

REANIMATED VOICES

SPEECH REPORTING IN A
HISTORICAL-PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

DANIEL E. COLLINS

The Ohio State University

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Reanimated Voices

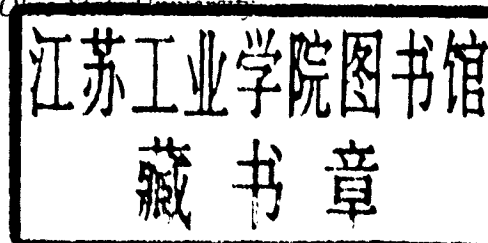
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Preface

Recent scholarship in historical pragmatics has shown that analytic methods devised to explain usage in modern languages can also shed light on diachronic developments and earlier language states.¹ In this study, I hope to contribute to this burgeoning field by demonstrating how a long-standing method of historical-comparative linguistics can be adapted for pragmaphilology and used to account for *synchronic* patterns of lexical and syntactic variation in a corpus of premodern writings. Applying the method of residual forms, I examine the distribution of speech-reporting strategies in a text-kind in which they are privileged — trial transcripts written in the chancery variety of Old Russian during the early Muscovite period (ca. 1410–1505). My chief goal is to discover the factors that motivated medieval writers to choose a particular form of reported speech — understood as any means of representing spoken or written discourse, not just indirect speech — in a specific context. (Reported thought is not discussed because it is not attested in my corpus.) Function-to-form matching is possible here because the communicative purposes of the different contextualizations can be inferred either from internal evidence or from the socially institutionalized function(s) of the text-kind. The results of my investigation thus validate a genre-based method for studying patterns of syntactic and lexical usage.

The title of this book, *Reanimated Voices*, alludes to three activities that may be seen as the overarching themes of this study of speech reporting. The first and most evident is the activity of reporters, who, for purposes of their own, choose to evoke distal speech events for their audience to imagine. The second is the activity of that audience — the interpreters who, in order to understand the reporters' communicative intention, must construct (or reconstruct) a mental image of distal speech events, and who thus become collaborators and co-authors in the act of reporting. The third (and the most

remote from everyday experience) is the activity of the historical pragmatician studying reported speech, an eavesdropper in time who must find a way to reconstruct the language behavior of long-silenced reporters and interpreters, to reanimate their voices for purposes that they never intended or envisioned. One of the goals of this work is to show that this reconstructive endeavor is methodologically feasible.

Reported speech has received a great deal of attention in recent typological and functional (pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and anthropological-linguistic) scholarship.² One of the reasons why it is of significance for pragmatics is that the differences between its formal varieties cannot be understood in any meaningful sense without reference to pragmatic (contextual) factors. The various forms of reported speech are not synonyms but rather instruments appropriate for different kinds of tasks; the choice of a given strategy is determined by the larger structure of the discourse and by the communicative intentions of the speaker or writer.³ In this study I provide further evidence for the context-sensitivity of reported speech, which up to now has been argued primarily for modern languages; at the same time, I show how the choice of strategy is oriented to the intended interpreter in the reporting situation. Speakers and writers choose the form that they perceive as potentially most effective for what they want to communicate and, concomitantly, for how they intend to organize their texts. Their perceptions are socially grounded — based on their experiential knowledge of how a specific kind of audience goes about interpreting the discourse in particular contextualizations and in particular genres.

The functionalist current of research on reported speech was brilliantly anticipated in Bakhtin's pioneering study (published under the name of his friend Vološinov) of the "basic and constant tendencies in the *active reception of other speakers' speech*" (1929/1986: 116–17).⁴ In this long-neglected, now much-cited work, Bakhtin/Vološinov shifted the focus from the syntax to what in current linguistic terminology would be called the pragmatics of reported speech; he emphasized the decisive role that the reporter's intention ("the teleology of the authorial context") plays in the choice of "stabilized constructional patterns" (ibid.: 116, 122). Bakhtin/Vološinov was truly a voice crying in the wilderness; he remains, with good reason, a fundamental source for many function-oriented works on reported speech, including this one.

The continuing influence of Bakhtin/Vološinov's classic study gives particular urgency to the investigation of reported speech in premodern

languages and Old Russian in particular — paradoxically, because of a shortcoming; for in his discussion of that subject Bakhtin/Vološinov departs markedly from the context-sensitive methods that he uses elsewhere in his work. On the basis of a limited reading of medieval texts (primarily chronicles and *The Song of Prince Igor's Campaign*), he declares that reported speech was essentially monolithic in Old Russian, with direct speech predominant and indirect speech virtually nonexistent. He sees this as a reflection of a larger cultural tendency towards "authoritarian dogmatism", which he also finds in medieval French: "If, at some given stage in its development, a language habitually perceives another's utterance as a compact, indivisible, fixed, impenetrable whole, then that language will command no other pattern than that of primitive, inert direct discourse..." (ibid.: 128; see also 119–20, 123).

