insult' indicates a very strong perlocutionary effect on traditionalists and 'pour scorn' (*Daily Telegraph*) refers in lurid fashion to one or more speech acts which appear to have been consequential to the perlocutionary effect that the news had on the bishops who were contacted by the journalists. The overall effect of this phrase is thus not unlike what we saw in the *Sun* headline.

Perhaps the most interesting headline is that from the *Daily Express*, which is ambiguous. 'For God's sake stop rewriting our Bible', with its rather obvious play on the referential and exclamatory uses of the word 'God', can be construed as (i) a plea/exhortation on the part of the *Express* editorial team, or (ii) a free direct report of a similar speech act uttered by someone else (perhaps one of those interviewed?) who is opposed to the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms*. It is impossible to know which construal (both?) is intended; and if the free direct 'quotation without quotation marks' construal is correct, it is unattributed, and not referred to again in the main body of the article. This lack of attribution effectively makes sure that the headline will not constitute a libel problem for the newspaper. The ambiguity is also rhetorically helpful for the newspaper, as it shuttles interpretatively between two construals: (i) the uttering of a remark by the newspaper on behalf of its readers; and (ii) the evocation/report of such a statement being uttered by an unattributed authority figure (most likely a member of the Church of England establishment). Interestingly, the *Telegraph*'s headline also makes

reference to such authority figures ('Bishops'), and, like those who bought the *Express*, readers of the other two 'verbal opposition' headlines were likely to infer (correctly or not) that 'storm' and 'insult' represent the views of important religious establishment figures.

*Today's* headline (PC Bible 'is an insult') is an example of the quotation phenomenon we referred to in section 7.1. More exactly, it is an example of Nq. However, the quotation is unverifiable, as the source is not revealed in the headline and does not reappear in the main body of the article. This points up a particular problem in assessing whether direct quotation in news report is accurate or not. In this case there is no way of determining the matter without consulting the reporter who wrote the article and the person claimed to have made the remark. In any case, without a tape-recording it would be impossible to resolve a difference of view between the individuals concerned. This problem also applies to attributed quotation of speech; and even when writing report is used, most of the time the readers will not have access to an original to enable checking while reading – or the time and inclination to do so, even if they do have such access.

Thus, although in principle discourse report in newspapers is verifiable, for most readers the situation is much as it is when reading novels even when, as in this case, a good deal of the discourse report is writing report. Readers usually only have the text in front of them to go on. Hence, other things being equal, there will be a tendency to assume that (i) direct quotations are faithful word-for-word reports, (ii) IS reports are accurate with respect to propositional content but not necessarily employing the words and structures used to utter that content, and so on. In other words, the canonical assumptions in relation to the different speech presentation and writing presentations forms will apply (and indeed, in general terms, most people seem to assume that what others tell them is honestly represented, especially if it is printed, unless there is definite evidence to the contrary). Interestingly, however, as we have indicated above and will show below, even when the original discourse is inaccessible it is sometimes possible for the researcher to get near the truth in some cases by correlating what is said across the different articles.

### 8.3.2 *The main body of the articles*

As we might expect from the headlines, the overall structure of each of the six stories involves a mix of (i) reporting offending politically correct phrases from the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms*; (ii) reporting opposition to the new edition (in general as well as in relation to one or more people contacted for their views); and (iii) making critical commentary in either a direct or indirect form. Other elements are optional: three of the articles include responses from representatives of OUP to the statements of outrage, and *The Times* article widens its playful report of politically correct language to include commentary on a

children's Bible published earlier that year by another publisher, which we are told referred to Mary not as a virgin but as 'a girl, and not married'. The report of the opposition to the new edition comes from a wide variety of sources, presumably depending on whom the individual journalists managed to contact on the telephone. There are six vague and unattributable references to complaints by 'church leaders', 'churchmen', etc. (across four of the articles), and *The Times* article refers to antipathetic comments from OUP's 'panel of expert readers'. In addition, the six articles quote (or report more indirectly) the uncomplimentary comments of nine different clerics (including two different individuals on the OUP panel). Only one person's view (the Archdeacon of York, George Austin) is referred to in more than one article (the *Express* and *The Times*). Hence there is no way of being able to ascertain the accuracy of the reports of what those interviewed said from 'triangulation' across the different reports, let alone direct comparisons with the original on which the reports were based. As a consequence, the remainder of this analysis will concentrate on 'triangulating' the reports of what appears in the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms* and comparing what occurs in the articles with the work's introduction (Gold *et al.* 1995: vii–xxii), which the journalists appear to have used as the basis for their copy. In effect, much of the description of the language of the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms* in the articles appears to be *writing report* from this written source. Given the journalists' time constraints, they were unlikely to have the time to read the entire work looking for relevant quotations, and the introduction to the work helpfully contains sections on the various politically correct terms the newspaper articles pick up on. This helps to explain the patterns of repeated quotation in the articles (see below), mainly in the form of the 'q' phenomenon.

In our discussion of the article headlines we have already referred to the fact that 'Father-Mother' occurs in all six articles, with five of the occurrences being in 'q' phenomenon quotation marks. We are also told that Jesus Christ is referred to in the new edition as 'the Human One'. All six articles report this, complete with word-initial capitalization, though only two of them (the *Sun* and the *Daily Telegraph*) put the expression in quotation marks. However, even in the 'no quotation marks' cases it is very clear contextually that quotation is involved. An example from *The Times* article, where 'the Human One' is signalled as a quotation by the word-initial capitalization and its position as complement to 'becomes', is:

- (15) God ceases to be male and becomes a hyphenated bisexual, while the Son of Man [. . .] becomes the Human One.  
(‘Word is made PC for him-her’, *The Times*, 5 December 1994)

These patterns of repeated 'quick quotation' cannot easily be explained away as coincidence. Another example is the single word 'oppression',

which occurs, isolated within quotation marks, in three of the articles. Twice it occurs in an Nq structure, and once as ISq. Here is the Nq example from the *Daily Telegraph*:

- (16) The amended Bible strives to take the ‘oppression’ out of Christianity by removing language which is deemed insensitive to women, the disabled and left-handed people.  
 (‘Bishops pour scorn on non-sexist Bible’, *Daily Telegraph*,  
 5 December 1994)

If an example like the above was read in isolation, it would be difficult to know whether the quoted word was real quotation or an example of ‘scare quotes’. However, when it turns up as part of an Nq or ISq structure in three different articles, where in each case the OUP is said to be trying to take the ‘oppression’ out of either the Bible or Christianity more generally, it would appear that the word is being quoted from somewhere. Interestingly, Gold *et al.* (1995: vii–xxii) avoid the term ‘oppression’, referring instead to their version of the *New Testament and Psalms* as ‘inclusive’ (1995: viii). But the dust jacket, as is increasingly common these days, has on the back a series of laudatory comments from experts, one of which (by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Krister Stendahl Professor of Scripture and Interpretation at Harvard University) praises the work for rendering ‘the Sacred Scriptures into inclusive non-oppressive language’.

We have argued in 3.2.2 and 7.1 that modern newspapers use the ‘q’ phenomenon more than the other genres in our corpus because of their dual role in increasing vividness and a sense of veracity (see also Short *et al.* 1997). Bray (2002) has recently argued that the frequent use of the ‘q’ phenomenon in both eighteenth-century novels and newspapers is evidence in support of the view that the two genres are closely related (see also Davis 1983: 67; Späth 1987: 32). The extent of direct quotation and ‘q’ forms in the six articles we are concentrating on can be seen from Table 8.2.<sup>5</sup> The table does not distinguish between speech presentation and writing presentation, as we are trying to indicate the extent of direct quotative phenomena in the articles in general; in any case, as the total wordage of the articles is only 1,513 words, a speech/writing sub-distinction

Table 8.2 DS, DW and ‘q’ in the ‘PC Bible’ articles

<i>Newspaper type</i>	<i>Total length of articles (words)</i>	<i>DS and DW (words)</i>	<i>DS and DW (instances)</i>	<i>q (words)</i>	<i>q (instances)</i>
Tabloids	855	205 (23.9%)	8	57 (6.7%)	17
Broadsheets	663	32 (4.8%)	2	27 (4.1%)	9
Totals	1,518	237 (15.6%)	10	84 (5.5%)	26

would make the figures too small to be reliable. There are no instances of FDS or FDW in the six articles concerned.

The extent of the contrast in the use of direct discourse presentation forms between the tabloids and the broadsheets, which is wider than the overall difference between the two newspaper types (see Table 4.1 in 4.2), is because *The Times* article does not actually use DS or DW at all, though it does use three 'q' forms. This striking feature is clearly related to the humorous strategy that the journalist uses in his article. It is easier to be playful while using speech presentation forms which do not use the words and structures of those being reported in an extensive form, and so the report form is directly under the control of the reporter. The strategic use of 'q' forms, on the other hand, has clear ironizing potential, as it allows the reporter to 'zoom in and out' from 'quick quotation' to narrative comment. A good example is the following excerpt:

- (17) A children's illustrated Bible issued earlier this year by the British publisher Dorling Kindersley could not bring itself to describe Mary as a virgin, but referred to her instead as 'a girl, and not married', thus undermining one of the basic tenets of Christian belief. It also illustrated the archangel Gabriel with no wings.

('Word is made PC for him-her', *The Times*, 5 December 1994)

Although the other articles are not playful in the way that *The Times* piece is, they also clearly use 'q' forms as a way of helping them signal their disapproval or derision of the phrasings quoted.

Although 'q' forms represent a relatively small proportion of the data in terms of word count, to have 26 instances in 1,518 words is pretty high, confirming a common strategic use of (or felt need for) the form. The story is itself about wordings, of course, and so this will be an important factor, as well as the rhetorical effects related to the antipathetic reporting attitude referred to above. Effectively, there is an instance of 'q' roughly once every 50 words in the 4 tabloid articles and once every 70 words in the 2 broadsheet articles. This contrasts sharply with the situation in the corpus overall, where there is an instance of 'q' roughly every 500 words, as well as for the press section as a whole, where there is an instance of 'q' roughly every 300 words.

