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Discourse Markers in Different Types of Reporting

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Abstract

The present paper is informed by discourse marker research, often considered a testing ground for pragmatic theories. The paper's primary aim is to illustrate the benefits of the cross-fertilization between IR/DR and DM research and to argue that the analysis of discourse markers can serve as a heuristic tool to reveal differences in the use of indirect and direct reports

across a variety of genres and text types in our four sub-corpora: 1. NC=natural conversations, 2. CI=celebrity interviews, 3. MPI=mediatized political interviews, and 4. SD=scripted discourse. The combination of automatic and manual annotation, complemented by the statistical analysis of the results, attempts to answer the following two sets of questions: (1) What patterns can be observed in terms of the frequency and grammatical features (tense, aspect, voice) of reporting verbs? (2) What kind of cross-genre differences can we observe with reference to reporting and the use of DMs in different types of reports (in terms of the frequency and functions of DMs, different report types, host units and p-contexts)?

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The present paper is informed by research in a sub-field of pragmatics, discourse marker research, often considered a "growth industry" (Fraser 1999: 931) and, at the same time, a "testing ground" (Bordería 2008: 1354) for pragmatic theories. The paper's aims are to illustrate that the analysis of discourse markers (henceforth DMs) can serve as a heuristic tool for revealing differences in the use of indirect and direct reports (henceforth IRs and DRs) across a variety of genres and text types, as well as to demonstrate the benefits of the cross-fertilization between IR/DR and DM research.

Different types of reports, as well as DMs, are used as inherently metatextual and/or metacommunicative devices. Cappelen & Lepore (2007), for example, describe both IRs and DRs (in their terms direct/indirect 'quotations' or 'attributions') as "language turned on itself", while the functions of DMs have been alternatively described as meta-communicative (Frank-Job 2006), metatextual (Traugott 1995), or discourse-interactional (for an overview cf. Heine to appear: 10). Even though the insertion of DMs into IRs has been proposed as a possible test for distinguishing between IRs and DRs (cf. Capone 2016: 60ff), few papers have explored in detail the interaction (or overlap, as we will see in section 5.2) between the two types of meta-communicative devices. Norrick (2001) discusses the use of DMs in narratives, while Norrick (2016) relates IRs and narratives. However, to our knowledge, a detailed discussion of a three-way connection has not yet been offered. Similarly, Blakemore (2013) discusses at length the role of 'subjectivity markers' in free indirect style, and explains how DMs as a subgroup of subjectivity markers contribute to the illusion that the recipient (reader) of the IR is participating

in the producer's (narrator's) thought processes (Blakemore 2013: 582ff). Once again, the additional roles and functions DMs display in IRs are outside the paper's scope.

The present paper is also informed by the work of Kertész & Rákosi (2016) on the inferential structure of indirect reports, which argues that indirect reports can be reconstructed as two consecutive plausible inference processes (cf. Rescher 1976): that of the original utterance, conducted by the reporter, and that of the processed report, conducted by the listener (of the indirect report). Kertész & Rákosi's (2016) model explains the relationship between these two (as well as the inferential nature of indirect reports in general) by introducing the concept of the p-context-dependence of IR production and processing. The present research adapts the notion of p-contexts with respect to the categorization of individual instances of DMs in both IRs and DRs (for details, see 5.4).

1.2. The class of discourse markers

DMs comprise a functional class of linguistic items that do not typically change the propositional meaning of an utterance but are essential for the organization and structuring of discourse, for marking the speaker's attitudes to the proposition being expressed, and for facilitating processes of pragmatic inferences. A variety of definitions have been offered, each informed by a particular theoretical framework (Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Rhetorical Structure Theory, Relevance Theory, etc., for an overview, see Fischer 2006; Furkó 2007).

In the present paper we take a highly inclusive approach to DMs and define them as a set of syntactically diverse linguistic items (e.g. *of course, surely, I think, well*, etc.) that meet (all or most of) the following criteria: (1) they are used for either attitudinal or meta-communicative / metatextual functions (cf. section 1.1 above), (2) they lack conceptual meaning, (3) they do not add to the propositional content of IRs and DRs, and (4) their distinctive properties include (discourse) indexicality, context-dependence and multifunctionality. For a typical example of a DM, see *well* in example 1:

Example 1: ***Well****, I was asked what I thought about that.* (MPI)

Thus the term DM will be used as an umbrella term whose extension includes items with a primarily textual, discourse-connecting function, as well as primarily non-connective,

interpersonal attitude markers. The former, textual markers are alternatively referred to as discourse markers (cf. Schiffrin, 1987), connectives or connectors (cf. Celle & Huart, 2007), or mots du discours (cf. Ducrot, 1984); the latter, interpersonal markers are alternatively referred to as pragmatic particles (cf. Meyerhoff, 1994), pragmatic expressions (cf. Erman, 1987), pragmatic force modifiers (cf. Nikula, 1995), or illocutionary force indicating devices, 'IFIDs' (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987). The categorization and functional taxonomy of DMs is, naturally, beyond the scope of the present study; for an overview of the relevant terminological considerations, see e.g. Fraser (1996).

1.3. Types of reports: DRs, IRs and voicing

The distinction between two types of reports, i.e. *direct* and *indirect reports* (or direct and indirect accounts of events and previous utterances) is vindicated in Capone (2016: 55–75). However, since the boundary between the two categories is not clear-cut, there are still certain controversies and open questions regarding the distinction. Generally, both are used to report on an earlier utterance, implying the original speaker's intentions, as well. However, direct reports (henceforth: DRs) are formally considered to be pure quotations (often marked by quotation marks or italics) where the voices of the reporter and the original speaker are clearly distinguished, and where explicatures are not required or relevant (Allan 2016). Indirect reports (henceforth: IRs), on the other hand, constitute more complex linguistic phenomena, relying on explicatures and undergoing pragmatic changes (explicatures) and grammatical transformations (compared to the original utterance), such as pronoun change, indexical change, paraphrasis, backshift, summary, expansion and elimination of certain parts of the original utterance (Wieland 2013: 389–391). Polyphony (cf. Capone 2016) is a further feature of IRs, and it is exactly the problem of distinguishing the different voices (on the part of the hearer) that makes the study of IRs challenging. As Weigand (2015) puts it, language essentially has a dialogic structure, which is also mirrored in reports. Generally, the hearer of a report is usually not able to have access to the original context of the reported utterance, therefore, s/he has to perform transformations that enable the interpretation of that utterance (cf. Capone 2016: 2).

Kertész and Rákosi (2016: 435–470) argue that each indirect report provides latent background assumptions about the premises and statements related to the original utterance btg as well as any further information necessary to infer the producer's conclusions. Thus, the linguist/hearer needs to identify as many background assumptions and create as many contexts

as are necessary in order to determine all the relevant factors for the production (as well as processing) of an IR. As a result, the conclusions of the inference(s) drawn by the reporter and the premise of the inference produced by the listener are not always (completely) identical (2016: 448). Furthermore, IRs also work as pragmatic vehicles to express irony, humour, sarcasm, etc. Ideally, indirect reporting involves the abilities of understanding and representing both the locutionary and illocutionary content of speech, among others (cf. Wieland 2016). Nevertheless, variance in the plausibility of the premises or background assumptions may cause failures in the communication process (Kertész and Rákosi 2016: 450). In contrast to the more complex inferential nature of IRs, DRs are not polyphonic; therefore, they do not hide slots for different voices to make comments, and are consequently more straightforward to interpret/evaluate (Capone 2016: 71).

In the example of a DR given below we can find a word-for-word quotation of the reported utterance where the pronoun remains the same as in the original utterance and the tense of the verb in the report is not backshifted:

Example 2: *I said, Mom, we gotta go.* (SBC, NC sub-corpus)

In contrast, as illustrated in examples 1 and 3, the features of IRs may include pronoun change (compared to the original utterance), paraphrase, reformulated structure, backshift and summary:

Example 3: *The Conservative party have said, for instance, on the NHS, they want to take a billion pounds.* (MPI)

In addition to the (more or less straightforward) distinction between DRs and IRs, we would like to draw attention to a third type of reporting, namely the phenomenon of *voicing*. Voicing the discourse of others is defined as a device whereby speakers can distance themselves from what is being said, and position themselves in the voices of others rather than their own (White 2000). It is a recurrent theme in the 2016 Capone volume that in most IRs it is untenable and unlikely that the reporter of the IR reproduces the (exact words of the) original utterance. When we analyse utterances of *voicing*, we do not compare with, or refer to, an original utterance, since during *voicing* speakers report an utterance that is probable, typical or likely to be heard or produced by a speaker other than the present one. In short, while DRs and IRs both report on earlier utterances or exchanges, voicing presents a hypothetical/imaginary utterance. Typical

reporting expressions in *voicing* include the following (also shown in examples 4 and 5):

- *what sy. often says, why don't they say, (sy. will say ...*);
- *what somebody tends to say/is likely to say/ is likely to have said;*
- reporting verbs often co-occur with negatives and conditionals, e.g. *'No one asked them if...', 'If you were here and someone told you...'; 'They would keep saying...' 'we could say...' 'somebody would say ..'*

Example 4: ***No-one asked*** *them, "**Well** what does that mean with the things you're not going to go ahead with?"* (MPI)

Example 5: ***Well****, there's never been any question of him (Tony Blair) standing down. **You know** I, but not just I, and many other people across government and in the parliamentary party, you know, in the Labour Party as a whole, it - **have said**, in difficult times, we're right with you; carry on, because we've got a big job to finish. That's where he is, you know he is absolutely up ...* (MPI)

As examples 4 and 5 illustrate, conversationalization and a resulting increase in the use of DMs often appears in connection with voicing. The examples also show that voicing cuts across the usual formal distinctions between IRs and DRs and can occur with or without pronoun change or quotation marks.