Bakhtin/Vološinov's assessment of reported speech in medieval Russian is based on false premises; it ignores the selectiveness intrinsic to every form of reporting — even direct speech. Moreover, it is empirically wrong; it ignores several well-attested patterns of nondirect speech, including varieties no longer available in the modern language. In reality there was a great variety of reporting strategies, with pronounced differences in how they were distributed both among and within diverse text-kinds. Bakhtin/Vološinov's conclusion could have been reached only by extrapolating from the modern language; indeed, the words "primitive, inert" ("primitivnoj, inertnoj", Vološinov 1929/1993: 138) betray an *a priori*, anti-uniformitarian assumption, also seen in other historical studies of Russian, that reported speech must be evolving toward greater diversity and expressiveness — i.e., that it must be more developed (however that is to be measured) in the modern language than in premodern texts (see D. Collins 1996 for discussion). In fact, Bakhtin/Vološinov did not take the necessary step of looking for "the teleology of the authorial context" in his medieval sources; he neglected to consider their individual traits and the kinds of contexts that tend to occur in them, all the while conjecturing large-scale tendencies that essentially obviated individual intentions. Similar methodological errors may be found in most other studies of Old Russian reported speech (even those not influenced by Bakhtin/Vološinov's work).

To be methodologically valid, a functionalist/pragmatic approach to reported speech (or any other complex of syntactic and lexical alternatives) in premodern texts must examine the usage in several synchronic slices

thoroughly before advancing hypotheses about large-scale diachronic developments. This, in turn, requires painstaking attention to particular contexts (linguistic, textual, and social/institutional), unbiased by the modern state of affairs or by premature panchronic generalizations. As in the New Philology, one must "recontextualize the texts as acts of communication" (Fleischman 1990:37).

However, the need to consider authorial intentions and communicative purposes in premodern texts encounters a substantial methodological difficulty. With only the written texts as observables, can one really recover all or any of the factors that motivated variation? Can one interpret patterns of speech behavior that cannot be observed directly (or introspected) but must be inferred from very partial context clues? These barriers are endemic to historical pragmatics, as a ramification of the general "Data Problem" (see Jacobs and Jucker 1995). I offer one solution to difficulties of this kind in the method of analysis demonstrated in this study.

My investigation has three main goals, corresponding to three consecutive stages in my analysis. First, I set out to establish the norms of distribution for the various reporting strategies in a corpus of utilitarian texts; in particular, I try to determine which patterns were preferred in specific recurring contextualizations with known or inferable functions. This distinguishes my investigation from many other studies of reported speech, which concentrate on belletristic texts that do not feature recurring contextualizations of this kind. Second, I undertake to identify the pragmatic factors that, given the formal properties of the reporting strategies, could have justified these conventional preferences as the most effective means of accomplishing the communicative goals of the texts, which were, at least in part, socially institutionalized. Third, where there are departures from the conventions for a given context, I try to detect atypical features that could have motivated the scribes to choose unconventional strategies, again as a way of promoting optimal communication. All three of these goals serve a broader purpose — to explore how contextualization conditions reflect collectively and individually purposive use of speech-reporting strategies.

The methodology and results of my study will, I hope, have relevance both for the discipline of historical pragmatics and for further functionalist research on reported speech. The investigation also serves to bring Slavic data, which have not been readily accessible to broader scholarship, to historical pragmatics, a field that up to now has focused mainly on Western

European languages. I hope, conversely, that it will begin a new direction of research in Slavistics by demonstrating the need for and advantages of function-oriented approaches to medieval Slavic texts, which have been little studied within the pragmatic framework.

Conventions for citing Cyrillic sources

Excerpts from editions of medieval texts are transliterated except in a few cases where the discussion focuses on spelling. Modern Cyrillic is transliterated according to the ISO/R9 (diacritic) system. The following system is employed for premodern Cyrillic:

Transliteration	Cyrillic	Transliteration	Cyrillic
a (not after j)	Ѧ	n	н
b	Ѣ	o	о, ѡ
c	Ѧ	p	п
č	ч	r	р
d	Ѧ	s	с
e	ѣ	š	ш
ě	ѣ	šč	щ, шч
f	Ѣ, ѣ	t	т
g	г	u (not after j)	ѹ, ѡѹ, ѵ, Ѹ
i	и, ѣ, ѥ	v	ѡ
ja	Ѧ, Ѧ, Ѧ	x	х
ju	ю, Ѣ	y	ѣ
k	к	z	з, ѣ
ks	ѣ, кс	ž	ж
l	л	'	ь
m	м	"	ъ

In excerpts from diplomatic editions, superscript letters are brought down to the line; abbreviations are expanded, with the tilde (*titlo*, a diacritic indicating abbreviations) omitted and the supplied letters enclosed in parentheses. For example, the ubiquitous abbreviation *г҃ѡѣ* (*g'ne*) 'lord-voc' is cited as *g(o)s(podi)ne*. Where the editions are not diplomatic, I follow, of necessity,

the editors' conventions. I also retain the capitalization, punctuation, and word-spacing conventions of the editions; however, I ignore their paragraphing conventions, which are not particularly consistent and are not needed for comprehension. Line and page breaks in the manuscripts are not indicated. Where the editors of the documents cited draw attention to mistakes or omissions in the originals, [*sic*] is inserted; any corrections that I supply is indicated by [*sic* — *DEC*] or, when further clarification is needed, by [*sc*... — *DEC*].

