

Maarit Niemelä

Voiced Direct Reported Speech in Conversational Storytelling: Sequential Patterns of Stance Taking

Abstract

The paper discusses how voiced direct reported speech (DRS) can display a speaker stance in talk-in-interaction. The analysis concentrates on the sequential organization of matching voiced DRS and the types of actions that this practice performs within three storytelling sequences. Two of the extracts exemplify voiced DRS sequences in displaying a shared stance, whereas one extract illustrates a contrary case of recipient-initiated voiced DRS in displaying a disaligning stance. The analysis of three examples indicates that a voiced DRS utterance that displays a shared stance appears to be a preferred response to voiced DRS. A sequence of subsequent matching voiced DRS utterances therefore appears to be an orderly phenomenon in interaction and a sequentially relevant practice of stance taking.

1. Introduction

In this paper I examine the role of voiced direct reported speech (DRS) as an interactional practice of stance taking.¹ Voicing (Couper-Kuhlen 1998) here refers to the speaker's attempt to produce a type of voice quality that mimics the voice quality of the original speaker or attempts to replicate a certain affective way of speaking (e.g. angry, whiney, exaggeratedly polite, dumb-sounding or stilted). This paper is part of a current research interest in the linguistics of affect in conversation.² DRS has been widely studied

¹ The present study builds upon my MA thesis (Niemelä 2003) and has been much revised based on the observations, comments and feedback from Elise Kärkkäinen, Jane Stuart-Smith, Tiina Keisanen, Mirka Rauniomaa and Pentti Haddington and three anonymous reviewers, to all of whom I owe my deepest gratitude.

² Research on affect in conversation is being/has been conducted by, for example, Ochs 1989 (affect), Sandlund 2004 (emotions), Local & Walker in the project "Phonetic and interactional features of attitude in everyday conversation" (<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang4/emotion-proposal.html>) and Sorjonen et al. in the project "Language and Social Action" which focuses on the affiliative and disaffiliative

within the field of linguistics; however, it has not been investigated in more detail as a linguistic resource of displaying affect in talk-in-interaction.³ DRS is a recurrent and potentially an affectively charged interactional resource and therefore an appropriate object of study within the framework of stance taking. My aim is to examine and describe the sequential environment in which voiced DRS appears in storytelling. Furthermore I will expand on the interactional functions of this device and its role as a resource in the participants' co-construction of stance.

In what follows I will suggest that the use of voiced DRS not only does stance taking but more importantly can induce similar conduct in other conversationalists; thus, other participants subsequently recycle DRS with matching voicing in the following turns. Voiced DRS is recycled by the recipient in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction, which can be interpreted as conversationalists' strive for solidarity and a shared stance. Recent studies have also established that stance taking is an interactional rather than an individual process (cf. DuBois 2003a, Haddington 2004, 2005, Keisanen under review, Kärkkäinen 2003, Rauniomaa under review). As Kärkkäinen et al. (2004: 49) suggest, "stance taking is an activity that is essentially dialogic, interactive and intersubjective in nature: it is oriented to by co-participants who frequently engage in jointly constructing and negotiating their stances across turns". In DuBois' (2000b) understanding, speakers frequently construct a stance by building on, modifying, and aligning or disaligning with the immediately co-present stance of a dialogic partner. The present study deals with DRS as one practice of stance taking, which will be analyzed as it occurs in naturally occurring conversational interaction.

DRS can be characterized as a common feature in conversational storytelling. Several studies have pointed out that DRS is often used at the climax of stories (see Drew 1998, Clift 2000, Golato 2000). According to Mayes (1990: 326), DRS in narrative is used to perform the task of highlighting and dramatizing the key elements. Thus, the locus of DRS in a piece of conversation, especially in storytelling, emphasizes its function as what Clark and Gerric (1990: 764) call 'highlighting demonstration' that depicts the original conversation. Holt (2000: 435) also states that people

activities across languages and institutional settings (<http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/sosio/project/affiliation/index.htm>).

³ Sandlund's (2004) study on emotion in institutional academic talk and Besnier's (1993) study on reported speech and affect on Nuclealea Atoll deal with this phenomenon.

often use DRS when they tell amusing stories. DRS can be used as a punch line in a humorous story or at the peak of a complaint sequence (see Drew 1998, Haakana forthcoming).

Moreover, reported speech has a dualistic function in talk-in-interaction. According to Besnier (1993: 161) reported speech, on one hand, is “the representation of linguistic actions” and, on the other hand, “commentaries about these actions”. Due to the dualistic nature of DRS, investigating it provides direct access to stance taking processes. Narrators not only report what has been said but also use DRS to do something in this interaction here and now: the teller chooses what to present and how, and through these choices constructs a specific representation of the original situation and seeks a specific response from the recipient. This paper shows that DRS is often not only designed to convey affective meaning but often responded to by recipients it by producing a similar DRS utterance. Mathis and Yule (1994: 63) refer to this as echoing an attitude, “which appears to function as a means of both linguistic and psychological convergence”. It therefore appears legitimate to say that the elicited response is an act of stance taking.

I look at the sequential organization of matching voiced DRS and the types of actions that this practice performs within three storytelling sequences. The analysis of conversation sequences in this study will be based on what Sacks (1984: 25) refers to as “actual occurrences in their actual sequence”, which displays the interactional relevance of voiced DRS in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. Hence I approach voiced DRS mainly within the framework of Conversation Analysis (see Goodwin 1991, Hutchby & Wooffit 1998), but I will also adopt the point of view of Interactional Linguistics (Ford et al. 2003, Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001), which aims at describing recurrent linguistic resources as means of accomplishing interactional functions.

This paper is organised as follows. Chapter 2 will deal with the data used in the present study in more detail. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 move on to present the analyses of the use of DRS in interactional stance taking. Chapters 3 and 4 exemplify voiced DRS sequences in displaying a shared stance, whereas chapter 5 introduces a contrary case of recipient-initiated voiced DRS in displaying a disaligning stance.