If we concentrate on the two words/phrases discussed so far, five of the six writers feel the need to use the 'Father-Mother' 'q' form and also to place it in quotation marks. In addition, all six use 'the Human One', though four of the six do not use quotation marks, but signal its quotative nature through other contextual means. Similar patterns can also be seen in the use of other words and phrases. Reference to the removal of bias against the left-handed is referred to in all six articles, which point out that references to God's right hand have been replaced by 'mighty hand'.

In all six articles ‘mighty hand’ is in quotation marks, and five of the articles immediately precede ‘mighty hand’ with ‘God’s’, either inside or outside the quotation marks. The one exception is *The Times*, which uses ‘his-her “mighty hand”’ for obvious ironic purposes (see below for further discussion of this example).

As we pointed out in 8.3.1, although the *Daily Mirror* misleadingly refers to God as ‘Mother’ in its headline, it accurately uses ‘Father-Mother’ in the main body of its text. The exception to the ‘Father-Mother rule’ referred to above for the main body of these articles is the *Express*, which misleadingly reports the reference to God as ‘Mother’ in its body text (but not its headline, which does not use either term):

- (18) ... congregations will be asked to thank Our Mother who art in Heaven.

(‘For God’s sake stop rewriting our Bible’, *Daily Express*,  
5 December 1994)

Given the ambiguity of the *Express* headline, which we commented on in 8.3.1, it looks as if this newspaper is sacrificing reporting accuracy to rhetorical effects which will appeal to its readership. The expression ‘Thanks to Our Mother in Heaven’ appears, along with two other ‘offending phrases’ on the front cover of a pictorial representation of the ‘Holy Bible’ next to the article, and next to the headline there is a photograph of a cleric, with the legend ‘AGAINST: Archdeacon Austin’ under it. So the *Express* is clearly making more of the story than the other papers, of which only *The Times* has a picture – of Tyndale, on whose translation the much-loved 1611 Authorised Version of the Bible was based, and who, *The Times* reporter gleefully declares, ‘will be spinning in his grave’.

### 8.3.3 Faithfulness in ‘q’ and DS and DW report

What are we to make of all of this for SW&TP theory? Clearly the *Express* is fiddling the evidence a bit in its ‘PC Bible’ story in order to make rhetorical hay, and the *Mirror*’s headline is also unfair in its indication that the ‘Father’ references to God have been replaced by ‘Mother’ rather than ‘Father-Mother’. In general terms this is evidence to support the idea that tabloid newspapers may sacrifice accuracy in report (including verbal report) in order to make their copy more arresting and entertaining. It also suggests that the canonical faithfulness assumptions for DS and DW cannot automatically be assumed to hold true in all written contexts (which parallels the point Tannen 1989 and others have made about DS presentation in informal spoken contexts). In particular, it looks as if the prototypical faithfulness assumptions are under some threat in the UK tabloid press when it reports matters which are not of high socio-political status. This story appeared in a relatively unimportant ‘fun’ area for most



of the newspapers, appearing anywhere between pages 5 and 13, where we might expect reporting attitudes towards accuracy to be more relaxed than in articles more important (and so more prominent in the newspapers) in socio-political terms.

However, finding some people who do not always abide by the prototypical faithfulness assumption for DS and DW is not an automatic argument for throwing the assumption away completely, and in any case even the *Express* reporter does not misquote material he places within quotation marks, even though he is 'economical with the truth' (cf. Grice's 1975 maxim of quantity) in some other respects. Moreover, comparison with the introduction to the new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms*, which the reporters have clearly based their copy on, indicates that the other articles are all accurately quoting the repeated phrases explored in detail above, apart from the rather complex case involving the 'oppression' 'q' form, which is less easy to check (see the discussion of example (16) above). Of course, using direct quotation is useful rhetorically as a foregrounding device in the reporting context. However, given the correspondences across the articles, it would appear that the reporters are, by and large, still governed by an impulse to report DS and DW strings accurately.

This is an important point to note in general terms. We pointed out in 7.2.2 that, although other commentators (particularly Fludernik 1993 and Sternberg 1982a, 1982b) have wanted to suggest that hypothetical forms undermine the canonical faithfulness assumption relating to DS and DW, our work suggests that such a move is premature. Fludernik and Sternberg have also wanted to undermine in more general terms the idea that direct forms are faithful to an original. However, our analysis of quotative forms in the 'PC Bible' articles suggests a more complex situation. A comparison of the articles with one another, and with the main written source they quote from, indicates that, apart from the two exceptions we have described above, the rest of the quotations in the articles which are checkable are accurate. We have recently shown (Short *et al.* 2002) that although examples of inaccurate direct report can certainly be found, an examination of a different set of newspaper reports (not from our corpus) also indicates that reporters were taking a fair amount of trouble to be faithful to the original where they could. The findings here, and in Short *et al.* (2002), suggest that Tannen's findings of lack of correspondence in some informal spoken conversation between DS forms and the anterior speech they present cannot automatically be generalized across from speech to writing, or from informal to formal reporting contexts.

It would seem that more careful and detailed consideration will need to be given to a wide range of reporting contexts and the various media of representation before firm conclusions can properly be reached concerning faithfulness in discourse report (see Short *et al.* 2002 for some suggestions in this regard). Before a complete understanding of discourse presentation in general (and DS and DW in particular) can be attained,

factors such as whether the reporting discourse is spoken or written, and whether the reported strings are speech, writing or thought, will have to be taken into account, as well as contextual and pragmatic factors like legal considerations, the importance of the words being reported, and so on.

In conclusion, the two detailed analyses presented in this chapter have shown how the availability of a corpus provides (i) a rich source for interesting texts to be subjected to detailed analysis, and (ii) a useful resource for comparing patterns within a particular text (or set of texts) to more general trends.

## Notes

- 1 Our analysis here can be usefully compared with Wooffitt (2001), which provides a sociological account of the role of what he calls 'speech report' in transcripts of tape recordings of mediums talking about their communications with the dead on behalf of their living clients.
- 2 Note, in relation to the discussion of 'q' in the previous section of this chapter, how we ourselves are using 'quick quotation' in this discussion to ground our account in terms of veracity and, at the same time, to signal our misgivings about the use of these terms and the ontological assumptions behind them (something which we will make clearer later in this discussion). This kind of quotation activity helps to explain the relationship between 'q' and 'scare quotes'. When scare quotes are used, they also signal that writers do not want to commit themselves to the terms mentioned, but the source of the 'quotation' is either unspecified or left vague (cf. 'as people often say . . .'), and so the veracity function of the 'q' phenomenon is irrelevant.
- 3 We did, however, insert notes in our annotated version of the text, to remind us to return to the issues we have just raised at a later date, as we have now done.
- 4 Apart from any theoretical considerations, it would not have been practically possible to signal via our annotation system all the non-actual instances of SW&TP (as opposed to those that are *presented* as non-actual). This is not just because we would have had to make highly subjective decisions about the ontological status of idiosyncratic cases such as those in the Stokes text sample, but we would also have had to be able to detect any other straightforward lies and misrepresentations in the use of SW&TP in our corpus.
- 5 Six of the instances of 'q' included in Table 8.2 are not surrounded by quotation marks, but it is clear contextually that they count as quotation phenomena. An example from the *Today* article is: 'The new Bible, produced by Oxford University Press, calls God the Father-Mother and Jesus the Human One.' Hence we have counted 'the Father-Mother' and 'the Human One' in the above as examples of 'q' in our table.

## 9 Conclusion

We hope that those readers who have read our book right through from beginning to end will not have found the journey through definitions, acronyms, examples and quantitative information too tiring. For our part, we had little first-hand experience of corpus linguistics before we started on this project, and have certainly found the long process that led us to the completion of this book exhausting and overwhelming at times. However, we feel that what we have gained from constructing, annotating and analysing our corpus amply compensates for the time and effort we (and those who have helped us) have put in. In this final chapter we begin by reflecting on the main findings and implications of our work, and on the view of SW&TP and of corpus linguistics and corpus stylistics that we have reached by carrying out the work presented in this book. We then point to what we see as possible ways of taking this work forward with further research.

### 9.1 Our findings and the corpus approach

#### *9.1.1 The development of a more comprehensive and explicit model of SW&TP*

The first of our two main goals was to test and develop Leech and Short's (1981) model of speech and thought presentation by adopting it as our starting point in the annotation of our corpus. Overall we found that the model coped fairly well with being applied to the analysis of both fictional and non-fictional texts, mainly because of the explicit ways in which the original categories had been defined. The annotation and analysis of the corpus, however, led us to extend and refine Leech and Short's model, in the ways we detailed throughout the book, and particularly in Chapters 3 and 7. We have added a separate scale for writing presentation, as well as one category each for speech and thought presentation, and a number of sub-types of existing categories. We have also found evidence to support Short's (1988) suggestion concerning the status of the free direct forms as variants of the direct categories.

The model of SW&TP we have now arrived at is therefore more comprehensive and better able to account for the phenomena we encountered in our corpus – although, like any model, it is inevitably still open to revision and in need of further testing. More specifically, the annotation and analysis of our corpus has led us to a better understanding of the formal and functional variation within each category of SW&TP, and of the differences and similarities among the three scales of SW&TP. Chapter 7 shows how we have also arrived at more exhaustive accounts of a range of phenomena within SW&TP than had been previously produced, as a direct result of the creation and analysis of our annotated corpus. In some cases the information that we have been able to extract from the corpus has direct implications for theoretical debates in the study of discourse presentation, such as the role of faithfulness in reporting (see our discussion of hypothetical SW&TP in 7.2 and the case study in 8.2; also Short *et al.* 2002), and the clinal nature of SW&TP categories (see our discussion of ambiguities in 7.4).

In addition, the process of creating and applying our tagset has forced us to make the definitions of a number of categories of SW&TP more explicit than was the case in previous accounts, including Leech and Short's. This has made us more consciously aware of the two main types of criteria that we (and others involved in the study of discourse presentation) apply in order to classify a particular stretch of text as this or that category. On the one hand, there are the more formal, structural criteria for differentiating among the categories. These relate primarily to graphology (e.g. quotation marks, italics, paragraph boundaries), syntax (e.g. structural relations between clauses, grammatical mood) and deixis (including tense and pronouns). On the other hand, there are the more pragmatic, contextual and inference-based criteria, which are to do with judgements concerning the likelihood that someone might have said, thought or written something at a particular point. They therefore involve assessments as to whether the content and/or lexical choices in a particular stretch of text could reflect the views and/or verbal repertoire of particular individuals. These decisions result from inferences made on the basis of the co-text, the context and general background knowledge, and are therefore usually less clear-cut and more probabilistic than the decisions made on the basis of structural criteria.