1.4. Research questions

We will approach the use of DMs in different types of reports with a view to answering two sets of research questions:

1.   What patterns can be observed in terms of the frequency and grammatical features (tense, aspect, voice) of **reporting verbs**? (Answers in section 4)

2   What kind of **cross-genre differences** can we observe with reference to reporting and the use of DMs in different types of reports:

2.1.   Is there a statistically significant difference in terms of the frequency of DMs in reporting across the four sub-corpora? (Answers in 6.1)

2.2.   Is there a statistically significant difference in terms of the distribution of the different types of reporting (DRs, IRs, V) across the four sub-corpora? If so, what factors may account for the differences? (Answers in 6.2)

2.3.   What are the most salient functions of DMs in reporting? What similarities and

differences can be observed in terms of the contributions of DMs to reporting across genres on the basis of our corpora? (Answers in 6.3)

2.4.   What differences can be observed, in terms of the relationship between the reports that function as host units for DMs, and the previous discourse segments? (Answers in 6.4)

2.5.   What further findings and perspectives does the study of p-contexts add to the analysis of DM use in reporting? Does it yield more nuanced differences among the genres/sub-corpora under scrutiny? Do the distributions of the p-contexts which DMs are associated with differ significantly across genres? (Answers in 6.5)

2. Research material

Our material under scrutiny consists of the following sub-corpora:

- a BBC corpus of 37 confrontational mediatized political interviews (henceforth MPI sub-corpus) selected from *Hard Talk* and *Newsnight* through the method of downsampling (cf. Khosravinik 2010);
- celebrity interviews (henceforth CI sub-corpus) downsampled from CNN's *Larry King Live*;
- a corpus of scripted dialogues (henceforth SD sub-corpus) based on the first season of the TV series *House, M. D.*;
- 30 randomly selected informal/natural conversations of the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (Du Bois et al. 2000–2005) (henceforth NC sub-corpus).

In a previous study (Furkó & Abuczki 2014), we found that genre seems to be a powerful variable in the production of discourse relations as well as in terms of the resulting patterns of DM uses. While MPIs and CIs share similar formal and functional features with respect to turn-taking mechanisms, asymmetrical speaker roles, and the observable interactional frames (first-frame participants, i.e. interviewers/interviewees vs. second-frame participants, i.e. audience members), CIs appeared closer to NCs in terms of both the frequency and functional spectra of several DMs. For example, the turn-taking mechanism in MPIs can be characterized as more mechanistic and predetermined than in either NCs or in CIs, resulting in higher frequencies of presentation markers such as *I think* and *I mean*, rather than reception markers such as *well* and *oh*. We have also found that in the MPI sub-corpus the higher frequency of evidential markers

such as *of course* with non-interactional functions might be explained by the fact that by using evidential markers the speaker recognizes that the context is heteroglossic, s/he is presented as responding to prior utterances, or anticipating a response expressing alternative viewpoints.

In the present study we will attempt to nuance such observations and relate cross-genre differences in DM use to different patterns of reporting in the four sub-corpora.

We decided to include the SD sub-corpus in order to substantiate previous research into the differences between NC and scripted conversations (SD). Both Chovanec (2011) and Dynel (2011) argue in favour of the legitimacy of the latter type of data in the field of linguistics in general and discourse analysis in particular. Dynel (2011) observes that scripted discourse mirrors "language users' everyday communicative patterns" (2011: 43) and invokes "an illusion of real-life conversations" (ibid.). Furkó (2010) argues that similarly to linguists who rely on their own intuitions in order to make grammaticality judgements, the discourse analyst who looks at dramatized dialogues relies on script writers' intuitions about conversational mechanisms and communicative strategies (Furkó 2010: 114). Moreover, since the script-writer's intuitions and skills manifest themselves in the "verisimilitude of fictional interactions" (Dynel 2011: 43), the study of scripted data strikes up a balance between thought experiments in linguistics, and field methods that rely on the study of real-life conversations. Relating the functional spectra of DMs to the analysis of different types of reports can also broaden our perspective on the use of scripted discourse as data for analysis.

3. An overview of the research process and methodology

We will apply some notions of the *p-model of data and evidence* - such as *sources* and *reliability* (Kertész & Rákosi 2012, 2014) as well as *inferential structure* and *report processing* (Kertész & Rákosi 2016) - to the analysis of IRs, narrowing it down to the study of the context-dependence of IRs and the adjustment of p-contexts to the role of DMs in reports. In the framework of the p-model, the pluralism of linguistic theories and research methods is fruitful and should be utilised in order to obtain more reliable and better-founded solutions to the problems of linguistic research (Kertész & Rákosi 2014: 7). Accordingly, we also aim to follow the cyclic and prismatic nature of linguistic theorizing and employ a dynamic process of argumentation; therefore, we will be answering the above research questions (in 1.4) from two different perspectives, retrospectively re-evaluating our data as well as our methodological

norms:

1. from the perspective of automatic semantic annotation and concordancing (with subsequent manual correction) with a view to maximizing the number of instances of the different types of reports to be considered in our data;

2. from the perspective of careful manual annotation of randomly selected reports from all four sub-corpora.

In sum, we believe that there is no single correct solution to problems, hence the different perspectives taken in the course of answering our research questions. The two perspectives differ in terms of the research questions they are aimed at answering (perspective 1 is aimed at answering RQ 1 and RQs 2.1–2.4, perspective 2 attempts to answer RQs 2.1–2.5; cf. sections 4 and 6.1–6.5) as well as the type of methodology involved (from quantitative through combined to qualitative methods), the role the researchers' intuitions and interpretation play in the analysis (in increasing order), and in terms of the degree of inductivity / deductivity of the individual approaches, as we proceed from deductive / top down to inductive / instance-based / bottom-up analyses.

4. Research perspective 1: automatic semantic annotation and keyness of reporting verbs and expressions

4.1. Description of the process and terminology of automatic semantic annotation

In this section we will apply two established corpus linguistic instruments as a first approximation to the differences between reporting verbs and other reporting expressions across the four genres under scrutiny. The first instrument is automatic semantic annotation (ASA) complemented by manual error correction and filtering. ASA, as the name suggests, is the application of a computerized semantic tagging (CST) system, and, as such, offers a highly objective and replicable comparison of the relevant lexical items across the various sub-corpora.

There are a variety of CST systems, including artificial intelligence-based, knowledge-based, corpus-based, and semantic taxonomy-based systems (for an overview, cf. Prentice 2010). The present analysis will draw on the results gained from the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS), which has the major advantage of combining these approaches: grouping lexical items in terms of a taxonomy of semantic fields as well as assigning semantic categories to all words (Prentice 2010: 408). The system uses an automatic coding scheme of 21 semantic

fields (see table 1 below), subdivided into 232 sub-categories (the complete coding scheme can be found at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/).

In order to identify and compare reporting words and expressions in the four sub-corpora, we looked up the semantic tags assigned to frequent reporting verbs such as *say, tell, ask, recommend* etc. and then used those semantic tags to identify further types and tokens relevant to reporting. What we found was that all instances of reporting verbs and expressions we managed to trawl from the sub-corpora through this method are either tagged with Q2.1 (terms relating to communication) or Q2.2 (speech act terms) according to the USAS coding scheme.

Table 1. Semantic fields in USAS

A General and abstract terms	B The body and the individual	C Arts and crafts	E Emotional actions, states and processes
F Food and farming	G Government and the public domain	H Architecture, buildings, houses and the home	I Money and commerce
K Entertainment, sports and games	L Life and living things	M Movement, location, travel and transport	N Numbers and measurement
O Substances, materials, objects and equipment	P Education	Q Linguistic actions, states and processes	S Social actions, states and processes
T Time	W The world and our environment	X Psychological actions, states and processes	Y Science and technology
Z Names and grammatical words			

The tag Q2.1 in the USAS annotation system is described as "Terms relating to spoken communication". Prototypical examples in the USAS manual *include chat, chatter, comment, converse, give an account of*, etc. The most frequent reporting words and expressions that were tagged as Q2.1 in our corpus were *say, talk, point (out), interview, mention, (give a) speech, (make a) point, note and (make a) statement*.