2. Data

My data consists of recordings of naturally-occurring conversational interactions.⁴ I will first look at two extracts⁵ taken from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE). The first extract (59 sec) comes from a tape called ‘Raging Bureaucracy’. This 20-minute-conversation was recorded in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in September 1990. The primary conversationalists on the tape are three sisters, who are all in their twenties. The second extract (43 sec) is taken from a tape called ‘Cuz’. The conversationalists are Alina and Lenore, two cousins in their mid-thirties. The lively 30-minute-conversation was recorded in Los Angeles, California, in November 1988. I will then move on to analyse a third extract (47 sec) taken from a tape recorded in Glasgow in 2004. The two informants on the tape are Carrie and Stephen, who are close friends in their late twenties and early thirties, and who at the time of the recording had not seen each other in a while. The 45-minute-conversation was recorded in Carrie’s flat.

3. Voiced DRS in collaborative storytelling: displaying a shared stance

Example 1⁶ presents a sequence of DRS utterances with matching voicing in negotiating a shared stance, thus emphasizing the fundamental role of responses and participation in joint stance taking. In the following example Carolyn, Sharon and Kathy discuss the reliability and competence of substitute teachers (tutors). Carolyn categorizes them into passive ones, who do not seem to care about teaching at all, and active ones, who have just started working as substitute teachers and are therefore still enthusiastic but not very experienced.

⁴ In my data there are speakers of both American English and Scottish English. There may be differences between the conversation practices of speakers of different varieties of English; however, my assumption is that there are no major differences in the use of voiced DRS. Thus, my intention is not to evaluate only speakers of American and Scottish English but to draw conclusions of the use of DRS among English-speaking conversationalists in general.

⁵ For full transcription key, see Appendix I

⁶ Examples (1) and (2) are originally transcribed by using the so-called Discourse Transcription (DT) conventions (Du Bois et al. 1993) which has been used to transcribe all the SBCSAE tapes.

Example (1): *Square root of pi* (Raging Bureaucracy 345.58)

1 CAROLYN: you have to tell (.) students,
 2 never get_
 3 (0.3)
 4 CAROLYN: give a tutor anything.
 5 (0.5)
 6 CAROLYN: anything.
 7 (.) ever.
 8 (0.2)
 9 CAROLYN: .hh not even homework.
 10 they wouldn't let us give homework to hh the high school
 11 (.) tut[ors].
 12 SHARON: [(I know)].
 13 CAROLYN: because they just,
 14 they lose it.
 15 SHARON: (.) .hhh
 16 CAROLYN: they don't care.
 17 (0.2)
 18 SHARON: yeah.
 19 (0.2)
 20 SHARON: w[ell],
 21 CAROLYN: [°they do]n't give a shit about anything°.
 22 (0.2)
 23 SHARON: I know.
 24 CAROLYN: hhh[((noise))]
 25 SHARON: [I I],
 26 (.) I hadn't thought of that at th- at that point ().
 27 @°let me out of he[:re°]/@. ((anxious))
 28 CAROLYN: [((clearing throat)) unless they've just
 29 begun, ((1.9 paper rustling in the background))
 30 CAROLYN: subbing,=
 31 SHARON: =well this [woman],
 32 CAROLYN: [because th]en they're like,
 33 SHARON: hhhh
 34 1→ CAROLYN: .hhh @ **what are we gonna learn today.** ((perky))
 35 SHARON: uh [hu]
 36 1→ CAROLYN: [.hhh see] **I'm originally a (.) PE teacher,**
 37 [**but**],
 38 SHARON: [uh huh] huh huh huh huh [hu:]
 39 KATHY: [ah hah hah hah hah hah hah]
 40 1→ CAROLYN: [**I guess I can teach ma[th**
 41 /@]?=
 42 SHARON: [uh]
 43 huh huh huh huh hu:]
 44 CAROLYN: =[you know,
 45 they] come in with that attitude,
 46 1→ (.) ((thump)) @↑**I've always**↑ **wanted to teach math.**
 47 SHARON: uh huh
 48 1→ CAROLYN: .hh **now,** ((perky))
 49 1→ .hh [**what are we on**/@]?
 50 2→ SHARON: [@it's gonna be] (.) [**great**/@]. ((perky))
 51 CAROLYN: [eh heh]
 52 .hh you know,

53 and you're saying,
 54 (.)uh,
 55 CAROLYN: we're o::n,
 56 ((thump))
 57 (0.3)
 58 CAROLYN: uh:::,
 59 (0.2)
 60 KATHY: eh heh heh=
 61 CAROLYN: =<square root of pi:>?
 62 [uh,
 63 KATHY: [eh heh heh heh heh]
 64 CAROLYN: and they look at] you and they go,
 65 (1.9)
 66 3→ CAROLYN: @**the what**/@? ((dumb-sounding))
 67 SHARON: (.)e heh heh heh heh heh heh heh
 68 CAROLYN: °so they don't know what the hell they're doing/°.
 69 3→ [@uhm],
 70 4→ SHARON: [@pi=]? ((dumb-sounding))
 71 3→ CAROLYN: .hhh [**why don't we go out and run some laps**/@].
 72 4→ SHARON: [**I didn't bring any pie with me today**].
 73 CAROLYN: you [know,
 74 KATHY: [eh heh heh]
 75 CAROLYN: they]_
 76 they don't know what they' [re doing]?
 77 4→ SHARON: [**I don't think**] **we can have pie**
 78 **'til lunch, kids**/@.= ((dumb-sounding))
 79 KATHY: =eh heh [heh heh]
 80 CAROLYN: [yeah.
 81 se]e?
 82 it's like,
 83 (0.6)
 84 CAROLYN: distorted.
 85 (0.5)
 86 CAROLYN: °they don't know what they're doing/°.