Generally speaking, decisions in each individual case involve (i) formal and (ii) contextual and pragmatic criteria, but not necessarily in the same proportions. Some categories are identified primarily in terms of formal, structural criteria. The traditional distinction between IS and DS, for example, is based on the presence or absence of quotation marks and grammatical subordination, and of choices in tense, pronouns and so on. Other categories more obviously involve a combination of structural contextual and pragmatic criteria. This applies primarily to the free indirect and free direct categories in all those cases where there are no

reporting clauses. Here the analyst needs to identify the relevant configuration of structural features, but this does not usually, on its own, unambiguously assign a stretch of text to, for example, FIS or FDS as opposed to narration (N). In order to arrive at a decision, one needs to assess the likelihood that the relevant stretch of text presents somebody's discourse, and this can only be done by relating the content and wording of the relevant stretch of text to what is known about the potential speakers and their circumstances.

Overall, we have found that the process of annotation has forced us to depend as much as we can on the structural criteria, which we have made as explicit and fine-grained as possible. The aim of consistency and replicability in annotation is best achieved by privileging, as much as is practically possible, the formal over the contextual and pragmatic. This can be seen, for example, in our distinction between NRSA(p) and IS (and their counterparts on the other two scales) on the basis of the absence or presence of a separate reported clause (see 3.2.1), as well as in our characterization of the FDS variant (and its counterparts on the other two scales), on the basis of the criteria spelt out in 7.4.2.<sup>1</sup> Overall, however, both structural and contextual and pragmatic criteria are indispensable in carrying out this kind of analysis, even though scholars do not always make their own criteria fully explicit in defining their own categories (with notable exceptions, such as Fludernik 1993).

By making our structural criteria more explicit, we also hope we have made some progress towards the future possibility of automating, at least in part, the process of analysing texts for SW&TP. Some preliminary work in this direction has been carried out by other scholars (Oostdijk 1990), and an exploratory study was conducted within our team in the early stages of our project (Dodgson 1995), but no software exists that can carry out the kind of annotation that we have applied to our corpus, and nor is it likely to exist in the near future. However, the definitions we have proposed for our categories (and the lists of reporting verbs in Appendices 3–8) could provide the starting point for the development of more sophisticated software than is available at present. In particular, our annotated corpus could well be useful as a software-training instrument.

### ***9.1.2 A comparison of SW&TP across the three genres included in our corpus, and across the popular vs serious sub-sections***

The second main goal of our project was to compare the patterning of SW&TP across twentieth-century fictional, journalistic and (auto)-biographical narratives, and across popular and serious texts within those genres. In many ways, this is perhaps the most newsworthy part of our findings. Although a number of different models of discourse presentation already exist, nobody has, to our knowledge, carried out a

quantitative investigation of the patterning of different forms of presentation on a similar scale to ours. We have presented our quantitative findings in Chapters 4–7. Here we will give a summary of the main similarities and differences we have found across the sections and sub-sections into which our corpus is divided.

Overall, we have found that, of the three modes of presentation, speech presentation is the most frequent and writing presentation the least frequent. All categories of SW&TP occur in all sub-sections of our corpus, with only one exception, namely that FIT was not found in our press data. However, there are interesting contrasts among our three text-types.

In quantitative terms, the main characteristics of the *fiction section* of our corpus, as compared with the other two genres, can be summarized as follows:

- It has more thought presentation than the other two genres (and most of it is ‘pure’)
- It has more FIT than the other two genres
- It has more (F)DS than the other two genres
- It has less IS and NRSA(p) than the other two genres
- It has less writing presentation than the other two genres
- It has less embedded SW&TP than the other two genres.

In quantitative terms, the main characteristics of the *press section* of our corpus can be summarized as follows:

- It has more speech presentation than the other two genres
- It has more IS and NRSA(p) than the other two genres
- It has less FIS than the other two genres
- It has less thought presentation than the other two genres (and most of the thought presentation that does occur is ‘inferred’)
- It has more IT than the fiction section
- It has no FIT
- It has more ‘q’ forms than the other two genres
- It has fewer portmanteau tags than the other two genres.

In quantitative terms, the main characteristics of the *(auto)biography section* of our corpus can be summarized as follows:

- It has more writing presentation than the other two genres
- It has more IS and NRSA(p) than the fiction section
- Approximately half the instances of thought presentation are ‘inferred’
- It has more IT than the fiction section
- It has more ‘q’ forms than the fiction section
- It has slightly more hypothetical SW&TP than the other two genres.

Overall, then, the fiction section of the corpus shows a greater emphasis on thought presentation (especially via FIT) and a greater exploitation of the dramatizing properties of (F)DS. In contrast, the two non-fictional genres make greater use of the less direct categories of speech presentation (NRSA(p) and IS), which are more often used for summarizing. The press section of the corpus focuses more on speech presentation than the other two genres, and less on thought presentation. The 'q' forms appear to be an important feature of news reporting, while FIS is rarely used in our press data (and FIT not at all). The (auto)biography section of the corpus relies more on writing presentation than the other two genres, but in other respects it tends to align with one or the other of the two genres. In terms of thought presentation, it is more like fiction than the press section of the corpus, but it is more like the press than the fiction section of the corpus as far as speech presentation is concerned (especially in the use of IS, NRSA(p), and the 'q' forms). Our qualitative analyses of specific examples have shown that the same categories are often used quite differently in fiction and the press, while (auto)biography includes a mixture of the uses of both of the other genres. All this suggests that, in discourse presentation terms at least, (auto)biography is a genre intermediate between news report and fiction.

The differences between the popular and serious sub-sections of each genre are less marked than might have been predicted in advance. Overall, the popular sub-sections have more (F)DS than the serious sections, which reflects their greater emphasis on immediacy and dramatization. The serious sections, in contrast, have more FIS, and more instances of portmanteau tags. The greatest differences can be found between the popular and serious sub-sections of the (auto)biography data. Here the serious sub-section has significantly more instances of NRSA(p) and of writing presentation (notably NRWA(p) and (F)DW) than the popular section. This seems to reflect a difference in terms of linguistic complexity (see our comments on NRSA(p) and NRWA(p) in 4.2.2 and 5.2.2), and in terms of the reliance on written sources. What is particularly interesting for us is that we have failed to find any significant differences in SW&TP between popular and serious fiction that would support the claims made in other studies (e.g. Nash 1990; Radway 1984; van Peer 1986) that serious and popular fiction are linguistically distinct.

We have found it extremely valuable to take a corpus-based approach to an aspect of stylistics and text analysis which has to date been mainly explored using more traditional methodologies. The corpus stylistics approach has not prevented us from doing anything we would have done before (as our qualitative discussions of the texts in Chapter 8 has shown), but it has enabled us to find out a great deal more than we would otherwise have been able to do. That said, the kind of corpus-based work we have done involves a considerable amount of time and resources, and can only be realistically undertaken if financial support is available. We have

also been left with a certain amount of frustration that, in spite of all the time we (and others) have devoted to it, our corpus still contains mistakes and inconsistencies, which, in an ideal world, we should correct. However, the time this would take would be disproportionate to the benefits we would achieve, and so we have decided to live with a less-than-perfect corpus, at least for the time being.

Our work with the corpus has also prompted another important observation. Corpus linguistics is sometimes criticized on the grounds that any corpus, however large, is always finite, and can therefore only provide a limited view of the (part of) the language that it is supposed to represent. This is true, of course, particularly when a corpus is as small as ours. However, we have repeatedly found that the analysis of our corpus brought to our attention issues and phenomena that had not come to light before we undertook the corpus work, and which we could then investigate further by looking beyond the corpus. This applies informally to all our categories and sub-categories, but has been particularly enlightening in two areas. The first is the issue to do with faithfulness in reporting. Here our corpus provided us with some interesting quantitative information and examples, but when we came to stating our position (in Short *et al.* 2002), we had to look beyond the corpus to a separate case study in order to find evidence for or against a particular view we had arrived at via our corpus-based work. Similarly, the doubts we expressed about the status of NI as a thought presentation category in 6.2.5 and 6.4 led us to look for further examples of minimal thought presentation outside the corpus, with consequences we will describe in the next section. Our point here is that it was the analysis of the corpus that showed us in each case what we needed to look for in order to test hypotheses we had arrived at from doing the corpus work itself, and where we might be able to find suitable additional data. To put it metaphorically, the corpus has turned out to be more of a springboard than a straitjacket.

## 9.2 Areas where further research is needed

Although we feel that the work we have reported in this book advances the study of SW&TP in a number of ways, we are acutely aware of the need for further work, both in order to shed more light on specific issues we have raised, and to compare our findings with those derived from other studies.

### *NI and the thought presentation scale*

The main unresolved issue that has arisen out of our discussion of the SW&TP categories is that of the status of our NI category. In 3.1.2, we explained how we introduced NI in order to be able to capture a range of



thought-like phenomena that were not captured by our existing thought presentation categories. In 6.2.5 and 6.4, however, we showed that the phenomena captured by our NI tag have turned out to be very different from those captured by other thought presentation categories, and that NI is also quite unlike the categories which lie at the non-direct ends of the speech presentation and writing presentation scales (i.e. NV and NW respectively). All this questions whether NI is best seen as a thought presentation category, to be placed to the left of NRTA(p) on the thought presentation scale, or rather as a sub-category of narration (N), outside the thought presentation scale.

During the analysis of our concordances for NRTA(p), we also began to see that there is an alternative way of capturing minimal thought reports, which would rescue, as it were, the parallelism between the non-direct end of the thought presentation scale and the non-direct ends of the other two scales. The most minimal instances of what we have tagged as NRTA include examples such as ‘... he came to a standstill, [...] the thought still forming’ (Somerset Maugham, *The Moon and Sixpence*, p. 49) and ‘I keep on thinking the same thing’ in example (9) in Chapter 3. These minimal references to the fact that thinking took place are more properly parallel than NI to instances of NV and NW such as, respectively, ‘She talked on’ (example (1) in Chapter 3), and instances of NW such as ‘He wrote to me frequently’ (example (1) in Chapter 5). In our tagging of the corpus, examples like ‘I reflected for a minute or two’ were included under NRTA(p) partly because they were so rare that we did not feel the need to create a category for them (there are only a handful such examples in the whole corpus), and partly because it can be argued that ‘reflected’ indicates a specific kind of ‘thought act’. We also included the reference to ‘the thought still forming’ under NRTA since, as we explained in 3.1.4, it seemed to make little sense to add a new category to our tagset for the sake of just one or two examples.