The Q2.2 tag is described as the category of "Speech act terms". Prototypical examples in the USAS manual include *abrogate, accuse, address, announce, answer, shout,* etc. The most frequent reporting verbs that received a Q2.2 tag were *tell, call, question, ask, name, answer, explain*, and *suggest*.

In order to catch a first glimpse of the co-occurrence patterns of DMs and different types of reporting we also identified lexical items we include in our study as DMs under two annotation labels:

Z4, described in the USAS manual as the "discourse bin" including items such as *oh, I mean, you know, basically, obviously, right, yeah, yes*.

A5.1, described as "evaluative terms depicting quality", including DMs such as *well, OK, okay, good, right, alright*.

4.2. Results of the automatic semantic annotation

Table 2 below summarizes the normalized frequencies of each semantic category identified as relevant to reporting:

Table 2. Normalized frequencies of the relevant USAS categories

corpus	Q2.1 pttw	Q2.2 pttw
MPI sub-corpus	139.7	101.1
SD sub-corpus	71.69	91.26
CI sub-corpus	56.9	48.7
NC sub-corpus	28.14	21.46

The table shows that terms relating to spoken communication, as well as speech act verbs, are rather unevenly distributed across the four sub-corpora. As for the dispersion values, Juilland's D is 0.68, which is a variation coefficient of 31.93% for words tagged with Q2.1, while Juilland's D is 0.72, and CV is 28.34% for speech act verbs. Thus, we can safely observe that in mediatized political interviews metacommunication is the most widespread, while in spontaneous everyday conversations it is the least salient in the four sub-corpora under scrutiny, with SD and CI showing approximately median values of frequency.

Table 3, on the other hand, shows normalized frequencies of co-occurrences of reporting expressions (tagged Q2.1 and Q2.2) and lexical items tagged as Z4 or A5.1, some of which are expected to be DMs in the sense we are using the term here:

Table 3 Normalized frequencies of co-occurrences of reporting expressions and discourse structuring / evaluative lexical items

corpus	Q2.1 w/ Z4	Q2.2 w/ Z4	Q2.1 w/ A5.1	Q2.2 w/ A5.1
MPI	3445	2528	836	386
SD	1301	3270	384	1046
CI	614	641	110	91
NC	1024	766	183	159

These co-occurrence patterns between the two groups of meta-communicative devices also suggest that metacommunication is more explicit and nuanced in MPIs and SD than in the other two subgenres. This was confirmed by random spot-checks of stretches of discourse where Q2.1 and Q2.2 tags cluster together in the concordance plot, as illustrated by figure 1 below:
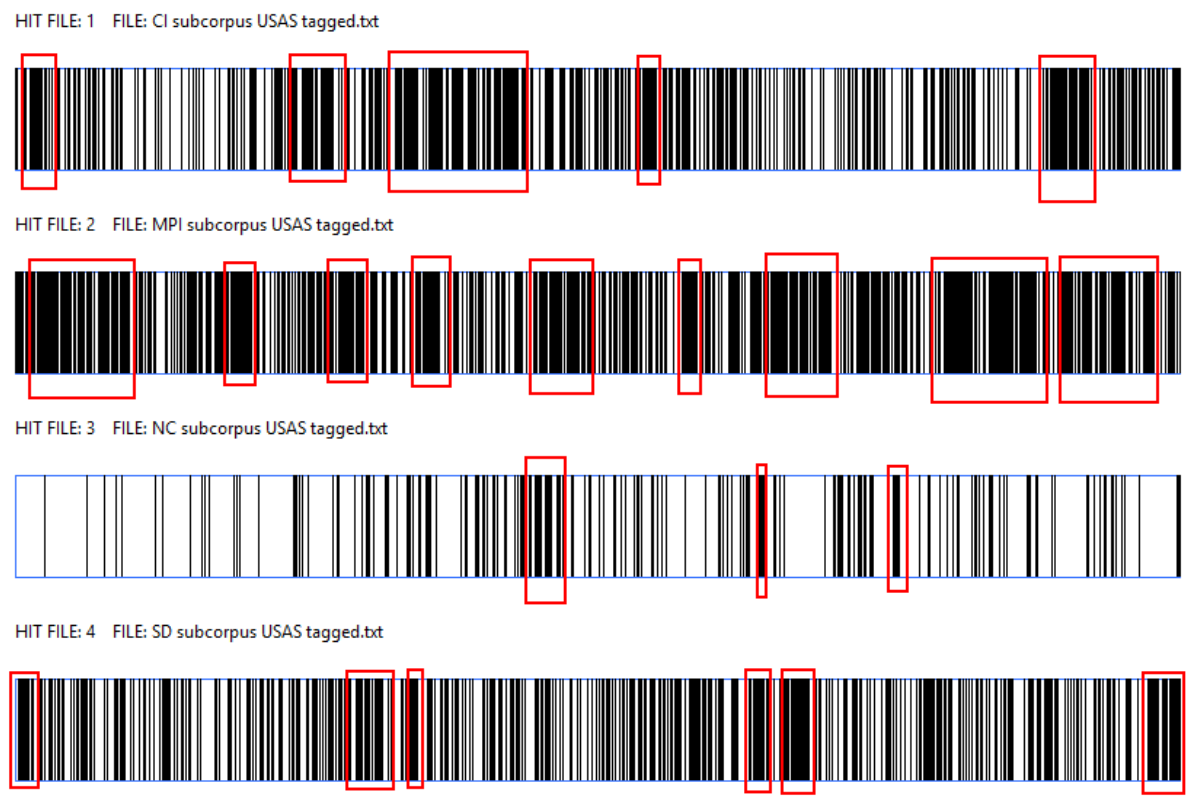

Fig. 1 Concordance plots of Q2.1 and Q2.2 tags across the four sub-corpora

As can be expected, the higher the frequency of Q2.1 and Q2.2 tags in a given sub-corpus, the more likely that clusters occur within it. However, meta-communicative devices tend to

cluster for different reasons in the sub-corpora, as illustrated by examples 6 and 7 below:

Example 6 (extract from the MPI sub-corpus):

IE: They [the weapons inspectors] were effectively thrown out for the reason that I will give you. [...] **So** *when you say* **<Q2.1>** *the inspectors, when you imply* **<Q2.1>** *the inspectors were in there doing their work, that is simply not the case.*

IR: I did not imply **<Q2.1>** *that, I merely stated* **<Q2.1>***the fact that they were not thrown out, they were withdrawn.* **And** *you concede* **<Q2.2>** *they were withdrawn.*

IE: They were withdrawn because they couldn't do their job. **I mean** *let's not be ridiculous about this, there's no point in the inspectors being in there unless they can do the job they're put in there to do.* **And** *the fact is we know that Iraq throughout that time was concealing its weapons.*

IR: **Right.**

IE: **Well hang on***, you say* **<Q2.1>** **right***, they were concealing their weapons, they lied* **<Q2.1>** *both about the existence of their nuclear weapons programme and their biological weapons programme and it was only when people were interviewed* **<Q2.1>***, when they defected from the Iraq regime and were interviewed* **<Q2.1>***, that we discovered the existence, full existence of those programmes* **at all***.*

Example 7:

And *one of these days he walked up to me and said* **<Q2.1>***, You don't like me,* **do you***. I said* **<Q2.1>***,* **Now***, Jimmy, that's not fair. [...] I said* **<Q2.1>***, How in the world did you get in here?* **And** *he said* **<Q2.1>***, Through the window. I said* **<Q2.1>***, Next time, Sonny, you come through the front door just like everybody else.* (CI)

As illustrated by the examples above, random spot-checks of Q2 tag clusters suggest that in MPIs such clusters indicate the negotiation and explication of previous statements (cf. ***when you say / when you imply / I did not imply / I merely stated / you concede***). These explicative reports suggest a heightened sense of pragmatic accountability on the part of both interviewers and interviewees.

On the other hand, the extract taken from CIs above is also illustrative of the two other sub-corpora, in that Q2 tag clusters mainly indicate the use of reporting verbs in narratives, i.e. sequences of events and the accompanying reporting words / expressions.

The two extracts also foreshadow the different patterns of DM uses associated with reporting statements (DMs are highlighted in bold), in that (often the same) DMs in MPIs appear to have mainly rhetorical functions and reinforce argumentation (exemplified by *so / and / I mean / and*), while in CIs and NCs there is an important functional salience of frame shifting in general, and the marking of narrative sequence (*and* / *and*), as well as evaluation / side sequences (*now*) in particular.