A list of abbreviations used in the glosses and elsewhere may be found in the front matter. The glosses indicate case and number for nouns and adjectives, and tense, mood, person, and number for verbs; gender, aspect, and voice are only mentioned when they are directly relevant to the discussion. Singular number and indicative mood may be assumed unless otherwise indicated. Contiguous agreeing elements in noun phrases are grouped together inside square brackets.

Mention-forms are cited in italics, in a normalized transcription based on the main entries in Sreznevskij's OR dictionary (see the References). For example, the form *s''kazati* 'say, tell' is employed rather than *skazati* or *skazat'*. While Sreznevskij's entry forms are, on occasion, archaic for the fifteenth century, I prefer this to the anachronistic modernizing found in the other major OR dictionary, SRJa. When the mention-form is of a lexeme attested in both an ecclesiastical (Church Slavonic) and a vernacular variant, e.g., *rešči* and *reči* 'speak, say', respectively, the latter is preferred. Verbs are generally mentioned in their infinitive form. Variable elements in phraseologisms are indicated by the symbols X, Y, and Z. Grammatical information is given in abbreviated form (see the List of Abbreviations); generally speaking, the grammatical tags refer only to inflections and ignore inherent categories, except when they are directly pertinent.

In citing primary sources in the main text, I provide brief bibliographical information. This is keyed to more detailed information about the transcripts, including the dates of composition and copying, which can be found in the Appendix. Other conventions are explained when they first occur in the discussion.

CHAPTER 1

The pragmatics of reported speech

1.1 Reported speech as intention and as perception

Reported speech (RS) is both a universal of the language capacity and a pervasive phenomenon in ordinary language use.¹ Every language has some explicit means, and generally more than one, of encoding messages that evoke ("represent") other messages, whether fictive or actual. It is hardly surprising that such reports should be ubiquitous in actual discourse, given the nature of linguistic socialization and the central role of communication (and dialogue in particular) in human society; so much of our experience consists of speech events that "talk about talk" may even predominate in language activity.² For the same reasons, many statements that are not explicitly marked as RS are nevertheless far from being unique creations; they turn out to be inherently heterogeneous (more precisely, heteroglossic): "Each utterance is filled with the echoes and reverberations of other utterances..." (Bakhtin 1952–53/1986: 91). Speakers cannot be Adam, able to utter a word in isolation from the speech of others (*ibid.*: 93–94).³

As a natural-language model for conceptualizing pragmatic phenomena — verbal behavior and heteroglossia — RS performs what has been aptly termed a *metapragmatic* function of language. Reporters and interpreters act as naive pragmatists, analyzing and classifying speech events in accordance with culturally specific conventions (cf. J. Collins 1987: 71; Silverstein 1985: 134–35, 1993: 55).⁴ Indeed, RS encapsulates three of the major concerns of the pragmatic enterprise, since it represents the *functioning* of language in particular *contexts*, as seen from particular *points of view*.

There is another, perhaps more tangible reason why RS is of particular significance for pragmatics: the very category cannot be defined without reference to the pragmatic factors of intention and perception. One of the intrinsic features of RS is its perceptual autonomy; reporters intend reports to

be interpreted as heterogeneous with the surrounding co-text — as insets in frames (see Sternberg 1982b: 108–9). Though much of the information communicated in everyday conversation comes at second or third hand, often it is neither meant nor perceived as RS. This can be recognized by folk wisdom; thus statements that are not ostensibly reported can be challenged with rejoinders such as “Who says (so)?” or “Where did you hear about that?”, which violate conversational cooperation. Conversely, information that is not formally marked as RS can be intended as such, as in free indirect speech (FIS) and free direct speech (FDS). (Positing a deleted verb of saying here is, for pragmatic purposes, a non-explanation that mistakes the very nature of these strategies.) Thus the communicative success of a report depends in part on whether the interpreter perceives it as heteroglossic, as intended by the reporter; nonrecognition can lead to miscommunications, as is depicted in the following dangling conversation:

- (1) “‘Hullo! hullo — ullo! oh, operator, shall I call thee bird or but a wandering voice?... Not at all, I had no intention of being rude, my child, that was a quotation from the poetry of Mr. Wordsworth...’”
(Sayers 1927/1987: 77).