However, in our subsequent readings and analyses of fiction in particular, we kept a look-out for thought presentation examples which were directly parallel to NV and NW on the other two presentational scales, and we have found that they may in fact be more frequent in some texts than our corpus suggests. Consider the emboldened parts of the examples below, from contemporary novels:

- (1) The strands of my muscles uncoil **and my thoughts unravel**.  
(K. Nagarkar, *Cuckold*, p. 14)

- (2) I stood there looking at the motionless, colourless lake **and thought and wondered**.  
(Raymond Chandler, *The Big Sleep and Other Novels*, p. 526)

- (3) It got darker. **I thought; and thought in my mind moved with a kind of sluggish stealthiness, as if it was being watched by bitter and sadistic eyes.** [...]

**I thought of lots of things.**

(Raymond Chandler, *The Big Sleep and Other Novels*, p. 329)

On the basis of examples such as these, it would be possible to introduce a new category capturing minimal references to thinking taking place, which could be positioned in correspondence with NV and NW at the left-most end of the thought presentation scale and be labelled as Narrator's Representation of Thought (NT). It could then be alternatively argued that NI is either (i) an extra category, to be found only on the thought presentation scale, or (ii) not part of the thought presentation scale at all, but simply part of narration (as is indeed suggested by the name we have chosen for this category). Toolan (2001) opts for this latter solution when he includes under what he calls 'Pure Narrative' all references to internal activities that characters are not consciously aware of, as well as all 'reports of mental and verbal activity which do not purport to be a character's articulated speech or thought' (Toolan 2001: 199).

The establishment of an NT category and moving NI out of the thought presentation scale would have two main advantages. First, it would make the thought presentation scale more internally coherent, by eliminating the discrepancy we noted in 6.4 between NI on the one hand and the other thought presentation categories on the other. Second, it would establish a better correspondence among the non-direct ends of the three SW&TP scales. There are also some disadvantages, however. Establishing the boundary between what we have provisionally called NT and NRTA(p) may be rather problematic, because, as far as thought presentation is concerned, we cannot easily use the specification of illocutionary force as a criterion for the scope of NRTA(p), as we can normally do for NRSA(p) and NRWA(p). Also, moving the phenomena captured by our NI category out of the thought presentation scale disregards the fact that they can also involve, or presuppose, cognitive activities that can be seen as thought. Hence, if we are told that a character 'was overwhelmed by a feeling of despair when he saw the grisly scene', it would appear that the mind state described involved reactive cognitive processing which can be seen as thought-like. Indeed, any straightforward mind state that might be referred to (e.g. 'She was happy') must have come about as a consequence of whatever the previous mind state of the character was, and could well have involved cognitive processing of some sort. In other words, because thought is fundamentally different from speech and writing, the phenomena that lie at the borderline between thought presentation and narration are more varied, complex and difficult to tie down than is the case for speech and writing presentation. Thus it is difficult to draw a sure line between narration and thought presentation. In

her account of different modes for representing consciousness in fiction, Cohn (1978), for example, includes the phenomena we capture by means of NI, NRTA(p) and IT under the general label of 'psychonarration', and proposes a scale consisting of psychonarration, narrated monologue (our FIT), and quoted monologue (our (F)DT).

Ultimately, more research is needed on a wider and more varied set of data to determine whether it is appropriate to introduce a new category for examples such as (1), (2) and (3) above, which in our corpus were tagged as NRTA, and whether what we have tagged as NI is best seen as narration, thought presentation, or a combination of the two (if it is possible, for example, to sub-divide what we call NI in some sensible way).

More generally, further work needs to be carried out on the similarities and differences among the three presentational scales. As we noted in Chapter 5, speech and writing presentation differ in a number of respects, but are generally parallel in terms of the forms and functions of individual categories. However, we have discerned a more marked contrast in use and effects between the thought presentation categories on the one hand and the speech and writing presentation categories on the other. In particular, Leech and Short (1981) and others have already pointed out that FIS and FIT have radically different effects in fiction: the former is typically used to distance the reader from the speech presented, sometimes for ironic purposes, whereas the latter usually suggests that the reader is 'inside the head' of the thinker, witnessing closely the presented thoughts as they are evoked. Similarly, although discourse presentation categories like NRSA and NRWA can often be used to present what, in context, are clearly summaries of what was said or written, the notion of summary does not straightforwardly apply to thought presentation, partly because there is never an observable original which a reporter can summarize from. We have also pointed out how some reporting verbs that are prototypically associated with speech (e.g. 'say', 'tell', 'ask') can be used for writing presentation and, to a lesser extent, thought presentation. The patterns we have noted could be usefully compared with the findings of other studies focusing on different genres from the ones we have analysed. We are currently exploring in more detail the ways in which the three presentational scales are similar and different from one another, and hope to present some suggestions for consideration in the near future.

### *Going beyond our corpus*

The work presented in this book is only a start in the corpus-based exploration of SW&TP. There is clearly need for further work in order to test and complement our findings. More specifically, similar work could be carried out on other written text-types in English (e.g. children's fiction, academic writing), on spoken as opposed to written data, and on

languages other than British English. At the time of writing we are involved in the construction and SW&TP annotation of a corpus of spoken British English which is parallel to the written corpus discussed in this book.<sup>2</sup> We would welcome contact from any scholars who would be interested in taking further any aspect of our work, and we are happy to make our corpora available to those who wish to collaborate with us in the corpus-based exploration of SW&TP.

## Notes

- 1 It is nevertheless the case that, in spite of our efforts to make our coding decisions as explicit and precise as possible, much of the contextual and pragmatic inferencing we will have been involved in will have been subconscious, and so hidden from view.
- 2 This new project is funded by the UK *Arts and Humanities Research Board* (Grant no. B/B/RG/AN2314/APN12482).

# Appendix 1

## List of texts sampled

### Fiction

#### *Serious fiction*

- Amis, M. (1984) *Money*, London: Penguin.
- Atkinson, K. (1984) *Behind the Scenes at the Museum*, London: Penguin.
- Ballard, J. G. (1984) *Empire of the Sun*, London: Panther.
- Barnes, J. (1989) *A History of the World in 10½ Chapters*, London: Picador.
- Byatt, A. S. (1991) *Possession*, London: Vintage.
- Carter, A. (1967) *The Magic Toyshop*, London: Heinemann.
- Chandler, R. (1993) *The Big Sleep and Other Novels*, London: Penguin.
- Drabble, M. (1969) *Jerusalem the Golden*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Fowles, J. (1963) *The Collector*, London: Vintage.
- Gardam, J. (1992) *Queen of the Tambourine*, London: Abacus.
- Golding, W. (1980) *Rites of Passage*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Greene, G. (1943) *Brighton Rock*, London: Penguin.
- Huxley, A. (1928) *Point Counter Point*, London: Chatto & Windus.
- Lawrence, D. H. (1955) 'Tickets please', in *The Complete Short Stories* (Vol. II), London: Heinemann, pp. 334–46.
- Lessing, D. (1974) *The Memoirs of a Survivor*, London: Octagon.
- Lowry, M. (1969) 'Gin and Goldenrod', in *Hear us O Lord from Heaven thy Dwelling Place*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Maugham, S. (1935) *The Moon and Sixpence*, London: Heinemann.
- Murdoch, I. (1961) *A Severed Head*, London: Chatto & Windus.
- Nagarkar, K. (1997) *Cuckold*, New Delhi: HarperCollins.
- Rushdie, S. (1995) *The Moor's Last Sigh*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Wells, H. G. (1953) *Tono-Bungay*, London: Collins.
- Woolf, V. (1919) *Night and Day*, London: The Hogarth Press.

{NB: Two of the above texts (Chandler 1993 and Nagarkar 1997) were not part of our corpus but are referred to in 9.2}

#### *Popular fiction*

- Adler, E. (1986) *Peach*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Bow, J. (1991) *Jane's Journey*, Hove, Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd.

- Burley, W. J. (1978) *Wycliffe and the Scapegoat*, London: Gollancz.
- Conran, S. (1982) *Lace*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cookson, C. (1984) *Hamilton*, London: Heinemann.
- Dibdin, M. (1991) *Dirty Tricks*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Francis, D. (1988) *The Edge*, London: Michael Joseph.
- Higgins, J. (1991) *The Eagle Has Flown*, London: Pan.
- Holt, V. (1991) *Daughter of Deceit*, London: HarperCollins.
- Lewis, T. (1992) *Get Carter*, London: Allison & Busby.
- MacLean, A. (1986) *Santorini*, London: Collins.
- McDermid, V. (1992) *Dead Beat*, London: Gollancz.
- McDowell, C. (1991) *A Woman of Style*, London: Century Group.
- Maitland, S. (1990) *Three Times Table*, London: Chatto & Windus.
- Nabb, M. (1989) *Death in Springtime*, London: Fontana.
- Peters, E. (1992) *The Holy Thief: The Nineteenth Chronicle of Brother Cadfael*, London: Headline.
- Seymour, G. (1992) *Archangel*, London: Fontana.
- Smith, W. (1987) *The Eye of the Tiger*, London: Heinemann.
- Taylor, A. (1986) *The Raven on the Water*, London: HarperCollins.
- Thomson, R. (1991) *The Five Gates of Hell*, London: Bloomsbury.