Having identified the relevant reporting verbs and expressions and their dispersion across the four sub-corpora, the second corpus linguistic instrument we applied was the keyness of the relevant words and expression with respect to the frequency of those words in a reference corpus. In the course of calculating keyness we compared the four sub-corpora in pairs: measuring keyness in a particular sub-corpus against a second sub-corpus used as a point of reference, resulting in six keyness pairs altogether. In order to calculate keyness, two separate statistical methods were used, the Log Likelihood and Chi-Square Tests, yielding converging results. Because of space considerations we only include the Log Likelihood scores of reporting verbs that have keyness in one sub-corpus with respect to a different sub-corpus used as a reference corpus. The results are summarized in table 4 below:

Table 4. Keyness of reporting words in the four sub-corpora

reporting verb	sub-corpus/its reference corpus	number of tokens per 10000 words	keyness (log likelihood)
say	MPI/CI	24.9	35.5
saying	MPI/CI	14.2	97.37
said	CI/MPI	43.5	9.965
tell	CI/MPI	13.5	14.14
tell	NC/MPI	8.5	11.27
talk	CI/MPI	25.5	15.31
figured	SD/MPI	2.2	11.641

figured	NC/MPI	1.9	8.41

The keyness of various forms of reporting verbs suggest different patterns of reporting across the four genres under scrutiny. The keyness of both 'say' and 'saying' in the MPI can be associated with the confrontational quality of the genre, since they are mostly used in challenges as well as in requests for clarification:

Example 8: *You **say** 'exaggeration'. Why would a serving British officer risk his career to go public with something he is obviously deeply concerned about?* (MPI)

Example 9: *But when you **say** that Saddam is a monster that is irrelevance, I'm afraid, to how you deal with the situation...* (MPI)

Example 10: *So you're **saying** in this election, you will replace them as the official opposition* (MPI)

'Said', on the other hand, is the reporting verb that occurs more frequently in narratives than any other form of the lexeme 'say' (or 'tell'). Thus, its keyness in CIs reveals the same pattern of clustering in narrative that we found in connection with the Q2 tag clusters in this sub-corpus - consider example 7 above.

The keyness of 'talk' in CIs underlies the non-confrontational, conversational nature of the genre. While many of its uses can only marginally be considered IRs, there are typical IR uses in CIs and NCs that are not present in the other subgenres:

Example 11: *We often **talked** about her high moral principles* (CI)

Example 12: *You know like how we have always **talked** about life being out there* (NC)

'Figured' is similarly marked for informal and conversational use, hence its keyness in CIs and the NC sub-corpus:

Example 13: *But he **figured**,.. if I don't do it, it's gonna fall on you or Pat.* (NC)

Example 14: *I think they're trying to **figure** out how they -- they're doing the movie "The*

Producers" (CI)

'Tell' also has keyness in both NCs and Cis; however, its most frequent use is not in IRs but in gambits / invitations to elaborate on a certain subject:

Example 15: *Jack, this is a beautiful animal.* **Tell** *me about it.* (CI)

Example 16: *Would you* **tell** *me the circumstances of how he came to live with his cousins?* (CI)

In sum, we have seen that automatic semantic annotation and a consequent keyness analysis of reporting expressions reveals interesting patterns of use and leads one to hypothesize about cross-genre differences in terms of different types of reports, as well as the role of DMs in IRs, DRs and voicing. The first perspective we have taken involved a quantitative, highly objective, top-down inductive analysis resulting in a number of issues to be explored in the course of the next stages of our research.

There are important details about the use of reporting verbs as well as their correlations with a variety of DMs that remain concealed behind the statistical data. Two cases in point are, firstly, the frequency with which the semantically tagged words are actually used as reporting words, whether, for example, they are associated with "use" or "mention" (cf. Wieland 2013), and secondly, whether individual DMs that show up in the collocation searches have a focus over the (in)direct reports whose reporting verbs they collocate with, or simply appear in proximity to reporting verbs by coincidence, as their host unit happens to precede or follow the report. In order to resolve these issues, individual reports and DMs have to be manually annotated and processed, a methodology we now turn to.

5. Research perspective 2: manual annotation

5.1. List of annotation levels/tiers

First, let us briefly list our annotation levels and tags, which will be described in more detail in sections 5.2–5.4. In accordance with our research questions (cf. 1.4), we annotated our corpus material along the following lines:

5.1.1   **Tokenization of reporting verbs/expressions** (see section 6.1 for findings)

5.1.2   **Types of reporting**: **IR / DR / V** (indirect report / direct report / voicing); (for the definitions of DR, IR and voicing, see section 1.3; for the findings of the manual annotation see Fig. 3 in 6.2);

5.1.3   **DM functions and contributions** to the reporting: 1. boost, 2. hedge, 3. distance, 4. alignment, 5. neutral – e.g. boundary marking, 6. DM is the reporting verb or the report itself (for details of the annotation process see section 5.2; for the findings see section 6.3);

5.1.4   **Host unit's function**: **C / S** (confrontational / supportive) (for terminology with examples see section 5.3; for their distributions see 6.4).

5.1.5   **P-contexts** DMs can be associated with: p-context 1.1 / p-context 1.2 / p-context 2 / p-context 3[1] (for the definitions of the tags details see section 5.4 below; for the results see 6.5).

Having listed the tags we used, let us now turn to a more detailed description of the categories and terminology of the manual annotation (sections 5.2–5.4 below).

5.2. The annotation of the functions and contributions of DMs to the different types of reports

For the purposes of statistical analysis, we later merged some of these categories: 1. *boost* and 2. *hedge* were merged under the category of *pragmatic force modifiers* (PFM, subjective functions); 3. *distance* and 4. *alignment* were merged as the category of *positioning* (intersubjective functions); while the 5. *boundary marking* contribution (textual function as opposed to the previous subjective and intersubjective functions) was left intact because of its high number of occurrences, which is due to the frequency of connectives such as *and, because* and *so*. After the preliminary stages of the annotation we also identified a sixth type of DM contribution, for which we decided to use a new annotation tag (DM as IR), cf. examples 17a, 17b and 18 below:

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[1] For the purposes of (statistical) analysis, we later merged categories 1.1 and 1.2 as p-context 1.

Example 17a *And I thought, **OK*** (CI)

Example 17b *So I said, "**Oh**."* (CI)

Example 18: *I was **like…*** (NC)

In the above examples DMs play a role which is unlike their contribution in any of the other categories, since here the DM either constitutes the report itself (cf. example 17a and b) or is used as a reporting expression (cf. example 18). In such uses DMs are not optional in syntactic terms, and clearly contribute to the propositional meaning of the utterance.

Discussing the status of such uses of lexical items that are otherwise most frequently used as DMs is beyond the scope of the present paper. As we mentioned in the introduction, we take an inclusive approach to DMs and, therefore, decided to annotate such instances under a separate category.

The conversion of our preliminary functional categories resulted in four final categories, each illustrated by examples 19–24, respectively:

(1) PFM (DMs functioning as pragmatic force modifiers, expressing subjective functions)

Example 19: *There are people who will say **well actually** I went into the Health Service and got fantastic treatment from it* (MPI).

(2) Positioning (intersubjective functions)

Example 20: *And they sent me to a psychiatrist, said I was lying to get insurance. **Now**, who could make up a story like that?* (CI)

Example 21: *And says, **oh**, the fish are running, don't you want to come up here, and blah blah* (NC)

(3) Boundary marking (DMs with neutral, textual and/or framing functions)

Example 22: *I called our house, and Mandy answered the phone, **and** I said where's... you know where's... where…? Is Ron there?* (NC).

(4) DM is the report itself (exemplified by 23) or **DM is the reporting expression** (shown

in 24)

Example 23: ***And** I said, "**OK**." / **So** I said, "Oh."* (CI)

Example 24: *He says, he looks at me and he **goes**, Beth, nothing ever flaps you.* (NC)

5.3. The annotation of host units

When we annotated the function of the host unit (the previous discourse unit) of different types of reports we started out with a wide range of descriptive labels. Because of the low inter-annotator agreement on the initially fine-grained categorization, we decided to collapse functional tags into two broad categories. We subsumed host units conveying *criticism, challenge, confrontation, asking for clarification, reminder, disalignment* and *disagreement* under the category of ***confrontational function***, exemplified by 25 below:

Example 25: *That wasn't what you said, you said they were thrown out of Iraq.* (MPI)

On the other hand, the host unit was tagged as ***supportive*** (illustrated by example 26) in cases of *narrative development, justification, explanation, clarification, comment, elaboration, case history* and *exemplification*:

Example 26**:** *Prior to them leaving Iraq they had come back to the Security Council, again and again, and **said** we are not being given access to sites. **For example**, things were being designated as presidential palaces, they weren't being allowed to go in there.* (MPI)

5.4. The annotation of the types of p-contexts DMs can be associated with

Moving on to our next level of annotation, we apply the notion of *p-context* (Kertész & Rákosi 2016) in order to account for the roles of DMs in different types of reports, including indirect report and voicing (as mentioned in 1.1 and 1.3). Originally, Kertész & Rákosi (2016) applied the notions of *information content*, *reliability* and *plausibility value* (introduced in their *p-model of data and evidence* cf. Kertész & Rákosi 2012, 2014), to explain the inferential structure of IRs. They claim that the hearer (of an IR) has to evaluate the reliability of the source(s) of information, and, therefore, the plausibility value of the IR, based on the evaluation of the sources. Subsequently, in order to thoroughly capture the context-dependence (and reliability)

of IRs, they introduced the concept of *p-context*:

> The p-context differs from the notion of 'context' as normally used in pragmatics. The prefix 'p' serves to restrict the contextual information merely to those factors that may influence the plausibility value of statements. The *p-context* includes, among other things, the available reliable sources in terms of which the plausibility value of statements can be judged. It also covers a set of statements together with their plausibility values with respect to the sources in the p-context. Indirect reports involve three different p-contexts corresponding to the three speech acts involved: (1) that of the production of the original speaker's utterance, (2) that of the reporter's production of the indirect report and (3) that of the listener's processing of the report. These three p-contexts usually cover different statements and different sources, and statements may be assigned different plausibility values within them. (Kertész & Rákosi 2016: 449).