A second pragmatic aspect to the definition of RS is that reports are mediated by mental images of speech events in both the production and the interpretation processes; they do not come directly from the represented speech event. This is true even when there is an actual anterior utterance and even when the mode of reporting is direct speech (DS). Reporting always has an intentional and creative character. No matter how closely a report may approximate some anterior utterance, it is never mechanical reproduction of form and content (see Chapter 3); rather, it is a token that evokes a mental image — an ideal type — for both the reporter and the audience (Fludernik 1993: 17; Sternberg 1982b: 108).

The mediation inherent in representation leads to a third pragmatic aspect of RS. Given that reports are not just fragments of inviolable prior text “repeated”, with or without paraphrase, in a parrot-like, unintentional, decontextualized manner, their meaning must necessarily be constrained by their contextualization. In other words, they are of necessity *communicatively subordinated* (Sternberg 1982b: 109) to the enframing discourse and to the illocutionary goals of the reporter in the ongoing speech event (cf. Bakhtin 1929/1971: 177–78). Thus, for example, a sound recording of a human voice

is not RS until someone forms a mental image of its meaning and chooses to present it to interpreters in a specific context, for his own communicative purposes. The goals of the reportee (attributed speaker), if any, are most often irrelevant. The act of representation that mediates between reports and their anterior utterances (real or projected) not only allows but even compels reporters to impose their will upon both form and content through acts of “responsive understanding” (Vološinov 1929/1986: 122–23), which can include selection, choice of reporting strategy and contextualization, condensation or amplification, and evaluation.

The pragmatic factors that are integral to the very definition of RS play a central role in each individual act of reporting. Thus, in examining the patterns of RS in a given language, it is not enough to treat them (as is done in most of the previous studies of Old Russian) in a decontextualized manner as an inventory of mere syntactic constructions, as if they were functionally equivalent and randomly distributed (see 1.3). Rather, one must establish the contextualizations of the various strategies and determine how they relate to the intentions of the reporters. The goal should be to achieve an understanding of RS that is as contextual and as close to the “emic” interpretive framework of the participants as possible — that is, to create a “thick description” of reporting, one that does justice to the “multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another”, which are involved in any social activity (Geertz 1973: 10).⁵

1.2 A “thick description” of reporting

The fact that reporting is an intentional activity, an exercise of the will, does not imply that every step in the process is necessarily conscious. Speakers acquire an ability to reason from ends to means as part of their pragmatic competence (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987: 58, 61, 64, 85): this ability is automatized to such an extent that it is ordinarily not a subject of introspection.⁶ Thus intention can, but need not, imply deliberation or calculation; it should be understood as a mental state oriented to a goal in the world — an “operation-order” that motivates action (the means to the end), often on a subconscious level (Austin 1966/1989: 274–77, 283–86).⁷ Intentional acts are by nature *purposive*, directed at effecting a desired state of affairs or avoiding an undesired one.

Individual acts of reporting are the product of a series of choices (cf. Leech and Short 1981; Thompson 1996), each of which is intentional action. In selecting a particular strategy, reporters act on a sense of its appropriateness for the context, in anticipation of some desired effect on the audience; their own communicative goals — their *speech wills* or *speech plans* (Bakhtin 1952–53/1986: 77) — are a privileged factor. The reporters' choice is informed by their knowledge of the typical distribution and functions of the strategy, which they acquire as part of their general pragmatic competence and their competence in particular genres; it is validated by their own experience as interpreters. As will be discussed in 1.4, one way in which the historical pragmatician can reconstruct this competence is to uncover the patterns of RS that are conventional in specific genres and correlate them with the social and textual functions of those genres.

The first choice that reporters face in presenting information that they perceive as heteroglossic is whether to make reportedness (the separate "voice" or viewpoint) an issue in the discourse; that is, they must decide whether to single the information out as RS, attributable — though not necessarily attributed — to themselves or to some other speaker, or else cue the interpreters to treat it as part of the authorial (non-reportive) discourse. As noted in 1.1, much of our everyday discourse is objectively heteroglossic but never marked or even perceived as such; the essential issue is thus what may be called *subjective heteroglossia* — whether the speakers or writers proceed with a mental image of a separate source. The degree of explicitness, i.e., the extent to which reporters leave the burden of inference to the interpreters, is determined by their communicative goals and judgments about relevance.

This preliminary decision is by no means trivial; it depends in large part on the reporters' ideas of what is relevant for the interpretation process (cf. Sperber and Wilson 1986). It is not just a matter of attribution as opposed to "the text... averring anything which is not specifically attributed to another source" (Thompson 1996: 506); reporters can intend for information that is not explicitly indexed to be perceived as heteroglossic, as in much FIS and FDS, as well as allusive quotations like (1) in 1.1. Reportedness can be signalled overtly, e.g., through tags, nonnarrative features within the reports, intonation, or graphic devices. Alternatively, it can be accessible to the interpreters through ordinary inferential channels, e.g., shared knowledge about probable information sources, recurrent discourse frames, or genre-based "reading conventions that trigger an interpretation in terms of speech

or thought representation" (Fludernik 1993: 7; see also 15–16; Fónagy 1986: 284). The ability to recognize and utilize such pragmatic entailments develops in the course of socialization (see Goffman 1981: 150–51; Hickmann 1993).