Carolyn produces an explicit evaluation of the passive substitute teachers in her 'own voice', her natural speaking voice (i.e. relatively low in pitch, evenly paced and moderate in loudness) on line 21 *they don't give a shit about anything*. She moves on to introduce the category of the active substitute teachers *unless they've just begun subbing, because then they're like* on lines 28, 30 and 32. Those lines provide a setup for DRS: she escalates her affective opinion by introducing the first voiced DRS utterances on the following lines 34–40 when she utters *what are we gonna learn today, see I'm originally a PE [Physical education] teacher, but I guess I can teach math*. The overall pitch of the utterance is notably high, which is a crucial element in depicting this exaggerated perky and enthusiastic voicing. To achieve such voicing, Carolyn also modifies other prosodic parameters: the tempo is faster, the rhythm more 'jerky', and the volume increased. She also produces a tighter articulation by producing

intense velars, alveolar stops and plosives compared to her prior turns. Voicing is enhanced with a slightly inquisitive tone of voice, which, conjoined with the phonetic design and semantic content, creates the impression that the reported speaker is enthusiastic but not very bright. Carolyn then elaborates on the affective frame of the voiced DRS utterance and the entire sequence, by explicitly topicalizing the stance displayed by the previous animation of the substitute teacher's attitude, *they come in with that attitude* on line 44. After this she engages in a further enactment of the active substitute teacher by continuing the use of the same voicing in the next DRS utterance on lines 46–49, *I've always wanted to teach math. now, what are we on.*

The following fundamental frequency analyses⁷ are presented to give support to the auditory analysis of the data. Carolyn's utterances on lines 52–61 (see Figure 1) represent a sample of her 'own voice', that is, her natural speaking voice. We can see that her pitch varies between 181 Hz and 237 Hz, making the pitch span 4.6 semitones. However, when she uses voicing in a DRS utterance on line 46 (see Figure 2), the fundamental frequency shows that the overall pitch is considerably higher, between 271 and 666 Hz and the pitch span thus is 15.5 semitones. Pitch alone is not the variable feature for doing DRS, as high pitch can certainly be part of the speaker's 'own voice' as well. But clustered together with changes in tempo, volume and rhythm, speaker's use of high pitch achieves the desired voice quality (i.e. perky and enthusiastic voicing of a substitute teacher).

⁷ In Figure 1–4, the topline and the baseline of the Praat pitch tracts represent the highest point and the lowest point of the speaker's actual pitch range that has been calculated by measuring a representative sample of approximately two minutes of speech. The logarithmic mark (the horizontal line) across the tract represents the median of the speaker's range.

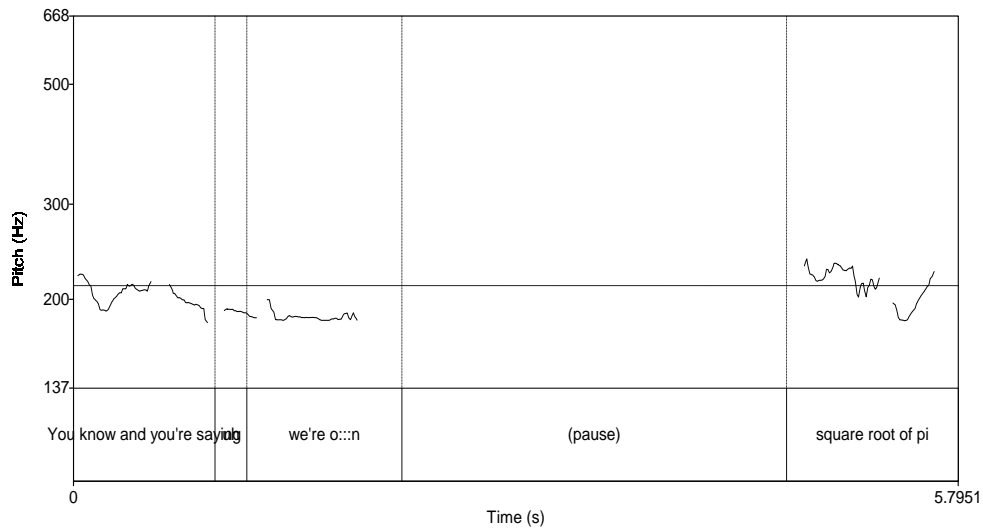


Figure 1. F0, example (1), lines 52–55, 61

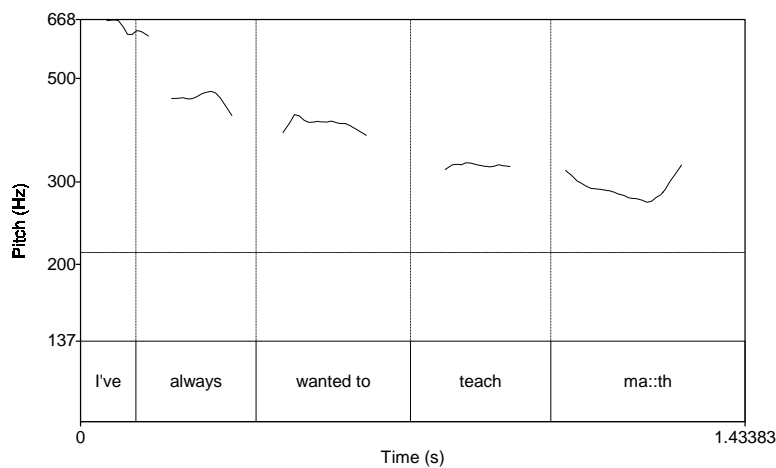


Figure 2. F0, example (1), line 46

Further, Sharon responds to Carolyn's lengthy DRS sequences by producing a matching second DRS utterance when she utters *it's gonna be great* on line 50. Voiced DRS utterances are often produced in overlap with other participants' turns, which complicates the measurement of fundamental frequency. Here Sharon's utterance overlaps with Carolyn's utterance on line 49, *what are we on?*, which makes it impossible to draw a pitch curve of Sharon's voiced DRS. However, based on an auditory analysis one can argue that Sharon's voicing follows along the lines of Carolyn's voicing on line 46–49. In fact, her voicing is significantly similar to the voicing that Carolyn uses to report the speech of an enthusiastic

substitute teacher. It depicts vigour and liveliness as her pitch rises to a slightly higher level compared to her normal voice. Also the tempo of her speech is faster and she utters the sentence in a fast and snappy manner. Sharon thus engages in what Szczeppek (2001) calls “prosodic matching of voice quality”, in which co-conversationalists imitate each other by producing matching voice quality patterns and thus link their own talk to the talk of the preceding speaker. Sharon’s voiced DRS emerges from and ultimately rests upon the stance displayed in the prior talk, thus complementing it with the second sample of the enthusiastic substitute teacher in a sequence of matching voiced DRS utterances.