Tested on our pilot corpus examples, our **categorisation of the role of DMs** in DRs, IRs and voicing with respect to the *p-model* is the following:

(1)   DMs that belong to our first p-category can be associated with *p-context 1*, the p-context of the original speech act (henceforth: SA):

(Those) DMs that fulfil their functions in p-context 1 are inside the DR/IR/V, i.e. in the original utterance, relating to the **original speaker's production** of the utterance or the IR producer's epistemic stance to the original utterance. Within p-context 1 we can distinguish two subtypes, depending on reliability of the information (suggested by the speaker's DM use):

- o   **p-context 1 type 1:** The IR/DR/V involves DMs (typically boosters) that express/increase the reliability of the source (e.g. *sure, of course, actually*), illustrated by example 27:

  Example 27: *And something he said to me really stuck in my mind. He said, "**Look, actually**, you know there is light, there is the chance of a deal. The problem is there isn't a tunnel." And I think that's a wise thought…* (MPI)

- o   **p-context 1 type 2:** The IR/DR/V involves DMs (typically hedges) that decrease the reliability of the source (e.g. *oh*, *well*, "disfluency *you know*"), shown in an example for voicing in example 28 below:

  Example 28: *Say that happens, and so you take a knock, and people say **well, my goodness**, you're losing support to UKIP. Do you then open the bonnet and*

have a look at European policy with a view to hardening it up? (MPI)

When quantifying and cross-tabulating the p-contexts in which DMs played a role the distinction between type 1 and type 2 DMs was abandoned and we considered DMs relating to p-context 1 in a single group.

(2) DMs that belong to our second p-category can be associated with *p-context 2*, the p-context of the reporting SA:

DMs that play a role in p-context 2 are used in the reporting SA where the source of information is referred to, relating to the **speaker's production** of the IR. As shown in example 29, where a hedge is used in a challenge, these DMs (e.g. *I think, like*, general extenders) typically convey information about the producer's certainty / uncertainty about the content of the reported utterance, that is, they comment on the reporter's own power of recall:

Example 29:

> JON SOPEL: *You talked about the last time you were on the programme when you said about Tony Blair, the whole loans business could speed up his departure from Downing Street, and you said, **I think**, the timetable is ...*

> JOHN PRESCOTT: *I didn't say that by the way.*

> JON SOPEL: *You said the timetable in people's minds is still reasonably the same.* (MPI)

(3) DMs that belong to our third p-category can be associated with *p-context 3*, the p-context of report processing:

P-context 3 corresponds to the **listener's processing** of the report, and can therefore be considered the meta-level of the report/reported utterance. The source includes both the original speaker and the reporter, since this p-context involves the listener's guesses about the contribution of the original speaker and the reporter to the report so the listener can separate their roles. DMs operating on this meta-level facilitate the listener's processing of the report (see examples 30 and 31)**.** DMs that play a role in p-context 3 are usually outside the DR/IR/V, e.g. feedback-search *you know*, and connectives such as *and* and *but*. The listener's p-context contains the DR/IR/VIR in such a way that its plausibility value is re-evaluated by the listener.

Example 30: ***And yet*** *you have Patricia Hewitt saying this is the best year ever for the NHS.* (MPI)

Example 31: *She just told me that,* ***you know,*** *it was a long time ago.* (NC)

The results of the annotation of p-contexts can be read in 6.5.

6. Results of the manual annotation

Once we finalized the annotation scheme, two expert annotators applied it to tag DMs and the different types of reports that served as their host units in each of the four sub-corpora. Next, we used ReCal to calculate inter-annotator agreement, which yielded the following values, presented in tables 5 and 6:

Table 5 Inter-annotator agreement on the contribution of DMs to the various reports

	Percent Agreement	Scott's Pi	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)	N Agreements	N Disagreements	N Cases	N Decisions
Variable 1 (cols 1 & 2)	93.2%	0.904	0.904	0.904	408	30	438	876

Table 6 Inter-annotator agreement on functions of DMs in different p-contexts

	Percent Agreement	Scott's Pi	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)	N Agreements	N Disagreements	N Cases	N Decisions
Variable 1 (cols 1 & 2)	97.9%	0.968	0.968	0.968	429	9	438	876

Subsequently, we removed instances of reporting where any of the annotation tags resulted in inter-annotator disagreement, yielding the data which is summarized in the following sections.

6.1 Co-occurrence of DMs and reporting verbs/expressions

After cleaning the data of disagreements, Fischer's exact tests and Crosstabs tests were performed to decide if there is a relationship between two categorical variables (e.g. sub-corpora and DM use: DM/no DM; sub-corpora and p-context; etc.). As mentioned above, statistical tests were run only on those tokens where inter-annotator agreement was observed.

Fig. 2 and Table 7 summarize the presence and absence of DMs in reporting verbs/expressions across the four sub-corpora and provide a cross-tabulation of statistical significance, respectively.

Fig. 2 Presence and absence of DMs in reporting across the four sub-corpora

Results			
	DM is present	**DM is not present**	*Row Totals*
CI	138 (86.95) [29.98]	68 (119.05) [21.89]	206
MPI	149 (102.98) [20.56]	95 (141.02) [15.02]	244
SD	88 (130.84) [14.03]	222 (179.16) [10.24]	310
NC	107 (161.23) [18.24]	275 (220.77) [13.32]	382
Column Totals	482	660	**1142 (Grand Total)**

Table 7 Cross-tabulation of occurrences of DMs within reports in four genres. The *p*-value

is < 0.00001. (The result is significant at $p < .05$.)

As the table shows, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of the frequency of DMs in reporting across the four sub-corpora. However, the findings in 4.2 have to be reconsidered in the light of the results of manual annotation. It is still probable that metacommunication in the MPI and SD sub-corpora is more salient than in the other two sub-corpora due to the fact that the former contain more of the lexical items that are frequently used as reporting verbs and expressions (marked Q2.1 and Q2.2 tags), as well as the fact that these items co-occur more frequently with lexical items tagged as A5.1 and Z4 (many of which are DMs in the sense we are using the term). However, as mentioned above, lexical items identified as frequent reporting verbs have a whole range of uses that are not associated with reporting. Moreover, there are a number of lexical items tagged as Z4 or A5.1 that are discourse structuring and/or evaluative devices other than DMs, and even tokens that qualify as DMs might co-occur in the left or right contexts of reporting verbs and expressions without having them or the reported utterance in their scope.

Accordingly, as table 7 shows, metacommunicative items that have been identified as DMs in the course of the manual annotation occur more frequently within different types of reports in NCs and CIs rather than in MPIs or SD. The significantly low frequency of DMs in SD might be explained by the lower occurrence of DMs in planned discourse overall.