Having undertaken to report explicitly rather than "aver" (Sinclair 1988), reporters proceed to select a formal strategy — a decision that comprises several steps.⁸ Analyzing the steps inevitably distorts them into seeming deliberate; in fact, like other intentional acts, they are usually automatic. There are two main clusters of choices, one involving the *tag* (how the report is indexed or attributed in the authorial context), and the other the *mode of reporting* (how the report itself is configured). The possibility of alternative strategies is undoubtedly universal, though some languages, or synchronic states of a single language, have a larger repertory than others.

The first decision in the tagging process is, obviously, whether or not to have any explicit attribution (formal indexing) — a choice that, as mentioned above, does not constitute the difference between RS and unacknowledged prior text. The second decision is what kind of tag to use (if any). Cross-linguistically, the most widespread and important kind of tags are specialized *verba dicendi* (VD's).⁹ In addition to such semantically faded verbs (e.g., English *say*, Old Russian *s(")kazati/s(")kazyvati* 'say-PERF/IMPERF'), reporters in many languages can use lexically more specific verbs from semantic classes broadly connected with communication, including phase verbs, speech-act verbs (SAV's), and manner-of-speaking verbs ("graphic introducers", Tannen 1986: 322; see also Fónagy 1986: 264–75, Silverstein 1985: 137). For example, in a recent novel in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR), six different verbs or verb phrases are used to attribute as many instances of indirect speech (IS) in a single paragraph — *skazat'* 'say', *sprosit' sebja* 'wonder aloud', *predpolozhit'* 'surmise', *vydvinut' versiju* 'advance a scenario', *zajavit'* 'declare', and *zasvidetel'stvovat'* 'bear witness' (P'ecux 1990: 249). In the same chapter (ibid.: 244–53), there are 49 cases of attributed direct speech (DS); 18 are tagged by the default verb *skazat'*, and 4 by less common VD's — *soobščit'* 'report, inform' (2×), *molvit'* 'say (obsolete)' and *progovorit'* 'say, utter.' There are 16 instances of SAV's used to attribute DS: *sprosit'* 'inquire' (7×), *otvetit'* 'answer' (3×), *otozvat'sja* 'respond' (2×), *soglasit'sja* 'agree', *zajavit'* 'declare', *vozzazit'* 'object', and *razjasnit'* 'explain.' Five of the verbs tagging DS denote phases or realignments in the dialogue: *vstupit'* 'enter in' (2×), *načat'* 'begin', *prodolžat'*

'continue', and *obratit'sja* 'turn to.' Finally, there are verbs of mental activity — *predpoložit'* 'surmise' (2x) and *zaključit'* 'conclude'; manner-of-speaking verbs — *vskričat'* and *voskliknut'* 'exclaim'; and an attitudinal verb — *nadut'sja* 'pout, sulk.'

It is inadequate to explain diversity of this kind as mere "elegant variation" (to use Page's term, 1988: 27). In using a wide variety of tags, authors are trying to narrow the readers' range of interpretive possibilities in order to further their own communicative goals. Such use of nuanced vocabulary, which is especially though not exclusively typical of modern literary languages, is "a speaker-based strategy" (Lakoff 1984: 483–84), in which the author gives the readers relatively little of the responsibility for sense-making — in this case, evaluation of the represented speech events.

The repertory of tagging devices is not limited to verbs. In Old Russian (OR), for example, RS could be indexed by adjuncts (2a), citation particles or quotative markers (QM's), textual conveyor nouns, or nominal labels (2b).¹⁰

- (2) a. *A po skaske služylyx ljudej tot*
and by deposition-DAT [of.service people]-GEN.PL [that
Semejka ubit v Pegoj orde
Semejka]-NOM kill-PPP in [Skewbald Horde]-LOC

And, according to the deposition of the service people, the aforementioned Semejka was killed in the Skewbald Horde (1648; Tokarev (ed.) 1970: 896).

- b. *V"spros" Inokentiev: "Gosudar' Pafnotej!*
[question Innokentij-POSS]-NOM [lord Pafnutij]-NOM
Poveli... napisati zavěščanie o monastyr'skom
bid-IPV write-INF testament-ACC about [of.monastery
stroenii...
order]-LOC

Innokentij's question: "Lord Pafnutij! Bid [someone] write down [your] testament about the monastic rule..." (ca. 1478; Dmitriev and Lixačev (eds.) 1982: 496).

Another arena of choice is found in the composition of the tag clause apart from the actual quotative device. In OR, reporters were faced, inter alia, with decisions about tense and aspect, which could be varied for different effects,

and about the order of elements within the tag, when it was not dictated by rules of information structuring.