### **(Auto)biography**

#### *Serious (auto)biography*

- Ackroyd, P. (1984) *T. S. Eliot*, London: Hamilton.
- Adams, J. (1992) *Tony Benn*, London: Macmillan.
- Baker, K. (1993) *The Turbulent Years*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Bragg, M. (1988) *Rich – The Life of Richard Burton*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Callow, S. (1990) *Vincent Van Gogh – A Life*, London: Allison & Busby.
- Carpenter, H. (1983) *W. H. Auden*, London: Unwin.
- Critchley, J. (1995) *A Bag of Boiled Sweets*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Glasser, R. (1986) *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, London: Chatto and Windus.
- Hodges, A. (1983) *Alan Turing: The Enigma of Intelligence*, London: Unwin.
- Isherwood, C. (1980) *My Guru and His Disciple*, London: Magnum.
- Kennedy, L. (1989) *On My Way to the Club: The Autobiography of Ludovic Kennedy*, London: Collins.
- Lee, L. (1969) *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning*, London: André Deutsch.
- Ponting, C. (1994) *Churchill*, London: Sinclair-Stevenson.
- Rose, J. (1990) *Modigliani: The Pure Bohemian*, London: Constable.
- Sherry, N. (1989) *The Life of Graham Greene*, London: Penguin.
- Spark, M. (1992) *Curriculum Vitae*, London: Constable.
- Stalker, J. (1988) *Stalker*, London: Harrap.
- Thatcher, M. (1993) *The Downing Street Years*, London: HarperCollins.
- Wilson, A. N. (1990) *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, London: Collins.
- Worsthorne, P. (1993) *Tricks of Memory. An Autobiography: Peregrine Worsthorne*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

***Popular (auto)biography***

- Bannister, J. (1994) *Lara: The Story of a Record-breaking Year*, London: Stanley Paul  
 Beck, S. (1995) *Queen of the Street: The Amazing Life of Julie Goodyear*, London: Blake.  
 Bergan, R. (1991) *Dustin Hoffman*, London: Virgin.  
 Black, C. (1985) *Step Inside*, London: Dent.  
 Caine, M. (1992) *What's It All About?*, London: Century.  
 Cherrington, J. (1993) *On the Smell of an Oily Rag: My Fifty Years in Farming*, Ipswich: John Farming Press Books.  
 Christie, L. (with Ward, T.) (1989) *Linford Christie: An Autobiography*, London: Paul.  
 Dimpleby, J. (1994) *The Prince of Wales: A Biography*, London: Little, Brown.  
 Dorman, L. S. and Rawlins, C. L. (1990) *Leonard Cohen: Prophet of the Heart*, London: Omnibus.  
 Henry, A. (1994) *From Zero to Hero: Damon Hill*, Yeovil: Patrick Stephens Limited.  
 Juby, K. (ed.) (1986) *In Other Words – David Bowie*, London: Omnibus Press.  
 Miller, J. (with Brown, J.) (1989) *Former Soldier Seeks Employment*, London: Macmillan.  
 Milligan, S. (1976) *Monty – His Part in My Victory*, London: Penguin.  
 Morton, A. (1993) *Diana: Her True Story*, London: O'Mara.  
 Phoenix, P. (1983) *Love, Curiosity, Freckles and Doubt*, London: Arlington Books.  
 Smith, J. (1988) *The Benny Hill Story*, London: W. H. Allen.  
 Stokes, D. (with Dearsley, L.) (1987) *Joyful Voices*, London: Macdonald.  
 Stone, S. (1990) *Kylie Minogue: The Superstar Next Door*, London: Omnibus.  
 Whitbread, F. (with Blue, A.) (1988) *Fatima*, London: Pelham Books.  
 Windsor, B. (with Flory, J.) (1990) *Barbara: The Laughter and Tears of a Cockney Sparrow*, London: Century.

**Newspapers**

***Broadsheets (serious newspapers)***

*Daily Telegraph*  
*Guardian*  
*Independent*  
*Independent on Sunday*  
*Observer*  
*The Times*

***Tabloids (popular newspapers)***

*Daily Express*  
*Daily Mirror*  
*News of the World*  
*Daily Star*  
*Sun*

*Today* (1994 samples only, because it ceased publication before the 1996 sample was taken)

# Appendix 2

## The SW&TP tagset

### The main SW&TP tags in alphabetical order

(NB: Below we list the main SW&TP tags in alphabetical order for ease of reference. Consequently, the tags are not presented in the same order as they appear on the three SW&TP scales)

DS	Direct Speech
DT	Direct Thought
DW	Direct Writing
FDS	Free Direct Speech
FDT	Free Direct Thought
FDW	Free Direct Writing
FIS	Free Indirect Speech
FIT	Free Indirect Thought
FIW	Free Indirect Writing
IS	Indirect Speech
IT	Indirect Thought
IW	Indirect Writing
N	Narrative
NI	Internal Narration
NRS	Narrator's Report of Speech
NRSA	Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts
NRT	Narrator's Report of Thought
NRTA	Narrator's Representation of Thought Act
NRW	Narrator's Report of Writing
NRWA	Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts
NV	Narrator's Representation of Voice
NW	Narrator's Representation of Writing



**Affixes (in alphabetical order):**

- e    embedded
- h    hypothetical
- i    inferred
- p    with topic
- q    with quote

## Appendix 3

### Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Indirect Speech presentation

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
acknowledge		•	
add		•	•
admit		•	•
advise		•	•
agree	•	•	•
announce		•	•
appeal		•	
argue		•	•
ask	•	•	•
assert			•
assure	•	•	•
be			•
beg	•		
call		•	
claim	•	•	•
complain		•	
concede		•	
confess		•	•
confirm		•	•
convince			•
decide			•
declare	•	•	•
demand		•	•
deny		•	•
disclose		•	
emphasize		•	•
enquire			•
estimate		•	
exhort	•		
explain		•	•
express			•
hear			•
hint		•	•
imply	•		•

*continued*

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
indicate		•	
inform	•		•
insist		•	•
instruct	•		
invite			•
learn		•	•
maintain	•		•
mention			•
murmur			•
note		•	•
offer		•	•
order	•	•	•
persuade		•	•
plead			•
point out	•	•	•
pray		•	
predict			•
press			•
prevail	•		
proclaim			•
profess	•		•
promise	•		•
question		•	
radio		•	
reaffirm		•	
recall			•
reel off			•
refuse		•	
relate	•		
remember			•
remind	•		
repeat			•
reply	•		•
report		•	•
request		•	
reveal		•	
say	•	•	•
shout		•	•
signal		•	
specify		•	
spell out		•	
stress		•	•
suggest	•	•	•
swear			•
telephone			•
tell	•	•	•
think		•	
threaten	•	•	
urge		•	•
vow		•	
warn	•	•	
yell		•	

# Appendix 4

## Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Direct Speech presentation

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
add	•	•	•
admit	•	•	•
announce	•		
answer	•	•	•
argue		•	
ask	•	•	•
assure	•		
bark	•		
beg	•		
begin	•	•	
bellow	•		
blurt out		•	
call	•		
carol		•	
chip in		•	
chuckle			•
comment		•	•
complain	•		
concede	•	•	
conclude		•	
confess		•	•
confirm		•	
continue	•	•	
coo	•		
cough	•		
croon	•		
cry	•		•
cry out			•
declare		•	
demand	•		
disclose		•	
echo	•	•	
emphasize		•	
exclaim	•		

*continued*

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
explain	•	•	•
gasp	•		
go on	•	•	
growl			•
grumble	•	•	
hazard	•		
hesitate	•		
hit		•	
hum	•		
inform	•		
insist	•	•	•
interrupt	•	•	
intone			•
joke		•	
laugh	•		
moan			•
murmur			•
mutter	•	•	•
observe			•
order		•	
plead			•
pledge		•	
point out		•	
promise	•	•	
pronounce	•		•
protest	•		•
question		•	
quote	•	•	
rage		•	
rap		•	
read		•	
recall	•	•	•
reflect			•
remark	•	•	•
repeat	•	•	•
reply	•		•
respond	•		
retort	•		
reveal		•	
say	•	•	•
scold	•		
scream	•	•	
shout	•	•	•
snap	•		
snarl		•	
snort	•		•
speak	•		
splutter	•		
squawk	•		

*continued*

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
state		•	•
stress		•	
suggest	•		•
tell	•	•	•
thunder		•	
urge		•	
wail	•		
warn	•		•
whisper	•		•
yell	•	•	•

# Appendix 5

## Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Indirect Writing presentation

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
advise		•	
ask			•
be	•		
claim			•
explain			•
find		•	•
insist			•
protest		•	
recommend			•
reply			•
report			•
reveal		•	
say	•	•	•
show		•	•
suggest		•	•
tell			•
urge		•	
warn		•	•

# Appendix 6

Alphabetical list of reporting verbs  
for Direct Writing presentation

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
add			•
argue			•
comment			•
end			•
find		•	
go			•
quote	•		
read		•	•
record			•
say	•	•	•
suggest		•	
write	•	•	•



# Appendix 7

Alphabetical list of reporting verbs  
for Direct Thought presentation

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
ask	•		
muse	•		
say			•
tell			•
think	•	•	•

# Appendix 8

## Alphabetical list of reporting verbs for Indirect Thought presentation

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Fiction</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>(Auto)biography</i>
admit	•		
ask	•		
believe	•	•	
calculate	•		
concede	•		
decide	•		
fear	•		
feel	•		•
find	•		
gather	•		
guess	•		
hope	•		
know	•	•	
note	•		
notice	•		
persuade			•
realize	•	•	•
recall	•		
remember	•		•
remind	•		
resolve			•
see	•		
seem	•		
suppose	•		
suspect	•		•
tell	•		•
think	•	•	•
understand	•		
wish	•		•
wonder	•		

# Bibliography

- Adamson, S. (2001) 'The rise and fall of empathetic narrative', in van Peer, W. and Chatman, S. (eds) *New Perspectives on Narrative Perspective*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 83–99.
- Allen, R. (1994) *The Presentation of Speech and Thought in Popular Fiction*, unpublished MA dissertation, Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language, Lancaster University.
- Bally, C. (1912a) 'Le style indirect libre en Français moderne I', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 4: 549–56.
- (1912b) 'Le style indirect libre en Français moderne II', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 4: 597–606.
- Banfield, A. (1982) *Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in the Language of Fiction*, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bell, A. (1991) *The Language of News Media*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Biber, D. (1988) *Variation Across Speech and Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1990) 'Methodological issues regarding corpus-based analyses of linguistic variation', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 5(1): 257–69.
- (1993) 'Representativeness in corpus design', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 8(4): 243–58.
- , Conrad, S. and Reppen, R. (1998) *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , Johansson, S., Leech, G. N., Conrad, S. and Finnegan, E. (1999) *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, London: Longman.
- Borsley, R. D. and Ingham, R. (2002) 'Grow your own linguistics? On some applied linguists' views of the subject', *Lingua* 112: 1–6.
- Bray, J. (2002) 'Embedded quotations in eighteenth-century fiction: journalism and the early novel', *Journal of Literary Semantics* 31: 61–75.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. (1994) 'On reporting reporting: the representation of speech in factual and factional narratives', in Coulthard, M. (ed.) *Advances in Written Text Analysis*, London: Routledge, pp. 295–308.
- Carroll, N. (2001) 'On the narrative connection', in van Peer, W. and Chatman, S. (eds) *New Perspectives on Narrative Perspective*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 21–41.
- Chatman, S. (2001) 'Ironic perspective: Conrad's *Secret Agent*', in van Peer, W. and