6.2 Types of reporting in the manually annotated data

The frequency of DMs in reporting needs to be considered with reference to the different types of reporting. Fig. 3 below summarizes the percentage of IRs, DRs and voicing in the four sub-corpora as observed in the random sample we used in the course of manual annotation.
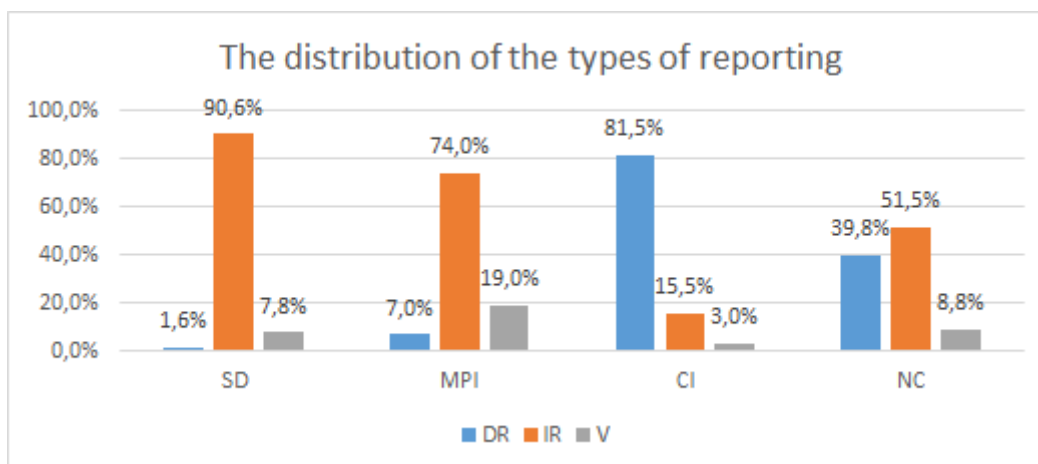
Fig. 3 The distribution of the different types of reporting across the four sub-corpora

The results are not surprising with respect to the SD, MPI, and NC sub-corpora: the percentage of IRs decreases, while the percentage of DRs increases parallel to the decrease in the degree of planning, i.e. the increase of spontaneity. This can be explained by the fact that, compared to DRs, IRs require "an additional memory load" on the part of both producer and receiver because of the multiple discourse contexts that are accessed and represented (Cummings 2016: 49), as well as the need for grammatical transformations, explicatures, etc. as explained in section 1.3 above. DRs, on the other hand, are often markers of informal, spontaneous discourse as they are easier to produce and process 'on the fly' as the conversation unfolds in real time. In this respect the finding that DRs are even more frequent in CIs than NCs is surprising and might be explained by, on the one hand, the non-confrontational nature of CIs, and on the other, the effect of dramatizing, which DRs often evoke (cf. Capone 2016: 60). Holt (2016) also observes that the formal features that distinguish IRs from DRs are resources available to conversational partners "in order to shift footing more or less dramatically" (Holt 2016: 185). Moreover, she lists DMs (or discourse particles in her terminology) as an example of such formal features, in addition to deictic reference, tenses, pronouns, and vocatives (ibid). The contributions of DMs to different types of reporting (discussed in the next section) will confirm that the salience of DMs in CIs can be explained in terms of (dramatic) frame shifting.

6.3 The functions of DMs and their contributions to different types of reporting across the sub-corpora

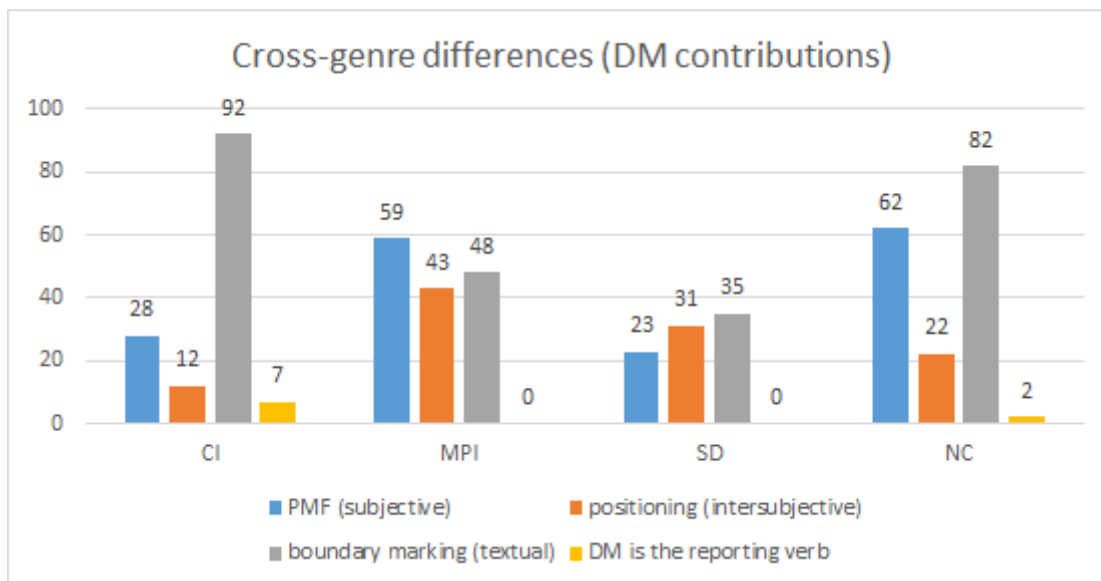Fig. 4 below summarizes the functional distribution of DMs in the sample data:

Fig. 4 The contribution of DMs to reporting across the four genres under analysis

As the figure above illustrates, the most salient functions of DMs in reporting are associated with boundary marking (including frame shifting) in NCs and CIs, while DMs associated with pragmatic force modification and intersubjectivity are more frequent in MPIs and SDs and less prominent in more spontaneous and less confrontational conversations. At this point it became apparent that the similarities between MPIs and the scripted conversations in our data are the result of the choice of House, MD for our SD sub-corpus and the resulting confrontational nature of the exchanges. The co-occurrence of (Q2-tagged) metacommunicative verbs with discourse structuring (Z4) and evaluative (A5.1) devices already showed similar patterns in the two sub-corpora, which lead us to believe that for some reason metacommunication is more important in these genres than in more spontaneous exchanges. The reason becomes apparent in light of the prominence of DMs used as PMFs and positioning devices, which we will detail in section 7.

It is also interesting to consider that DMs are themselves reporting verbs in CIs and NCs only, which, once again, underlies the informal, casual quality of the exchanges in these sub-corpora.

6.4 The function of reports with respect to the previous discourse unit

Fig. 5 below summarizes the functions of IRs, DRs and voicing in terms of their relation to the previous discourse unit, which, depending on the report's position in the turn, can be the current

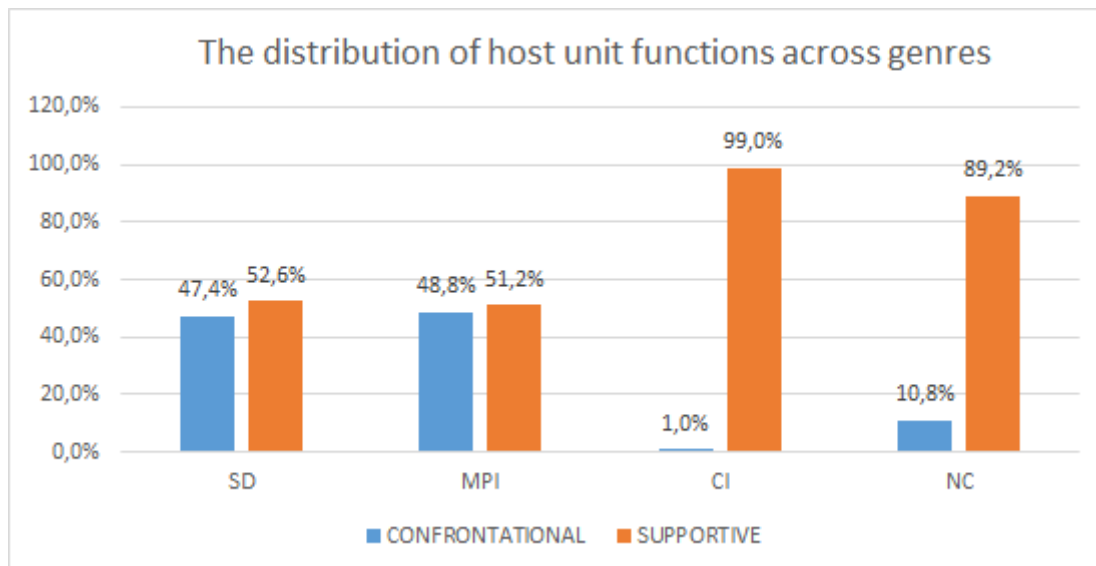speaker's own utterance, or the previous speaker's contribution:

Fig. 5 The distribution of host unit functions

As mentioned before, contrastive reports can be of different kinds: they might express contrast or disruption on the ideational, textual, rhetorical or interpersonal level (for a detailed account of the different levels cf. Crible 2016), convey rephrasing, reformulation, disagreement, reminder, challenge, etc. Supportive reports, on the other hand, can also be of many different types (justification, elaboration, narrative development, clarification, etc.), but what they have in common is that they do not disrupt the topic development, argumentation, interpersonal alignment, temporal sequence, etc. of the previous discourse unit (be it an utterance, turn, exchange, or the complete conversation up to that point). We have found it useful to collapse the different subcategories into the two primitives of contrast and support, moving from a high-granularity annotation scheme and a great degree of inter-annotator disagreement to low-granularity and perfect inter-annotator agreement (cf. tables 5 and 6 above). Fig. 5 shows that the resulting frequency distribution enables us to highlight the differences between confrontational style characterised by the MPIs, as well as the scripted exchanges in our sample, and the more supportive, non-confrontational exchanges that occur in NCs, as well as in CIs. It is interesting to notice that participants in CIs even exceed the frequency of supporting moves in spontaneous, everyday conversations, underlying, once again, the familiar, "soft and fool-good" style (cf. Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007: 22) we can observe with respect to the genre of celebrity interviews.