A further choice — one with ramifications for the salience of the report in the discourse — involves the position of the tag vis-à-vis the report. For example, in OR, tags can be preposed (3a), postposed (3b), or intercalated (interposed/medial) (3c).

- (3) a. *I igumen mitropolitu tak rek": Jaz...*
and abbot-NOM metropolitan-DAT thus speak-PRET I-NOM
xožu po staroi pošline...
go-NONPAST.1 by [old custom]-DAT
And the abbot spoke to the metropolitan in this way: "I... govern according to the old custom..." (1391; ASEI 3: 16, no. 5).
- b. *i vy buděte mně v" s(y)ny i*
and you-PL.NOM be-IPV.2.PL me-DAT in sons-ACC.PL and
dščeri g(lago)let' g(ospod)' vsedr" žitel'
daughters-ACC.PL say-NONPAST.3 [Lord Almighty]-NOM
And ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty
(2 Corinthians 6: 18; Gennadij 1499/1992: 247).
- c. *i t"t" pop" s temi tvoimi gorodskymi*
and [that priest]-NOM with [those your-SG of.city
ljudmi... dvorjan moix pere[bi]lli: a
people]-INSTR.PL [servants my]-ACC.PL beat-PRET.PL and
bili, skazyvajut, na sm(e)rt'
beat-PRET.PL say-NONPAST.3.PL to death-ACC
And that priest with those subjects of yours from the city... beat up my servants; and beat [them], they say, [almost] to death (ca. 1451; ASEI 3: 25, no. 9).

I treat intercalated reports as a separate strategy rather than a subtype of postposition; this contrasts with the way the phenomenon is viewed by some other scholars (e.g., Hermon 1979; Green 1980 with reference to English). My reasons for this relate specifically to premodern Slavic languages, though I suspect that they have a broader typological bearing.

First, conflation of intercalation and postposition obscures a striking difference in distribution: as in English (see Partee 1973: 411; Hermon

1979), postposition is rare and "literary" in OR, as in excerpt (3b), a biblical text in the ecclesiastical (Church Slavonic) register. (One must except postposed tags after complementized IS, which are common in some text-kinds, including legal-administrative writing, when the complements are presupposed — e.g., from preceding stimuli-questions.) By contrast, intercalation is common and found in texts of all registers. Indeed, it is fairly frequent in everyday speech in CSR.

Second, like other parentheticals, intercalated tags in OR tend to appear in second position — after the first phonological word (Wackernagel's position) or, in later texts, after the first major constituent (not in any position, as claimed by Molotov (1958:31)). Thus, when first position is occupied by subordinators, intercalated tags can *precede* reports, as in (4):

- (4) *Jaz, gospodine, pomniju za sorok let,*
 I-NOM lord-VOC remember-NONPAST.1 for forty-ACC years-GEN.PL
čto, gospodine, kažet, to mesto vyprosil otec'
 that lord-VOC say-NONPAST.3 [that place]-ACC request-PRET [father
Ivanov u Anny...
 Ivan-POSS]-NOM at Anna-GEN

"I, lord, remember for forty years that, lord, ([he] says) Ivan's father obtained that place from Anna..." (ASĖI 3: 291, no. 276).

Here the intercalated verb *kažet* lies outside the syntactic structure of the complement clause, like the vocative that precedes it; the fact of the RS is not being asserted as part of the represented speaker's forty-year-old recollection. (In (4), it is ambiguous whether the subject of the intercalated verb is Ivan or the represented speaker of the DS, i.e., whether the tag belongs to the DS or the authorial narrative.) Third, there is a strong tendency in OR for intercalated VD's to have implicit subjects — "the ultimate 'backgrounding'" (Chvany 1973/1996: 122) — whereas postposed VD's, at least in third-person narratives, generally have explicit, asserted subjects. (This is mandatory for postposed VD's in CSR; see *ibid.*: 121–22.) Finally, the discourse function of intercalated reports may differ from that of postposed ones. In this study, I present evidence that intercalation was favored in certain contextualizations precisely because of its interruptive nature (see 7.6).

The reporters' choice of tagging strategies faces an additional complication in reports that contain more than one predicate; here the reporters must

decide whether each noninitial clause requires supplementary tagging. Thus in OR multiple attributions are attested, with preposed tags reinforced by intercalated ones (5):

- (5) *Knjaz' Velikij Ivan" Vasil'evič' skazyvaet": na čem" k"*
 [prince grand Ivan Vasil'evič]-NOM say-NONPAST.3 on what-LOC to
vam", k" svoej otčině, rekl", po tomu
 you-PL.DAT to [REFL.POSS patrimony]-DAT speak-PRET by that-DAT
vas", skazyvaet", žaloval"...
 you-PL.ACC say-NONPAST.3 favor-PRET

Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič *says*, "On [the basis of] what I have said to you, my patrimony, in accordance with that", *he says*, "I have granted you the boon..." (1471; AI 1: 512–13, no. 280).