The phenomenon described above is repeated soon afterwards in the conversation. By contributing a third and a fourth voiced DRS sequence of the same type, the conversationalists continue to participate in negotiating and displaying a shared stance on the issue of substitute teachers. Carolyn produces an imaginary dialog between herself and the generic substitute teacher when she utters *the square root of pi* on line 61, in answer to the substitute teacher’s question on line 49, *what are we on*. When she produces her ‘own speech’ she uses more or less her normal voice; in other words, she does not apply any particular voicing that would depict an affective animation. She further continues the dialog on line 66 by producing a question *the what?* as a response to the DRS on lines 55–61, where she herself was the reported speaker. The voiced DRS sequence is designed to invite laughter: as Haakana (2002: 217) suggests, alterations in voicing and voice pattern can be used in such a way. The co-conversationalists indeed respond by laughing on lines 67, 74 and 79, thus signalling that they understand and, at least seemingly, agree with the current speaker. Previous research (e.g. Jefferson 1984, Glenn 1989) shows that, with the exception of troubles-telling, recipients’ laughter displays affiliation and a shared stance with the prior speaker.

On line 68 Carolyn concludes the dialog by summing up her stance explicitly in words, *so they don’t know what the hell they’re doing*. This evaluation is nevertheless followed by further enactment of the substitute teacher’s bewilderment, or a voiced DRS utterance by Carolyn on lines 69 and 71, *uh, why don’t we go out and run some laps?*. Sharon now also responds to Carolyn’s preceding evaluation sequence on lines 70 and 72, when she produces a fourth subsequent DRS utterance *pi? I didn’t bring any pie with me today*. The semantic content of her utterance ridicules the generic substitute teacher: it displays a scenario in which the substitute teacher cannot tell the difference between the square root of pi and lunch

pie, for instance. Carolyn's utterance on the other hand displays the substitute teacher as someone who is unfamiliar with the notion of *square root of pi* and attempts to hide it by rather taking the children out to run laps. Both of these utterances of reported speech are produced by applying similar voicing to that in the earlier DRS utterances of this extract. They can be treated as extensions to Carolyn's previously enacted dialog, and the fact that they are produced simultaneously in almost the same way supports the claim that voiced DRS is produced as a response to a certain kind of stance.

Next, after her further enactment of the substitute teacher's erratic behavior, Carolyn repeats her earlier explicit evaluation by stating that *they don't know what they're doing* on line 76. At the same time, Sharon produces one more DRS utterance on lines 77–78, *I don't think we can have pie till lunch, kids*, which is a continuation of her own DRS on lines 70 and 72 and of the voicing introduced in the previous utterances. The semantic content and voicing of Sharon's DRS utterance create a humorous impact which seems to indicate that it is designed to invite laughter from the recipients as well as to participate in the stance taking process. But possibly because it overlapped with Carolyn's DRS, it was lost and was not adequately reacted to by the other conversationalists. Sharon's utterance only receives a reaction from Kathy, who appears to be laughing at both rivals, the overlapping utterances by Carolyn and Sharon, at the same time. Therefore, Sharon's utterance does not get individual attention from the recipients. Sharon then reintroduces a display of her stance by reformulating and repeating her voiced DRS utterance, thus providing the participants with a further possibility to acknowledge the utterance (Rauniomaa in progress). Sharon's turn, which is marked here as part of the fourth DRS sequence, is one more subsequent reported speech utterance that contributes to the establishment of a shared stance between participants. All Sharon's voiced DRS utterances are what Mathis and Yule (1994: 74) call 'zero quotatives',⁸ i.e. they are not preceded by any quotatives (e.g. 'she said' or 'she goes') and there is thus no attributed speaker. Carolyn's previous turns provide the relevance for Sharon's DRS.

Kathy responds with laughter on line 79 and Carolyn utters *yeah, see?* on lines 80–81, which can be seen as a display of affirmation that the

⁸ The term 'free-standing quotation' introduced by Clark and Gerric (1990: 772) also refers to the phenomenon of reported speech that has no initial markers such as she said or she goes, the only indicator of DRS thus being prosody.

conversationalists have successfully participated in acting out and have now reached a mutual stance. She produces a follow-up to the series of matching voiced DRS sequences by yet again explicating the stance in *it's like, distorted, they don't know what they're doing* on lines 82–86, which brings the overall sequence to an end. Carolyn thus sums up the shared stance that was formulated by using voiced DRS.

In this first example, Carolyn is the primary storyteller whereas Sharon acts as a co-teller who produces prosodically similar extensions to the current speaker's reported speech utterances. Carolyn sets up the context for the upcoming sequence of (matching) voiced DRS utterances and finally it is Carolyn who also produces a concluding follow-up. Thus, Carolyn and Sharon collaboratively construct a shared stance towards substitute teachers.