- Chatman, S. (eds) *New Perspectives on Narrative Perspective*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 117–31.
- Clark, H. H. and Gerrig, R. J. (1990) 'Quotation as demonstration', *Language* 66: 784–805.
- Cohn, D. (1978) *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Coleridge, Samuel T. (1817) *Biographia Literaria* (edited 1975 by George Watson), London: Dent.
- Collins, D. (2001) *Reanimated Voices: Speech Reporting in a Historical-Pragmatic Perspective*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Coulmas, F. (ed.) (1986) *Direct and Indirect Speech*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Davis, L. J. (1983) *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- de Haan, P. (1996) 'More on the language of dialogue in fiction', *ICAME Journal* 20:23–40.
- Dodgson, M. (1995) 'Computer recognition of speech presentation in text', unpublished BSc project report, Computing Department, Lancaster University.
- Eysenck, M. W. and Keane, M. T. (2000) *Cognitive Psychology: A Student's Textbook*, Hove: Psychology Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1988) 'Discourse representation in media discourse', *Sociolinguistics* 17: 125–39.
- (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*, London: Polity Press.
- Fillmore, C. (1992) "Corpus linguistics" or "computer-aided armchair linguistics", in Svartvik, J. (ed.) *Directions in Corpus Linguistics*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 35–60.
- Fludernik, M. (1993) *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Fowler, R. (1986) *Linguistic Criticism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garside, R., Leech, G. N. and McEnery, A. (eds) (1987) *Corpus Annotation*, London: Longman
- Goatly, A. (1997) *The Language of Metaphors*, London: Routledge.
- Gold, V. R., Hoyt, T. L. Jr, Ringe, S. H., Brooks Thistlethwaite, S., Throckmorton, B. H. Jr and Withers, B. A. (eds) (1995) *The New Testament and Psalms: An Inclusive Version*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grice, H. P. (1975) 'Logic and conversation', in Cole, P. and Morgan, J. (eds) *Syntax and Semantics III: Speech Acts*, New York: Academic Press, pp. 41–58.
- Guadagnin, M. (1994) *A Corpus-based Analysis of Speech and Thought Presentation Categories in 20th Century British Prose Fiction*, unpublished MA dissertation, Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language, Lancaster University.
- Haberland, H. (1986) 'Reported speech in Danish', in Coulmas, F. (ed.) *Direct and Indirect Speech*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 219–53.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1991) 'Corpus studies and probabilistic grammar', in Aijmer, K. and Altenberg, B. (eds) *English Corpus Linguistics*, London and New York: Longman, pp. 30–43.
- (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edition), London: Edward Arnold.
- Hamburger, K. (1973) *The Logic of Literature* (translated by M. J. Rose), Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Herman, D. (1994) 'Hypothetical focalization', *Narrative* 2(3): 230–53.

- Hickmann, M. (1993) 'The boundaries of reported speech in narrative discourse: some developmental aspects', in Lucy, J. A. (ed.) *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 63–90.
- Huddleston, R. and Pullum, G. (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2000) *Metaphor and Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- (1999) *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York: Basic Books.
- Leech, G. N. and Short, M. H. (1981) *Style in Fiction*, London: Longman.
- Leech, G. N., McEnery, A. and Wynne, M. (1997) 'Further levels of annotation', in Garside, R., Leech, G. N. and McEnery, A. (eds) *Corpus Annotation*, London: Longman, pp. 85–101.
- Levinson, S. C. (1979) 'Activity types in language', *Linguistics*, 17(5/6): 365–99.
- Linnell, P. (1982) *The Written Language Bias in Linguistics*, Linköping: University of Linköping Press.
- Louw, B. (1997) 'The role of corpora in critical literary appreciation', in Wichmann, A., Fligelstone, S., McEnery, T. and Knowles, G. (eds) *Teaching and Language Corpora*, London and New York: Longman, pp. 240–52.
- Lucy, J. A. (1993) *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McEnery, T. and Wilson, A. (1996) *Corpus Linguistics*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McHale, B. (1978) 'Free indirect discourse: a survey of recent accounts', *Poetics and Theory of Literature (PTL)* 3: 249–87.
- McKenzie, M. (1987) 'Free indirect speech in a fettered insecure society', *Language and Communication* 7, 2: 153–9.
- Myers, G. (1999) 'Functions of reported speech in group discussions', *Applied Linguistics* 20(3): 376–401.
- Nash, W. (1990) *Language in Popular Fiction*, London: Routledge.
- Oostdijk, N. (1990) 'The language of dialogue in fiction', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 5, 3: 235–41.
- Page, N. (1973) *Speech in the English Novel*, London: Longman.
- Pascal, R. (1977) *The Dual Voice: Free Indirect Speech and its Functioning in the Nineteenth Century European Novel*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Person, R. (1999) *Structure and Meaning in Conversation and Literature*, Lanham, Maryland, New York and Oxford: University Press of America.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, London: Longman.
- Radway, J. (1984) *A Phenomenological Theory of Popular and Elite Literature*, unpublished PhD thesis, Michigan University.
- Rimmon-Kenan, S. (1983) *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, London: Methuen.
- Roeh, I. and Nir, R. (1990) 'Speech presentation in the Israel radio news: Ideological constraints and rhetorical strategies', *Text* 10(3): 225–44.
- Sampson, G. (1995) *English for the Computer: The SUSANNE Corpus and Analytic Scheme*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- (1996) 'From central embedding to corpus linguistics', in Thomas, J. and

- Short, M. (eds) *Using Corpora for Language Research: Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Leech*, London: Longman, pp. 14–26.
- (2001) *Empirical Linguistics*, London and New York: Continuum.
- Schuelke, G. L. (1958) “Slipping” in indirect discourse’, *American Speech* 33: 90–98.
- Scott, M. (1996) *Wordsmith Tools*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Searle, J. R. (1969) *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Semino, E. (2001) ‘Stylistics and linguistic variation in poetry’, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 30(1): 28–50.
- , Short, M. and Culpeper, J. (1997) ‘Using a computer corpus to test a model of speech and thought presentation’, *Poetics* 25: 17–43.
- , Short, M. and Wynne, M. (1999) ‘Hypothetical words and thoughts in contemporary British narratives’, *Narrative* 7(3): 307–34.
- Short, M. (1988) ‘Speech presentation, the novel and the press’, in van Peer, W. (ed.) *The Taming of The Text*, London: Routledge, pp. 61–81.
- (1994) ‘Understanding texts: point of view’, in Brown, G., Malmkjaer, K., Pollitt, A. and Williams, J. (eds) (1994) *Language and Understanding*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 170–90.
- (1996) *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*, London: Longman.
- (2003) ‘A corpus-based approach to speech, thought and writing presentation’, in Wilson, A., Rayson, P. and McEnery, T. (eds) *Corpus Linguistics by the Lune: A Festschrift for Geoffrey Leech*, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.
- , Semino, E. and Culpeper, J. (1996) ‘Using a corpus for stylistics research: speech and thought presentation’, in Thomas, J. and Short, M. (eds) *Using Corpora in Language Research*, London: Longman, pp. 110–31.
- , Wynne, M. and Semino, E. (1999) ‘Reading reports: discourse presentation in a corpus of narratives, with special reference to news reports’, in Diller, H.-J. and Stratmann, E. O.-G. (eds) *English via Various Media*, Heidelberg: Winter, pp. 39–65.
- , Semino, E. and Wynne, M. (2002) ‘Revisiting the notion of faithfulness in discourse presentation using a corpus approach’, *Language and Literature* 11(4): 325–55.
- Simpson, P. (1993) *Language, Ideology and Point of View*, London: Routledge.
- Slembrouck, S. (1992) ‘The parliamentary Hansard “verbatim” report: the written construction of spoken discourse’, *Language and Literature* 1(2): 101–19.
- Späth, E. (1987) ‘Das private und das öffentliche tagebuch: zum verhältnis von fiktion und journalismus in Englischen roman’, *Poetica* 19(1–2): 32–55.
- Sternberg, M. (1982a) ‘Proteus in quotation-land: mimesis and the forms of reported speech’, *Poetics Today*, 3(2): 107–56.
- (1982b) ‘Point of view and the indirections of direct speech’, *Language and Style*, 15(2): 67–117.
- Stubbs, M. (1996) *Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-assisted Studies of Language and Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- (2002) ‘On text and corpus analysis: a reply to Borsley and Ingham’, *Lingua* 112: 7–11.
- Taavitsainen, I. (1994) ‘Subjectivity as a text-type marker in historical stylistics’, *Language and Literature* 3(3): 197–212.
- Tannen, D. (1989) *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Thomas, J. (1995) *Meaning in Interaction*, London: Longman.
- Thompson, G. (1994) *Reporting: Collins Cobuild English Guides 5*, London: Harper-Collins.
- (1996) 'Voices in the text: discourse perspectives on language reports', *Applied Linguistics* 17(4): 501–30.
- Toolan, M. (1988) *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction*, London: Routledge.
- (2001) *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (2nd edn), London: Routledge.
- van Peer, W. (1986) 'Pulp and purpose: stylistic analysis as an aid to a theory of texts', in T. D'Haen (ed.) *Linguistics and the Study of Literature*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 268–86.
- and Chatman, S. (2001) *New Perspectives on Narrative Perspective*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Volosinov, V. N. (1973) *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, New York: Seminar Press.
- Waugh, L. (1995) 'Reported speech in journalistic discourse: The relation of function and text', *Text* 15(1): 129–73.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2000) 'On the limitations of linguistics applied', *Applied Linguistics* 21(1): 3–25.
- Wooffitt, R. (2001) 'Raising the dead: reported speech in medium-sitter interaction', *Discourse Studies* 3(3): 351–74.
- Wynne, M., Short, M. and Semino, E. (1998) 'A corpus-based investigation of speech, thought and writing presentation in English narrative texts', in Renouf, A. (ed.) *Explorations in Corpus Linguistics*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 231–45.