6.5 Cross-genre differences in the p-contexts DMs can be associated with

In table 8 below we can observe that there are statistically significant differences in the frequency with which DMs fulfil their functions in the respective p-contexts. The cross-tabulation presented in fig. 6 and table 8 below uses dependent variables, and the *p*-value is .000026, so the result is significant.
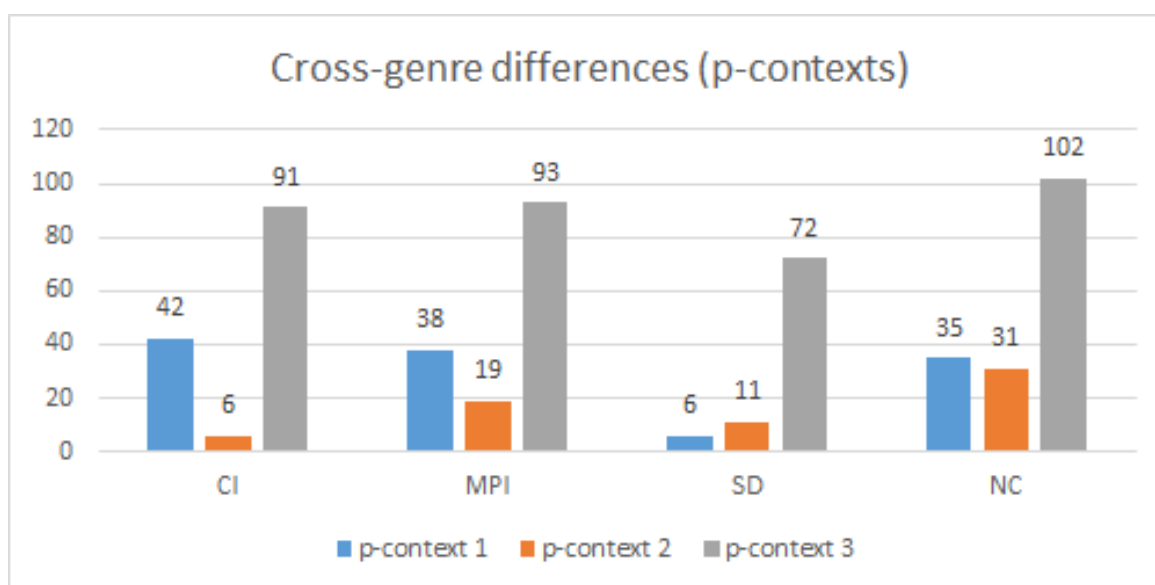

Fig. 6 The distribution of p-contexts DMs are associated with in IRs, DRs and voicing

Table 8 Crosstabs test of DMs' relevance to p-contexts

Results				
	p-context 1	**p-context 2**	**p-context 3**	*Row Totals*
CI	42 (30.80) [4.07]	6 (17.06) [7.17]	91 (91.14) [0.00]	139
MPI	38 (33.24) [0.68]	19 (18.41) [0.02]	93 (98.35) [0.29]	150
SD	6 (19.72) [9.55]	11 (10.92) [0.00]	72 (58.36) [3.19]	89
NC	35 (37.23) [0.13]	31 (20.62) [5.23]	102 (110.15) [0.60]	168

Column Totals	121	67	358	**546 (Grand Total)**

Despite such differences, in all four sub-corpora DMs contribute most frequently to p-context 3 of the reports in which they occur, i.e. they function as facilitators of the processing of the reports. As we saw in the previous section, these p-context 3 functions differ across the four genres in that in CIs and NCs the facilitation of processing usually takes the form of marking frame shifts, while in MPIs and SD DMs ease the processing of the report on the interpersonal plane, i.e. in terms of modifying the pragmatic force of the report, or as positioning devices aligning or distancing the speaker with respect to the content (or explicature) of the reported proposition. While the second p-context in which most DMs fulfil their functions is p-context 1 in CIs, MPIs and NCs; SD stands out in this respect, causing the statistically significant differences in the overall functional distribution. The fact that DMs very rarely mark the original speaker's production (p-context 1) of the report is more likely to be due to the scripted nature than to the confrontational quality of the exchanges in the SD sub-corpus, since, as we saw earlier, we can observe similarities between the MPI and the SD sub-corpus in terms of the distribution of the contrastive and supportive functions individual reports have. In any case, our categorization of DM functions with reference to the three p-contexts of the reports has enabled us to find more nuanced differences between two sub-corpora that, overall, display similarities in the frequency and co-occurrence of metacommunicative devices, IRs, and contrastive reporting units, as well as the primarily (inter)subjective functions of DMs. Naturally, further analysis and validation will be needed in order to decide whether or not frequency of reference to p-context 1 is an indicator of unscriptedness.

In addition to the analysis of the distribution of the contributions of DMs to reporting across genres (presented in Fig. 4 above in 6.3), we have also cross-tabulated the contributions/functions of DMs and the p-contexts that DMs can be associated with (presented in Fig. 7 below).
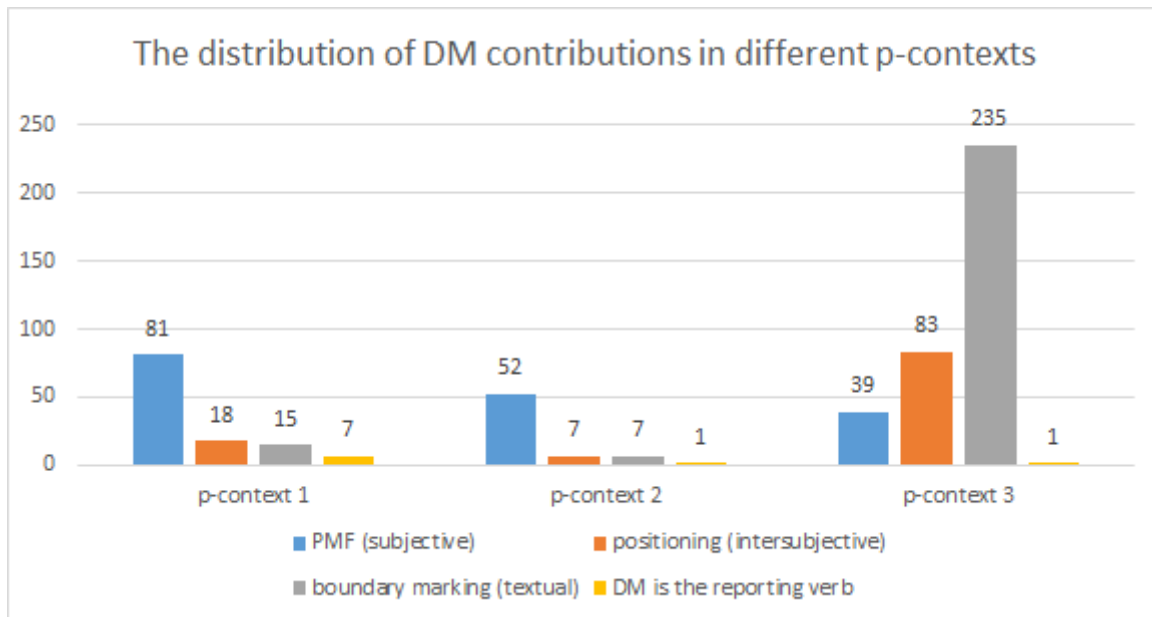
Fig. 7 The distributions of the contributions of DMs to reporting and the p-contexts in which DMs fulfil their roles

7. Discussion: prototypical uses of DMs in reporting across the four sub-corpora

In light of the results detailed in the previous sections, we have identified some of the most prototypical functions and uses of reports in the four respective sub-corpora, as well as the typical functions and uses of DMs that have focus over the reports. In the following, we will provide some examples.

7.1. Core examples from the MPI sub-corpus

On the basis of the manual annotation, frequency counts and statistical significance tests, we can safely say that a prototypical report in confrontational political interviews such as *Hardtalk* and *Newsnight* appears to be an indirect report which is in contrast with the previous discourse unit (typically the previous speaker's utterance) on the interpersonal level, and includes a DM which is used for disalignment, pragmatic force modification or other interpersonal functions and can be associated with p-context 3 of the report, i.e. helps the hearer process the pragmatic force of the utterance or its relation to the previous discourse unit. The original speaker of the utterance that is reported is typically the interlocutor, and the reporting verb is in the present or past tense, second person (singular or plural). This prototypical report is exemplified by 32 below:

Example 32: *Well, **you say** that **but** the screening process, the fingerprinting of all asylum seekers has only just come in.* (MPI)

Example 33:

*IR: Prime Minister **but you said**, in your view, it may be necessary to go to war without a second resolution.*

*IE: **Well I said** that in one set of circumstances.* (MPI)

Another prototypical report, exemplified by 34, is an IR where no DM is present, the report is in contrast with the previous utterance on at least one plane of discourse, the original speaker of the utterance that is being reported is the interlocutor and the reporting verb is in the past tense, second person (singular or plural).