4. Voiced DRS in second stories: resonating with prior stance

In the previous example, the recipient contribution is in line with the projected storyline. The storyteller and the recipient only momentarily discontinue the telling to evaluate aspects of the story by producing matching voiced DRS sequences, and thus establish a shared stance. The following example 2 provides a similar practice in terms of collaborative stance taking. Nevertheless, the sequential environment of the use of voiced DRS is different from that in the first example: here the first story prompts a second story (Sacks 1992: 765, Tainio 1996: 16, Routarinne 1997: 152, Norrick 2000: 112, Arminen 2004: 320) from the initial recipient. I apply Du Bois' (2003b) notion of *resonance*, or the process of activating "potential affinity across instances of dialogic language use" throughout the analysis of voiced DRS in the second story. Example 2 thus provides a similar practice to that of the first example in terms of collaborative stance taking, i.e. the recipient's use of voiced DRS in the second story sustains and contributes to a stance displayed in the first story.

In example 2 Alina first tells about an *older guy* and a *young chick* who are a couple. Lenore then tells a second story about a tape she has made on which guys talk about younger women. Both stories ultimately deal with the relationship between an older man and a younger woman, or the attitudes of men towards younger women.

Example (2): *Real pill* (Cuz 200.73)

1 ALINA: the friend that was there with them,
 2 is this older guy with this young chick.
 3 (1.2)
 4 ALINA: @and she was like a real pill, ((whiny))
 5 you know,
 6 LENORE: [hm mh mh mh mh mh mh ((nasal sound laughter))
 7 gh gh gh] ((glottal laughter))
 8 ALINA: [she's sitting there,
 9 with this hai:r pulled back,
 10 in a little pony tai::l].
 11 LENORE: [HHHH]
 12 ALINA: [and she's like] sitting the:re and/@,
 13 .hh he said,
 14 I would have been here,
 15 >but @she was so late. ((annoyed))
 16 and getting her any place on time/@<,
 17 she's going,
 18 1→ .hh @well, ((whiny))
 19 1→ **I had to get rea::dy::/@.**
 20 .. [I don't know why:.
 21 LENORE: [hm mh mh mh mh mh]ah [hah hah hah hah hah]
 22 ALINA: [.skuh hm mh mh]
 23 .hhh nothing was gonna help her.
 24 .hhh no makeup,
 25 no nothing.
 26 1→ cause she's the little @gir=l, ((girly))
 27 1→ **and he's the older man,**
 28 1→ **and [he's taking care of me /@].**
 29 LENORE: [HHHH]
 30 ALINA: .nff
 31 (0.5)
 32 LENORE: ... g[od],
 33 ALINA: [tsk]
 34 LENORE: it sounds like the tape I made last night,
 35 and these guys s-(.) [start] talking about,
 36 ALINA: [.nff]
 37 LENORE: (.) you know,
 38 some,
 39 2→ .hh @you know, ((sappy))
 40 2→ h **she's so vul[nerable /@.**
 41 ALINA: [((drinking sound))]
 42 LENORE: .hh she's probably like] twenty-six,
 43 2→ @and she looks thirteen, ((sappy))
 44 2→ **and it['s just so],**
 45 ALINA: [.nhhh]
 46 2→ LENORE: .hh **it's like/@,**
 47 .hh >what did<_
 48 they said something like,
 49 2→ .hh @**you know what],** ((sappy))
 50 ALINA: [.nff]
 51 2→ LENORE: **.. it's the butterfly,**
 52 2→ **£you can' [t catch/@**
 53 ALINA: [AH HAH HAH HAH]

54 LENORE: .hh] and I'm l(h)ike,
 55 I'm t(h)rying not(h) to vomit,
 56 [>lis(h)tening< to this/£.
 57 ALINA: [£give me= br=eak.
 58 LENORE: ah hah hah]
 59 ALINA: give me a break /£].
 60 .hhh
 61 LENORE: .hh[h]
 62 ALINA: [that] stupid little b::itch.
 63 she just married [d:addy to take care of her].
 64 LENORE: [.hh ((swallowing sound)) hh]

It is noteworthy that Alina starts implementing voicing already prior to the actual DRS utterance on lines 4–12 when she describes the younger woman to Lenore. Alina applies the whiny voicing outside the DRS sequence and thus animates her evaluative description and gives it further potency by prosodically enhancing her negative stance towards the protagonist. The rises and falls of the intonation pattern are strongly exaggerated. The implications of using such an exaggerated voicing just prior to a DRS utterance could be that the change in voice quality not only emphasizes the message that the speaker is setting forth but also prepares the ground for the following DRS. Additionally, the boundaries of voicing are not clear cut: voicing is not restricted to DRS but appears to be a phenomenon that is more diffuse in nature. She also evaluates the younger woman verbally on lines 2 and 4 by using the terms *young chick* and *a real pill*⁹ that both present her in a negative light. Alina's evaluative utterances as a whole display the upcoming reported speaker as someone with unwanted characteristics, as a perky, overzealous, and rather nonsensical girl.

On lines 18–19 Alina uses DRS when she utters *well I had to get ready* (pitch track illustrated in Figure 3). She applies voicing that imitates a little girl's voice, which is high in pitch and also significantly more whiney, breathy and theatrical than Alina's own voice. The following fundamental frequency curve represents Alina's utterance on lines 1–2 (F0 in Figure 3) *the friend that was there with them was this older guy with this young chick*. This utterance can be seen to represent a sample of Alina's natural speaking voice.

⁹A disagreeable or tiresome person.



Figure 3. F0, example (2), lines 1–2

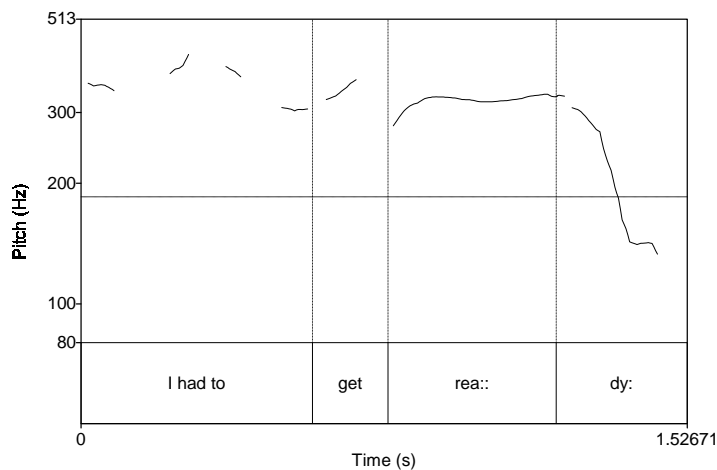


Figure 4. F0(4), example (2), line 19

The pitch curve shows that Alina's utterance is situated approximately between 125 and 206 Hz, making the pitch span 8.6 semitones, whereas the frequency of the voice fundamental of her DRS on lines 18–19, *I had to get ready* (see Figure 4), is considerably higher, between 140 and 413 Hz with a significantly wider pitch span of 18.7 semitones. Additionally, the difference in pitch movement between F0 in Figure 3 and F0 in Figure 4 is phenomenal: the pitch in 4 shows more dramatic and noticeable rises and falls.