# Index

Figures and tables are indicated by *italics*. **Bold** indicates main reference.

- Adamson, S. 83  
 Allen, R. 21  
 ambiguities **182–98**; adjacent categories 190–7; frequency 60, 183, *184*; fuzzy boundaries 182–3; non-adjacent categories 185–90; portmanteau tags 32–3  
 annotations 5, 15–16, 26–39  
 (auto)biography section: ambiguity 189; corpus 21; (F)DS 95–6; (F)DT 120; (F)DW 108–9, 111; FIS 87–8; FIW 107–8; hypothetical SW&TP 169–71; IS 78, 79; IW 105; N-FDT 188; NI 134; Nli 137–9, 141–2; NRSA(p) 75, 77; NRTA(p) 132; NRWA(p) 105; NV 72; NW 102–3; portmanteau tags 183, *184*; quotation phenomena (q) 154; speech presentation categories 150–1; summary 225–6; text selection 24; thought presentation 62, 151–2; writing presentation 62–3, 99, 151  
 autobiography sub-section: (F)DT 120; inferred thought presentation *139*; IS 81; NI 134; text selection 24; thought presentation 62 *see also* (auto)biography section  
 Bally, C. 3  
 Banfield, A. 3, 20, 36, 82, 83, 123  
 belief systems: case study (*Joyful Voices*) 203–6  
 Bell, A. 20–1, 61, 63, 89–90, 93, 94, 110, 118  
 Biber, D. 8, 20, 22, 25–6, 58, 84, 159  
 biography case study: *Joyful Voices* (Doris Stokes) 202–10  
 biography sub-section: inferred thought presentation *139*; Nli 138–9; text selection 24; thought presentation 62; writing presentation 62–3 *see also* (auto)biography section  
 Borsley, R. D. 8  
 boundaries: adjacent categories 190–7; fuzzy 182–3, 197–8  
 Bray, J. 217  
*British National Corpus* (BNC) 22–3  
 Brown, P. 163  
 Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. 3, 21, 36, 81  
 Carroll, N. 20  
 case studies: *Joyful Voices* (Doris Stokes) 202–10; ‘PC Bible’ stories 210–21  
 ‘cat’ attribute: SW&TP tag 29–30  
 category identification 27  
 Chatman, S. 20, 47  
 Clark, H. H. 54, 154  
 COBUILD Bank of English corpus 17  
 cognitive metaphor theory 129  
 Cohn, D. 4, 9, 47, 61, 118, 119, 123, 128–9, 135–6, 147, 230  
 Coleridge, Samuel T. 206  
 Collins, D. 3  
 ‘coloured narration’ 55  
 corpus: (auto)biography 21; main sections 19–20; news report 20–1; popular–serious texts 21–2; prose fiction 20; size 25; source texts 22–4  
 corpus-based approach 4–8, 226–7  
 ‘corpus linguistic wars’ 7–8  
 Coulmas, F. 3  
 Davis, L. J. 217



- Dearsley, Linda (*Joyful Voices*):  
 co-author 203  
 de Haan, P. 17  
 diegetic summary 44  
 direct forms: ambiguities 194–7  
 direct speech (DS) *see* DS (direct speech)  
 direct thought (DT) *see* DT (direct thought)  
 direct writing (DW) *see* DW (direct writing)  
 discoursal embedding 33–5, 171–82  
 discourse news 211, 215  
 discourse presentation: scales 11–16; terminology 2  
 discourse representation 47–8  
 Dodgson, M. 27, 224  
 DS (direct speech) 9–10, 31–2; case study ('PC Bible' story) 217; (F)DS 12, 67, 68, **88–96**; DS-FDS ambiguity 194–7; faithfulness 219–21; new scale 49; verbs 96  
 DT (direct thought) 15, 30, 50; (F)DT 114–16, **118–20**; length 122; occurrences 115, 121; pure 117  
 DTi (inferred direct thought) 138  
 DW (direct writing) 31; case study ('PC Bible' story) 217; faithfulness 219–21; (F)DW **108–12**; occurrences 100, 112; word length 101  
  
 'e' (embedded) suffix *see* embedded ('e') suffix  
 electronic corpora 6–7  
 embedded ('e') suffix 171–82  
 embedded Nli (embedded inferred internal narration) 136–7  
 embedded quotations *see* quotation phenomena (q)  
 embedded speech presentation 175, 176, 177  
 embedded SW&TP 33–5; discoursal 171–82; distribution 175–82; levels 172–4  
 embedded thought presentation 175, 178, 179  
 embedded writing presentation 175, 177  
 Eysenck, M. W. 133  
  
 Fairclough, N. 3, 47  
 faithfulness: case study ('PC Bible' story) 212, 219–21; corpus analysis 227; (F)DS 12; hypothetical SW&TP 166–71; in reporting 89  
 (F)DS ((free) direct speech) 12, **88–96**; occurrences 67; word length 68  
 FDS (free direct speech) 30; DS-FDS ambiguity 194–7 *see also* (F)DS ((free) direct speech)  
 (F)DT ((free) direct thought) 116, **118–20**; length 122; occurrences 115, 121; pure 117  
 FDT (free direct thought) 30 *see also* (F)DT ((free) direct thought)  
 FDTi (inferred free direct thought) 137, 138, 143  
 (F)DW ((free) direct writing) **108–12**; occurrences 100; word length 101  
 FDW (free direct writing) 31; occurrences 112 *see also* (F)DW ((free) direct writing)  
 fiction section: corpus 20; (F)DS 90–3; (F)DT 118–19; (F)DW 109–10; FIS 83–6; FIT 123–6; FIW 108; hypothetical SW&TP 169–71; IS 79–81; N-FDT 188; NI 134; Nii 137–8, 139, 142–3; NRSA 75; NRTA(p) 132; NV 70–2; portmanteau tags 183, 184; quotation phenomena (q) 154–7; speech presentation 61, 150–1; summary 225; text selection 22–3; thought presentation 61, 151–2; writing presentation 62, 151  
 Fillmore, C. 8  
 FIS (free indirect speech) 30, **82–8**; ambiguity 13–14; occurrences 67; word length 68  
 FISq (free indirect speech with quotation) 54  
 FIT (free indirect thought) 30, **123–6**; occurrences 115; pure thought presentation 117  
 FITi (inferred free indirect thought) 137, 139, 142–3  
 FIW (free indirect writing) 31, **107–8**; occurrences 100; word length 101  
 Fludernik, M. 3, 9, 20, 32, 55, 61, 78, 82, 83, 85, 89, 118, 123, 126, 136, 159, 160, 165, 167, 170, 182, 186, 193, 198, 220, 224; statistical analysis 4–5  
 Fowler, R. 3  
 framing clauses 36  
 free direct categories: distinctions 49–50  
 free direct forms: ambiguities 193–7

- free direct speech (FDS) *see* FDS (free direct speech)
- free direct thought (FDT) *see* FDT (free direct thought)
- free direct writing (FDW) *see* FDW (free direct writing)
- free indirect forms: ambiguities 192–4
- free indirect speech (FIS) *see* FIS (free indirect speech)
- free indirect speech with quotation (FISq) *see* FISq (free indirect speech with quotation)
- free indirect thought (FIT) *see* FIT (free indirect thought)
- free indirect writing (FIW) *see* FIW (free indirect writing)
- generalized corpora: debates 7–8
- Gerrig, R. J. 54, 154
- Gold, Victor Roland (*The New Testament and Psalms*) 211
- Grice, H. P. 205, 220
- Guadagnin, M. 21
- Haberland, H. 160
- Halliday, M. A. K. 36, 37, 78, 82, 89, 95, 124, 127
- Hamburger, K. 135
- 'hard news' 20–1
- headlines: case study ('PC Bible' story) 212–15; (F)DS 95
- Herman, D. 170
- 'h' (hypothetical) suffix *see* hypothetical ('h') suffix
- Hickmann, M. 136, 144
- Huddleston, R. 3
- hypothetical ('h') suffix 56–7, 159–60
- hypothetical SW&TP 159–71
- 'i' (inferred thought presentation) *see* inferred thought presentation ('i')
- incorporated quotations 54 *see also* quotation phenomena ('q')
- indirect speech (IS) *see* IS (indirect speech)
- indirect speech with quotation (ISq) *see* ISq (indirect speech with quotation)
- indirect thought (IT) *see* IT (indirect thought)
- indirect writing (IW) *see* IW (indirect writing)
- inferred direct thought (DTi) *see* DTi (inferred direct thought)
- inferred free direct thought (FDTi) *see* FDTi (inferred free direct thought)
- inferred free indirect thought (FITi) *see* FITi (inferred free indirect thought)
- inferred indirect thought (ITi) *see* ITi (inferred indirect thought)
- inferred internal narration (NIi) *see* NIi (inferred internal narration)
- inferred narrator's report of thought (NRTi) *see* NRTi (inferred narrator's report of thought)
- inferred narrator's representation of thought acts (NRTAi) *see* NRTAi (inferred narrator's representation of thought acts)
- inferred thought presentation ('i') 55–6, 116, 127, **135–47**
- Ingham, R. 8
- inquit* clauses 36
- internal narration (NI) *see* NI (internal narration)
- irony: FIS 13, 85
- IS (indirect speech) 30, **77–82**; occurrences 67; word length 68
- ISq (indirect speech with quotation) 54
- 'i' suffix *see* inferred thought presentation ('i')
- IT (indirect thought) 30, **127–9**; occurrences 115; pure thought presentation 117
- ITi (inferred indirect thought) 56, 137, 139, 140
- IW (indirect writing) 31, **105–6**; occurrences 100; word length 101
- Johnson, M. 129, 134, 148
- Joyful Voices* (Doris Stokes): case study 202–10
- Keane, M. T. 133
- Kövecses, Z. 134
- Lakoff, G. 129, 134, 148
- Larkin, Philip 7
- Leech and Short model 9–16, 222; modifications 42–57; NRTA 45–6; speech and thought presentation 3–4; writing presentation 47
- Leech, G. N. 3, 20, 75, 78, 82, 83, 86, 118, 119, 124, 127, 130, 186, 194
- legitimization strategies: case study (*Joyful Voices*) 206–10