Cross-linguistically, there is considerable diversity in reporting modes.¹¹ However, certain patterns are typologically widespread, and the choice between tagged and untagged (free) DS, in particular, is probably universal. Within a single language, the range of formal possibilities can be quite broad. For example, OR had both DS, as in (2b), (3a), (3b), and (5), and IS, as in (3c). Both of these modes are found in tagged and (as I shall argue) free varieties, and, when tagged, in complementized and uncomplementized forms. Thus even the use of one of the cardinal modes of reporting involved at least three choices. Also attested are deictically ambiguous reports (often treated, imprecisely, as IS), as in (2a), (4), and (6) [1], below; intermediate forms reflecting slipping from one category to another; and various kinds of narrative reports of speech acts (NRSA's). Both SAV's and VD's could take reports that were highly reduced and integrated into the main-clause predicate, as in the small-clause structure seen in (6) [2], or the accusative with infinitive or with participle found in ecclesiastical (Church Slavonic) texts.¹²

- (6) *skazal brat ego... čto siju duxovnuju Aleksandr*
 say-PRET brother-NOM his that [this will]-ACC Aleksandr-NOM
pisal, a ego skazal bolnogo
 write-PRET and he-ACC say-PRET ill-ACC

[1] His brother said... that Aleksandr wrote this will, and [2] *he said that he [Aleksandr] was ill* [at that time] (1472; ASĖI 3: 100, no. 67).

The inventory of report-clause types found in OR was thus larger than in CSR,

which reflects a long-term tendency to eliminate the more bound forms (except after volitional SAV's).

It is important to keep in mind that formally distinct reporting strategies are not, as a rule, equivalent in function, even when they appear synonymous. While they all make reference to the occurrence of a speech act, each conventionally emphasizes different aspects; in Bakhtin/Vološinov's classic formulation (1929/1986: 129), each "'hears' a message differently; it actively receives and brings to bear in transmission different factors, different aspects of the message than do the other patterns." To express it less anthropomorphically, each strategy allows the reporter to guide or manipulate the interpretation process in a different way: "Different ways of framing RS cue listeners that such RS has different functions or meanings in the discourse, and is to be interpreted variably" (Philips 1985: 168).

This principle may be illustrated by SAV's such as English *assert* and *affirm*, which cannot be used interchangeably despite their near-synonymy (Wierzbicka 1987: 322). Even coexistent VD's that are semantically faded differ from one another in function; each has a distinct perspective on the "scene of linguistic action", as may be seen by examining their contextualizations (see Dirven et al. 1982, especially 166–67, 169; Goosens 1987). For instance, in colloquial American English, the default verb *say* tends to be used with reports of others' speech, the emergent verbial *be like* with self-quotations and reported thoughts, and *go* with sounds (Romaine and Lange 1991: 237–38, 240, 243). Likewise, in Navajo, one of the two most frequent tags has a "discourse-segmenting function, focused on the speaker and the 'expressive' aspect of speech", while the other has "a discourse-continuing function, focused on the speaker-hearer dyad and the 'interpersonal' aspect of speech" (J. Collins 1987: 83). The particular implications that the individual reporting strategies are suited to convey by virtue of their form determine both their syntactic combinability and the contexts in which they will be preferred in a purposive use of language — a fact that allows the important methodological step of contextualization-to-function mapping (see 1.4).

1.3 Some shortcomings of nonpragmatic reductionist approaches

While the distribution of forms is crucial in the contextualization-to-function methodology outlined below, one must bear in mind that the consideration

of formal distinctions is only a preliminary to explaining the functional differences among the strategies. However, many previous studies of RS in OR and other languages have not moved beyond this first step. This is the case, for example, with the many reductionist syntactic approaches, which have been chiefly concerned with positing rules for converting one RS construction into another ("grammar-as-usual", Silverstein 1985: 143). Such analyses are operating, in effect, on the basis of a covert assumption that the constructions are equivalent in any linguistically interesting aspect. Though still widespread, this notion was debunked already by Bakhtin/Vološinov (1929/1986: 128): "This sort of implementation of the patterns of speech reporting has nothing even remotely to do with their real existence.... Each pattern treats the message to be reported in its own creative fashion, following the specific direction proper to that pattern alone."¹³

In this light, I think it is important to point out that exclusively syntactic, clause- or sentence-level approaches to RS are incapable of dealing with the entire phenomenon, even in its formal aspects, for the simple reason that RS is a category of discourse analysis rather than syntax. It does not form a coherent group of syntactic constructions; the features that distinguish the various modes often relate to the level of text rather than to that of sentence or clause. For instance, in many languages, there is no properly syntactic difference between FIS and non-reportative narrative (cf. Hagenaar 1996; Padučeva 1996: 343–44, 347).¹⁴ Likewise, in languages like OR and CSR, where IS is not marked by backshifting or mood changes, it is doubtful that complementized DS and IS are really distinct syntactic constructions, despite the long tradition of treating them that way; the complementizer has the same explicative function in both cases. In fact, the two strategies, like DS and IS in general, are differentiated by features that are not syntactic, given that the deictic orientation point can only be determined by reference to the larger discourse.