In contrast to example 1, Lenore replies to Alina's story on line 34 by producing a topic marker that acts as a preface to her second story *It sounds like the tape I made last night*. The second story here is a response, as Jefferson (1978: 220) suggests, to something that in the ongoing

conversation reminds the participant of a story.¹⁰ Lenore's story turns out to be somewhat similar to Alina's and concerns men and their attitudes towards younger women. However, Lenore's story, which also contains extensively animated reported speech utterances, provides a different angle to the subject in that it seems to ridicule the men rather than the younger women. Lenore thus recycles the practice that Alina introduced in the preceding storytelling sequence by applying voiced DRS on lines 39–52 in her second story. It must be noted that Lenore does not recycle a prosodically matching voicing to Alina's voicing but rather a voicing that performs the same action, namely ridiculing the reported speaker.

On lines 35–38 Lenore indicates that she is about to describe what the men were talking about by stating *and these guys [start] talking about, you know, some*, but on lines 39–40 she already switches into voiced DRS and states *you know, she's so vulnerable*. She applies voicing that is more breathy and gentle than her own voice. The tempo is also slower and there are pauses that create a dreamy and sappy tone of voice, which is full of emotion. By switching from regular talk to voiced DRS, Lenore is able to display, on one hand, how the reported speaker presumably characterized the girl as someone who is vulnerable and, on the other hand, her own stance towards the reported speaker by adding a melodramatic and ridiculing voicing to the reporting. It can be argued that Lenore's sudden shift into voiced DRS produces the desired results with a minimum expenditure of energy, time, and words. Previous research (Holt 1996, Mayes 1990) shows that DRS is an extremely effective and economical way of reporting someone else's speech and conveying affective information. But by adding voicing, Lenore here not only significantly adds to the efficiency of DRS as a stance taking practice, but actually constructs the negative implication which is not conveyed by the actual words spoken. It is the voicing that turns an otherwise straightforward DRS utterance around and creates a rather negative affective stance towards the reported speaker. In the present example, Lenore does not provide Alina with descriptive information about her stance towards the two guys on her tape but uses only voiced DRS to display her affective stance towards them. Lenore's telling is contingent (Ford 2002) with Alina's previous telling:

¹⁰ Jefferson (1978) describes the process of launching into storytelling from ordinary turn-by-turn talk; however, my data shows that more or less the same procedure applies to launching into second stories as well.

Alina has just used a similar practice in her previous story, which provides the relevance for Lenore's use of voiced DRS to display her stance.

Lenore produces further matching voiced DRS to quote the men on lines 43–46 and 49–52 by uttering *and she looks thirteen and it's just so, it's like [...] you know what, it's the butterfly you can't catch*. The sappy and affectionate voicing further continues the prosodic design of her previous voiced DRS. She then concludes by reporting with a laughing voice her own rather negative reaction to the two men on lines 54–56, *and I'm like, I'm trying not to vomit, listening to this* (to the men).

Alina responds to Lenore's evaluative account of her own feelings by producing a follow-up, *give me break, give me a break. that stupid little bitch. she just married daddy to take care of her* on line 57–63, which sums up the sequence of voiced DRS utterances. Alina thus adds to her previous comments on the *young chick* by producing a strong evaluation *that stupid little bitch* on line 62, which enhances her already harsh opinion of her. Both stories display similar stances towards the older guys; however, they seem to have slightly different approaches to the matter at hand. In Alina's first story, the negative attitude is directed essentially towards the young chick rather than the older guy, whereas Lenore's story portrays the older guys as sappy and sentimental i.e. in a negative way. Nevertheless Alina's final explication on line 63, *she just married daddy to take care of her*, takes a more or less negative stance towards the older men as well, i.e. she implies that the young woman *just* marries an older guy so that he would provide for her, which portrays the older man as somewhat gullible. In her follow-up, Alina thus finally wraps up the two stories and a shared stance towards the older men and younger women.

Previous research (Houtkoop & Mazeland 1985, Ford 2002) shows that participants identify stories and project their ending, for example, based on recognizable story components. In the present example, Lenore exploits the participants' shared knowledge of the identifiable story components to compose a second story, which resonates structurally with the first story. Both storytellers first produce a preface followed by a telling sequence which includes a series of evaluative voiced DRS utterances. Both voiced DRS sequences are also displays of stance towards the same subject: the relationship between (older) men and younger women. Both stories also resonate in that they apply prosodically designed voicing to display stance towards the subject matter at hand.

5. Responding to recipient-initiated voiced DRS: agreeing with a disaligning stance

The following extract provides a contrasting example of the use of voiced DRS in storytelling: it differs from previous examples in that it is the recipient who acts as the initiator of DRS, and thus the sequential environment but also the function are different. Moreover, this particular example exemplifies the stance-relevant function of voiced DRS in displaying a disaligning stance. Despite the conflicting stance expressed by the recipient, the initial storyteller responds by producing a matching voiced DRS utterance. Most importantly, it manifests the orderliness of subsequent matching voiced DRS utterances which are collaboratively produced by co-participants.