Levinson, S. C. 70, 163

Linnell, P. 50

Louw, B. 7

Lucy, J. A. 3, 79

markup conventions 27–39

McEnery, T. 7–8, 58

McHale, B. 3, 9, 44, 55, 82, 83, 86, 123, 143

McKenzie, M. 3

Myers, G. 170

N (narration) **10**; ambiguities 185–9, 190–1; frequency 60

narration (N) *see* N (narration)

narration with quotation (Nq) *see* Nq (narration with quotation)

narrative: definition of 19–20 *see also* N (narration)

narrative report of speech acts (NRSA) *see* NRSA (narrative report of speech acts)

narrative report of thought acts (NRTA) *see* NRTA (narrative report of thought acts)

narrator's report of speech (NRS) *see*

NRS (narrator's report of speech)

narrator's report of thought (NRT) *see* NRT (narrator's report of thought)

narrator's report of writing (NRW) *see* NRW (narrator's report of writing)

narrator's representation of speech acts with topic (NRSAp) *see* NRSAp (narrator's representation of speech acts with topic)

narrator's representation of thought acts (with topic) (NRTA(p)) *see* NRTA(p) (narrator's representation of thought acts (with topic))

narrator's representation of voice (NV) *see* NV (narrator's representation of voice)

narrator's representation of writing (NW) *see* NW (narrator's representation of writing)

narrator's representation of writing acts (with topic) (NRWA(p)) *see* NRWA(p) (narrator's representation of writing acts (with topic))

Nash, W. 23, 39, 226

news case study: 'PC Bible' stories 210–21

newspaper headlines: (F)DS 95

newspapers: text selection 23–4 *see also* press section

news reporting: quotation phenomena (q) 154

news report section *see* press section

*New Testament and Psalms, The*: case study 211

NI (internal narration) 30, **132–5**, 148–9; new category 45–7; occurrences 115; pure 117

NIi (inferred internal narration) 56, **135–47**

Nijmegen corpus 17

Nir, R. 3

Nq (narration with quotation) 55

NRS (narrator's report of speech) 30, **35–6**

NRSA (narrative report of speech acts) 30 *see also* NRSA(p) (narrator's representation of speech acts (with topic))

NRSA(p) (narrator's representation of speech acts (with topic)) **73–7**; ambiguity 191–2; occurrences 67, 74; word length 68

NRSAp (narrator's representation of speech acts with topic) 73; new sub-category 52–3; occurrences 74 *see also* NRSA(p) (narrator's representation of speech acts (with topic))

NRT (narrator's report of thought) 30, **35–6**

NRTA (narrative report of thought acts) 30, 45 *see also* NRTA(p) (narrator's representation of thought acts (with topic))

NRTAi (inferred narrator's representation of thought acts) 137, 139

NRTA(p) (narrator's representation of thought acts (with topic)) **130–2**; occurrences 115; pure 117

NRTAp (narrator's representation of thought acts with topic) 130–1

NRTi (inferred narrator's report of thought) 56

NRW (narrator's report of writing) 30, **35–6**, 48

NRWA (narrator's representation of writing acts) 31 *see also* NRWA(p)

NRWA(p) (narrator's representation of

- writing acts (with topic)) **104–5**;  
occurrences *100*; word length *101*
- NRWAp (narrator's representation of  
writing acts with topic) 104–5
- NT (narrator's representation of  
thought) 229–30
- NV (narrator's representation of voice)  
30, 43–5, **69–73**, 148–9; occurrences  
67; word length *68*
- NW (narrator's representation of  
writing) 31, 47–8, **102–3**, 148–9;  
occurrences *100*; word length *101*
- ontological issues: *Joyful Voices* 202–6
- Oostdijk, N. 16, 36, 92, 94, 224
- Oxford Text Archive* (OTA) 22–3
- Page, N. 44
- partial quotes 54
- Pascal, R. 3, 20, 82, 83, 123
- Person, R. 3, 9
- popular–serious texts 21–4; (F)DS 89;  
(F)DW 108–9; FIW 107; frequency of  
modes of presentation 63–4;  
NRTA(p) 132; speech presentation  
categories 97, 150, 151; summary  
226; thought presentation categories  
114–16, 151–2; writing presentation  
categories 99, 151
- portmanteau tags 32–3; adjacent  
categories 190–7; frequency 183, *184*;  
non-adjacent categories 185–90;  
popular–serious section 183 *see also*  
ambiguities
- presentation scales: N (narration) *11*;  
new 49–52; NI (internal narration)  
227–30; speech 10–14; thought  
14–16; writing 49–52
- press case study: 'PC Bible' stories  
210–21
- press reports: faithfulness 212
- press section: corpus 20–1; (F)DS  
89–90, 93–5; (F)DT 120; (F)DW 110;  
FIS 86–7; FIT 127; FIW 107;  
hypothetical SW&TP 163–4, 169–71;  
IS 78–9; N-FDS 188; N-FIS 186–7; Ni  
137–8, 139, 140–1, 143–5; NRSap  
76–7; NRTA(p) 132; NV 69–70;  
portmanteau tags 183, *184*; quotation  
phenomena (q) 154; speech  
frequency 61; speech presentation  
categories 150–1; summary 225; text  
selection 23–4; thought presentation  
categories 151–2; writing  
presentation categories 151
- psychonarration 47, 128–9, 230
- Pullum, G. 3
- 'pure' thought presentation 116, *117*,  
127
- 'p' (with topic) suffix *see* with topic  
(‘p’) suffix
- 'q' forms *see* quotation phenomena  
(‘q’)
- 'q' phenomena *see* quotation  
phenomena (‘q’)
- 'q' tags: most frequent *156*
- qualitative analysis 6, 7
- quantitative analysis 6
- Quirk, R. 3, 92, 110
- quotation marks: FDS 92; FDT 119
- quotation phenomena (‘q’) 54–5,  
**153–9**; (auto)biography sub-section  
154; case study (‘PC Bible’ story)  
216–19; faithfulness 159; fiction  
section 154; frequency *156*; length  
155–7; press section 154
- 'q' (with quotation) suffix *see* quotation  
phenomena (‘q’)
- Radway, J. 226
- reporting clauses 129; (F)DW 111;  
IS 81–2; position 92, 94; tagging  
35–9
- representation: terminology 2–3
- representativeness 25
- results 58–64
- Rimmon-Kenan, S. 82
- Roeh, I. 3
- sample size 25–6
- Sampson, G. 25
- Schuelke, G. L. 55
- Semino, E. 21, 50, 110, 163, 182
- SGML markup 27–33
- Short, M. 2, 3, 12, 20, 21, 44, 49, 50, 75,  
78, 82, 83, 86, 89, 95, 113, 118, 119,  
124, 127, 130, 159, 186, 194, 212,  
217, 220, 227
- 'signal': reporting clauses 38
- Simpson, P. 3, 9, 46
- Slembrouck, S. 159
- 'slipping': 'q' forms 55
- software development 224
- source texts 22–4
- Späth, E. 217

- speech acts: ambiguity 191
- speech presentation **66–97**; ambiguities 190–7; embedded 175, 176, 177; ‘q’ forms 154–5
- speech presentation categories **66–97**; distribution 150–1; (F)DS 88–96; FIS 82–8; frequency 60, 66–9; IS 77–82; NRSA(p) 73–7; NV 69–73; occurrences 67; word length 68
- speech presentation scale 9–14; new 49–52
- speech, writing and thought presentation: (SW&TP) *see* SW&TP (speech, writing and thought presentation)
- speech, writing and thought presentation (SW&TP) categories *see* SW&TP categories
- statistical analysis 4–5
- Sternberg, M. 159, 165, 166, 167, 170, 220
- Stokes, Doris (*Joyful Voices*): case study 202–10
- Stubbs, M. 7, 8, 58, 201
- submerged speech 44
- SW&TP categories: annotation 26–39; distribution 150–2; frequencies 149–50; identification 27; tagset 27–33
- SW&TP (speech, writing and thought presentation): corpus-based approaches 16–17
- tagging 26–39; criteria 223–4; embedded SW&TP 33–5; reported clauses 35–9; text markup 27–33
- tags: distribution 58–64; total number 58–9
- tagset: SW&TP 27–33
- Tannen, D. 3, 50, 89, 159, 165, 167, 170, 219
- terminology: discourse presentation 2; presentation 2–3; report 2–3; representation 2–3
- text markup 27–33
- text selection: (auto)biography 24; fiction 22–3; press 23–4
- Thomas, J. 191
- Thompson, G. 3–4, 17, 37–8, 54, 55, 63, 89, 136, 154
- thought presentation **114–52**; embedded 175, 178, 179; ‘q’ forms 154–5
- thought presentation categories **114–52**; differences from speech and writing 147–8; distribution 151–2; (F)DT 116–21; FIT 123–7; frequency 60–1, 61–2; IT 127–9; length 122; NI 132–5; Nli 135–47; N-NI 190–1; NRTA(p) 130–2; occurrences 114–16
- thought presentation scale 14–16; new 49–52; NI (internal narration) 227–30
- Toolan, M. 3, 9, 20, 36, 47, 186, 229
- TOSCA corpus 16–17
- van Peer, W. 20, 226
- Volosinov, V. N. 3, 54, 154
- Waugh, L. 3, 16, 21, 43, 45, 53, 154
- Widdowson, H. G. 8
- Wilson, A. 7–8, 58
- with topic suffix (‘p’) 52–3 *see also* NRSA(p) (narrator’s representation of speech acts (with topic)); NRSAp (narrator’s representation of speech acts with topic); NRTAp (narrative representation of thought acts with topic); NRWAp (narrator’s representation of writing acts with topic)
- word length: speech presentation categories 68; thought presentation categories 122; writing presentation categories 101
- writing presentation 47–8, **98–113**; embedded 175, 177; frequency 60, 62–3; ‘q’ forms 154–5
- writing presentation categories **98–113**; distribution 151; (F)DW 108–11; FIW 107–8; frequency 98–102; IW 105–6; NRWA(p) 104–5; NW 102–3; occurrences 100
- writing presentation scale 49–52
- Wynne, Martin 26