Though frequently treated as object clauses,¹⁵ reports are entities of a different order than syntactic constructions; this is shown, *inter alia*, by the fact that reported information can be the sole content of clauses belonging to other, well-defined syntactic categories. For example, topicalizing clauses in OR, as in (7), often consist entirely of RS plus a citation particle — approximately, "in re 'X'".

- (7) *čto dei po těx po ix xrest'jan...*
 that QM for those-ACC.PL for their peasants-ACC.PL
priezdjat pristavove moi... i jaz ix...
 come-NONPAST.3.PL [constables my]-NOM.PL and I-NOM them-ACC
požaloval...
 favor-PRET

[As for the fact] that [QM]... my constables come after those peasants of theirs... I have granted them a favor...
 (1462; ASËI 1: 215, no. 304).

In (7), the only explicit signal of reportedness is the particle *dě(i)* (in the reduced form *dei*), a grammaticalized third-person singular nonpast or imperative of the archaic VD *děti* or *dějati*.¹⁶ The information topicalized in the *č'to* ('that') clause is the content of the report, not the fact that the report occurred. The same use of RS can be found in causal and relative clauses. Likewise, in Hungarian, "there are as many categories of reported sentences as subordinate clauses" (A. Dömötör, cited in Fónagy 1986: 260). Obviously it would not be desirable to double the inventory of clause types by distinguishing reportative from non-reportative varieties.

A further problem for a purely syntactic approach is the fact that the varieties of RS form a continuum, with indeterminate boundaries between the individual types.¹⁷ Without the benefit of intonational or graphic cues, third-person reports that lack deictic elements coreferential with the ongoing speech event cannot be classified in a principled manner as either DS or IS. This is illustrated in the CSR example in (8), given in phonetic transcription to avoid graphic signals of DS or IS:

- (8) [mar'fjə skazälə s'p'ěduju'f'jəjə stantsijə pló'f'jəjə]
 Marija-NOM say-PRET [next station]-NOM square-NOM
 nəg'liná]
 Nogin-GEN
 Marija said [the next station [is/was] Nogin Square.
 "The next station [is] Nogin Square."

The ambiguity exemplified in (8) can exist even in the presence of intonational cues, since the prosodic features that are often said to characterize DS are optional and can actually accompany IS as well (Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen

1999). Such indeterminate cases are not amenable to a purely syntactic treatment. The same is true of deictically ambiguous clauses or sentences within reports that otherwise belong to a clear-cut mode (e.g., DS). It would be uneconomical to treat the indeterminate portion as anything other than DS; yet this classification depends entirely on the larger discourse context.

A third problem is that reporting strategies are not coextensive with clauses or sentences, for all that they are treated under the rubric of compound sentences in many grammars. On the one hand, a single report can contain an indefinite, potentially large number of sentences. The main narrative in I. S. Turgenev's novella *First Love* (1860) is one long report — memoirs "quoted" in their entirety and framed by a brief outer narrative ending in a colon. On the other hand, complete reports or stretches of a particular reporting strategy can be smaller than a clause, as in the "incorporated" or "embedded" quotation in (9) [1] (see Clark and Gerrig 1990: 791; Semino, Short, and Culpeper 1997: 31):

- (9) [1] The notion that [Solzhenitsyn] is "anti-Western" is wrong, and [2] "arose out of the inordinate sensitivity and superficiality of Western correspondents", he said. "My speeches to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in 1975..." (Remnick 1994: 74).

This excerpt illustrates a further way in which strategies are not coextensive with syntactic units — the phenomenon of slipping from one reporting mode to another in midstream ("fadein, fadeout", Tannen 1989: 117–18; Schuelke 1958). In (9), the IS (with partial DS) of the first clause [1] — with a third-person subject referring to the reported speaker, Solzhenitsyn — yields to unambiguous DS ("my speeches") [2]. A more clear-cut instance of slipping may be seen in (10), from an Old Novgorodian (northwestern Russian) birchbark letter of ca. 1200–1220, where the speaker, urging her brother to deliver a message, suddenly switches from DS oriented on his perspective to IS dominated by hers:

- (10) *ty že brace gospodine molovi emo [sic] tako ože*
 you-NOM PART [brother lord]-VOC speak-IPV him-DAT thus if
budu ljudi na moju s'ru ože
 be-NONPAST.3.PL people-NOM.PL against [my sister]-ACC if
budu ljudi pri komo budu dala
 be-FUT.3.PL people-NOM.PL before whom-LOC COP.FUT.1 give-FEM