In example 3, Carrie tells Stephen a story about an occasion when she visited a bar which advertises half priced *Bloody Mary* cocktails. Carrie was told by the bartender that the bar has run out of tomato juice, which is an essential part of the drink. Carrie then suggests that the bartender get some tomato juice from the grocery store next door. When her suggestion is refused she offers to take the money and go to the store herself to get some tomato juice. Carrie's friend Ronald is the third character in her story.

Example (3): *You're a pushy bastard* (Glasgow tape)

1 CARRIE: #a(h):n/#,
 2 he was going,
 3 (.) we:ll,
 4 (0.1)
 5 CARRIE: we're really busy_=
 6 =I was going,
 7 no honestly,
 8 it'll take you <two minutes>.
 9 (0.7)
 10 CARRIE: and he went,
 11 @oh, (.) ((discouraged))
 12 well,
 13 (0.3)
 14 CARRIE: [you know I can't really/@]_
 15 STEPHEN: [°you're a nightmare/°]?,
 16 CARRIE: =and I was like,
 17 if y- I was your manager,
 18 (0.3)
 19 CARRIE: you would be ↓there ↓now.
 20 STEPHEN: buying up [()].
 21 CARRIE: [(go) you ha]ve to go and get stuff,
 22 if you run out,
 23 you've got a shop nearby,

24 (.) .hhh he just went @a:lright/@,=
 25 =and he went off,
 26 and when he came back,
 27 (he goes),
 28 @eh I don't think we're going to be able to do it.
 29 .hh what else can I offer you/@.
 30 .hh @no.
 31 give me the money,
 32 (0.3)
 33 CARRIE: and I will go and get it/@.
 34 and he was like,
 35 (1.0)
 36 CARRIE: @ehh .hh ((nervous))
 37 oh,
 38 ehh he/@.
 39 CARRIE: (.) and he was just like,
 40 it †didn't even seem to affect him.
 41 (.)I was getting really annoyed?,
 42 and Ronald's just going,
 43 (0.2)
 44 STEPHEN: †you're a [pushy] bastard?,
 45 CARRIE: [you're like,]
 46 †yeah† well_
 47 (.)†fuckin' right though.
 48 1→ STEPHEN: @**there's a sign outside [saying Bloody Marys]**, ((angry))
 49 CARRIE: [eh he he]
 50
 51 1→ STEPHEN: (.) **I [WANT ONE] /@!**
 52 2→ CARRIE: [@ and you don't have **tomato juice** /@. ((angry))
 53 (0.2)
 54 Ronald's going,
 55 you're like The Loog.

In this example, the positioning of the series of DRS utterances is yet again different compared to the previous two examples. Here voiced DRS does not involve the actual story line or the climax of the story. Instead, Stephen interrupts Carrie's storytelling 0.2 seconds after her utterance on line 42, *and Ronald's just going*, when he displays his understanding of the story so far and produces an explicit assessment of Carrie's behaviour by stating *you're a pushy bastard* on line 44. Stephen thus provides a setup for the following voiced DRS utterance, which is directed against the protagonist, namely the teller of the story. Stephen's DRS utterance serves as an example of what Goodwin (1997:78) calls *byplay*, in which the evaluation provided by the recipient turns aside from the actual storyline but nevertheless "serves to delineate the principal conversational activity in progress".

Carrie stops the telling after Stephen's assessment and defends her action by uttering *yeah well, fucking right though* on lines 46–47. She thus treats Stephen's comment as criticism towards her actions. Stephen then

produces a voiced DRS utterance, *there's a sign outside saying Bloody Marys, I want one* on lines 48 and 51, which falls into Tannen's (1989: 110) category of dialogue constructed by the listener. He fabricates a direct order which the protagonist could have produced *in situ*. He applies a snappish and exaggeratedly demanding voicing, which gives the impression of an exceedingly demanding customer and thus displays the protagonist as a demanding and tantrum-prone individual, i.e. indeed a *pushy bastard*. Nevertheless his voicing is over-exaggerated to such an extent that it creates a comical effect; at least the recipient, Carrie, responds with laughter, which partly overlaps with the utterance. Stephen's voiced DRS utterance does not actually act as a direct order but rather functions as an account for the previous assessment, *you're a pushy bastard*, and as an animated representation of Stephen's stance towards Carrie's behaviour.

The most striking aspect of this extract is that despite the conflicting stances of the participants the initial storyteller responds to the recipient's disaligning stance by producing a matching voiced DRS. On line 52 Carrie produces an overlapping collaborative completion to Stephen's voiced DRS. She utters *and you don't have tomato juice*, which is prosodically and semantically designed to act as a continuation and provides an alternative ending to the first half of Stephen's voiced DRS, *there's a sign outside saying Bloody Marys*.

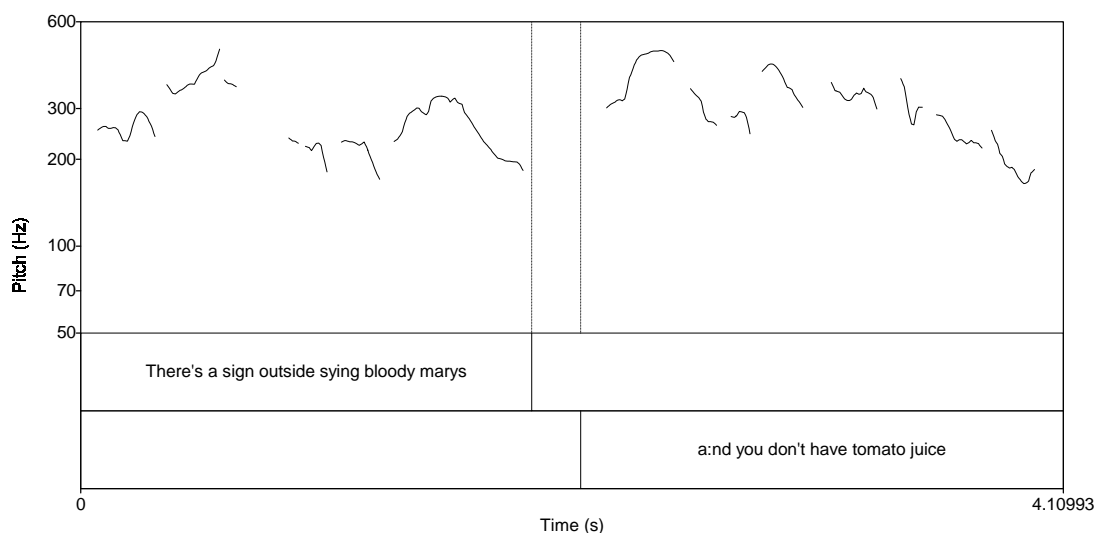


Figure 5. F0, example (3), lines 48, 52

F0 in Figure 5 shows the overall pitch pattern of the collaborative completion, which seems to comply with the earlier findings on the

phonetic design of collaborative completions, i.e. they are designed so that they follow the overall pitch of the prior talk and thus appear as continuation of that talk (see Couper-Kuhlen 1996, Szczeppek 2000, Local 2005).

Carrie's completion displays understanding of what has just been suggested by Stephen. It can be argued that Carrie nevertheless does not see eye to eye with Stephen in terms of a shared stance because she immediately resumes storytelling after her prosodically matching collaborative completion. Local (ibid: 10) suggests that often in collaborative constructions "not only is the incoming speaker bringing the turn to a syntactic and prosodic completion, they are potentially bringing the activity which the turn-in-progress was undertaking to a completion." Carrie here participates in bringing the disaligning activity, initiated by Stephen (*you're a pushy bastard*), to a completion and immediately resumes storytelling on line 54, *Ronald's going*, by partially repeating what she had said on line 42, *and Ronald's just going*, before the recipient-initiated DRS sequence began. The sequence initiated by Stephen is treated by both participants as a separate disaligning evaluation sequence which is not expanded any further. Participants nonetheless engage in stance taking by recycling each others voicing, which seems to indicate that responding to voiced DRS with subsequent voiced DRS can be more or less an ordered phenomenon in interaction. Furthermore, it accomplishes a display of alignment and a shared stance between participants.

6. Conclusion

Voiced DRS is a sequentially relevant interactive practice of stance taking in conversational storytelling. As we have seen, conversationalists can recycle each other's voicing in conversation, which can be seen as indicative of a shared stance and part of a wider stance taking activity between co-participants. By way of recycling matching voicing in DRS, participants thus engage in the reciprocal activity of building a shared stance turn by turn.

Matching voiced DRS can appear in various sequential environments in conversational storytelling. Chapter 3 introduces an example of a sequence of matching voiced DRS utterances within a single story. The initial storyteller provides a setup for the voiced DRS sequence, which is followed by a series of voiced DRS utterances by her. The recipient then produces a subsequent series of voiced DRS utterances, which in turn

sometimes overlap with further voiced DRS utterances from the initial teller, who finally wraps up the sequence by producing a follow-up.

In chapter 4 the recipient's use of voiced DRS in the second story builds upon and contributes to a stance displayed in the first story. The teller of the first story sets up a context for voiced DRS and again produces a series of voiced DRS utterances. The teller of the second story then produces a similar series of voiced DRS utterances, which resonate with the prior stance by way of applying a voicing that performs the same overall action as in the first story. Finally, a concluding follow-up is produced by the teller of the first story.

Chapter 5 introduces the stance-relevant function of voiced DRS in displaying a disaligning stance. Unlike in the first two examples, the voiced DRS is not in line with the projected story line, but rather interferes with the story line of the initial teller. The initial storyteller nonetheless responds by producing a matching voiced DRS utterance, which momentarily displays a shared stance and thus allows her to resume the telling. This seems to indicate that a voiced DRS utterance that displays a shared stance is in fact a preferred response to a first voiced DRS. This suggests that the occurrence of subsequent matching voiced DRS utterances is an orderly phenomenon in interaction. It therefore appears that, in the analyzed examples, matching voiced DRS is a sequentially relevant practice in stance taking. However, a larger collection of matching voiced DRS within the storytelling structure and a detailed look at the non-occurrence of matching voiced DRS is needed in order to establish how strong an interactional order it represents.

Appendix: Transcription key

For the purpose of this paper, I have compiled a transcription key from Tainio (1997) and Gardner (2001) which chiefly follows the notation that is based on the Jeffersonian system. All examples have been transcribed into intonation units. No capital letters have been used except in names and first person singular personal pronouns.

.	terminal contour: falling
?	terminal contour: strongly rising
?,	terminal contour: slightly rising
;	continuative contour : slight fall

yes_	continuative contour: level pitch
,	continuative contour: slight rise
!	strongly animated tone, pitch movement in any direction
[]	overlapping
=	latching
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 sec)
(2.0)	length of pause in approximate seconds
ye:s	stretching of sound
ye-	truncated word
<u>yes</u>	contrastive stress or emphasis
YES	increased volume
°yes/°	decreased volume
hhh	audible breath
.hhh	audible in-breath
↑	A marked upward shift in pitch, high pitch has sudden onset but gradually wanders down
↓	A marked downward shift in pitch, low pitch has sudden onset but gradually wanders up
ye(hh)s	within-speech aspiration, laughter
((cough))	untranscribable sounds, transcriber's comments or description of voice quality e.g. ((angry))
(yes)	uncertain hearing, transcriber's best guess
()	uncertain hearing
-yes, _yes	higher, lower than surrounding speech
£yes/£	smiley voice
#yes/#	creaky voice
>yes<	faster than surrounding speech
<yes>	slower than surrounding speech
@yes/@	change in voice quality, usually reported speech

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Contact information:

Maarit Niemelä
 Department of English
 P.O. Box 1000
 90014 OULUN YLIOPISTO
 Finland
 +3588553 3426
 e-mail: maarit.h.niemela@oulu.fi