Example 34: *That wasn't what you said, **you said** they were thrown out of Iraq.* (MPI)

A third type of report with a genre-specific constellation of IR features, shown in 35, is an IR which is contrastive, contains a DM or a combination of DMs used for foregrounding (***look***) or backgrounding (***yes… but***, ***of course....but***), thus facilitating the processing of the IR on the part of the hearer (i.e. it is a p-context 3 DM), and where the original speaker of the reported proposition is somebody other than the current speaker or hearer:

Example 35: ***Look**, Tony Blair is right **to say**, as he did recently, that what happens in the Gaza Strip should not be an excuse for anyone to be radicalised. **And of course** that's right, **but** we have to deal with the world as it is.* (MPI)

In mediatised political interviews we find that if a DM relates to p-context 2 (the current speaker producing the report) the IR typically refers to a previous statement produced by somebody other than the current speaker or hearer, and the DM is typically an evidential marker, i.e. it marks the speaker's certainty / reliability or uncertainty / unreliability with regard to the accuracy / explication of the report. For examples, see the dialogue below:

Example 36:

IR: Hans Blix said he saw no evidence, either of weapons manufacture, or that they had been concealed.

*IE: No, **I don't think** again that is right. **I think** what **he said** was that the evidence that he had indicated that the Iraqis were not cooperating properly and that, for example, he thought that the nerve agent VX may have been weaponised.*

*And he also said that the discovery of the warheads might be - **I think** I'm quoting here - may be the tip of an iceberg. **I think** you'll find that in that report.* (MPI)

Surprisingly enough, voicing appears more frequently in MPIs than in any of the other three sub-corpora. In these reports the DM typically also relates to p-context 3, expressing positioning with reference to the proposition/speech act being voiced. In the course of previous research (cf. Furkó 2013) it was observed that the DM *oh* typically conveys disalignment, while *well* marks alignment to the voiced utterance. This has been confirmed in the present study in the course of our analysis of different types of reporting:

Example 37: *It's rather an odd situation we have here where the, the government are trying to legislate, or the House of Commons is trying to legislate very very quickly, that this is a bill that passed all its stages in the House of Commons, minimum of debate in one day, and then they **say**, **oh** it doesn't need to come into effect for eighteen months or two years.* (MPI)

Example 38: ***But** what happens if an employer **says**, **well** all well and good, but we don't really want to see these union leaders, we've got better things to do.* (MPI)

7.2. Core examples from scripted discourse

In our sub-corpus of scripted dialogues, gleaned from the popular TV series *House, M.D.,* and therefore comprising mostly confrontational exchanges, a prototypical report is also an indirect report that is usually a challenge or is otherwise in contrast with the previous utterance in terms of the ideational, rhetorical or interactional planes of discourse. The original speaker is usually the hearer, thus the reporting verb is in the second person singular, often in the present tense, and is usually not one of the variant forms of the lexemes *say* and *tell*, the most frequently used reporting verbs in non-scripted discourse. The report usually functions as a (rather rude and challenging) request for clarification:

Example 39: *You **offering** to protect me?* (SD)

Example 40: *Are you **asking** us to jeopardize our medical licenses for this treatment?*

(SD)

Example 41: *You **told me** you hadn't changed your diet or exercise, were you **lying**?* (SD)

If the report contains a DM it is usually associated with p-context 3, i.e. it relates to the processing of the report, usually to the explication of the reported utterance, and the reporting verb is in the present tense, second person singular, and often a verb that increases the type-token ratio of reporting verbs in the sub-corpus:

Example 42: *So you're **warning** me that I may be treating a non-existent ailment?* (SD)

Example 43: *So, when you **say** "Call me if you need anything", you **mean**, "Don't call me".* (SD)

7.3 Core examples from celebrity interviews and natural conversations

As we saw previously, reports in CIs and NCs are very similar in terms of the type of reporting (IR, DR, voicing), the function of the report (contrastive/supportive), and the frequency of DM appearing in the report, as well as the DM's typical functions and its relation to p-contexts, etc. Therefore, in the present section we discuss the prototypical reports in CIs and NCs together, the only difference being that in CIs these prototypical examples occur even more frequently than in NCs and often with dramatizing effects.

The prototypical reports in this category are, consequently, direct reports that are supportive moves with respect to the previous discourse unit, and which include a DM that relates to p-context 3, i.e. which facilitates the hearer's processing of the report by marking frame shifts or other boundaries on the rhetorical or textual discourse planes. The DM is usually one of the most frequent, low type-token ratio DMs such as *like, oh, you know, well*, or a connective such as *and, so,* or *but*. The reporting verb is also typically one that decreases the type-token ratio of Q2-tagged lexical items, usually a variant form of the lexemes *say, talk* or *tell*:

Example 44: *They **said** something **like, you know,** what, it's the butterfly, you can't catch.* (NC)

Example 45: *She comes out from hiding, and **says, Oh,** whatever your name is, **says, oh,***

mighty princess. Allow me, to get a nurse for the baby. (NC)

Within this prototypical DR we find examples where the DM is either the DR itself or is the reporting verb of the DR (cf. section 5.2. above):

Example 23 (repeated): ***And** I said, "**OK**." / **So** I said, "Oh."* (CI)

Example 24 (repeated): *He says, he looks at me and he **goes**, Beth, nothing ever flaps you.* (NC)

DMs relate to p-context 1 more frequently in CIs and NCs than in the other two sub-corpora, but unlike in MPIs, they do not typically function as positioning devices, but make the report livelier, or more dramatized in the case of CIs:

Example 46: ***So** Mom **said**, **well** my next free day's like October fourth.* (NC)

Example 47: ***Now** the next thing I know, she **says**, "**You know**, I am just so heavy now, you won't believe how heavy."* (CI)

Voicing is also typically found in the two sub-genres under discussion:

Example 48: ***and** he'll go ahead and **say**, this is what needs to be done.* (NC)

Example 49: ***So** you can't say **well** I don't have an education.* (NC)

Example 50: *my wife **said**, which most wives, I've found out, **will say** to the husband when his check comes. They **say**, "**Well**, why don't you just have it put into the account?"* (CI)

Example 51: *She could look at it, and then she **would say**, "Come here."* (CI)

8. Conclusions, directions for further research

8.1 Summary of findings and implications

In conclusion, the qualitative and quantitative analyses, and the automatic and manual (RP2) annotation of reports in the four sub-corpora have led to the following findings.

In answer to RQ1, from the perspective of automatic annotation (RP1) we have found that the frequency and grammatical form of reporting expressions reflect metacommunication that is more explicit and nuanced in MPIs and SD than in the other two subgenres. Moreover, a cluster analysis revealed that the explication of the report is often negotiated in MPIs, whereas clusters reveal narrative sequences in CIs and NC. The former finding has important implications for Capone's Paraphrasis/Form Principle:

Should Y hear what X said he (Y) had said, he would not take issue with it, as to content, but would approve of it as a fair paraphrase of his original utterance (2016: 66).

While we do not question the validity and theoretical importance of the principle, it is interesting to consider that in MPIs the accuracy and felicity of IRs, on the one hand, and the original speaker's approval, on the other, need to be separated. An IR might be both accurate and felicitous; nevertheless, the original speaker might (possibly for deceptive or manipulative purposes) take issue with it, as we saw in example 6 (the interviewee's first utterance) above. Conversely, an IR might be completely inaccurate and still be accepted by the original producer, especially if the reporter and the original producer are the same (cf. example 6, interviewer's first utterance).

In answer to RQs 1 and 2.4 we have found that there is a statistically significant difference between MPIs and SDs on the one hand, and NC and CI, on the other, in terms of the saliency of contrastive / hearer-oriented reports in that in the former two subgenres various types of reports are often used with a challenging function, and reflect a higher degree of pragmatic accountability. Research perspectives 1 and 2 yielded converging results in that a higher type token ratio, i.e. a wider variety of reporting expressions can be observed in the MPI and SD sub-corpora, parallel to the typical use of reports as confrontations, disalignments, reminders and requests for clarification.

In answer to RQs 2.1 RP 1 and 2 yielded diverging results. Automatic annotation and cluster analysis suggested that DMs co-occur with reports more frequently in SDs and MPIs, while the manual annotation of random samples revealed that DMs and reports co-occur in CIs and NC more often, especially since DRs are more frequent than IRs in these genres. RP 1 still suggests that the co-occurrence of the two kinds of meta-communicative devices reflects a higher degree of explicitation and meta-marking in more confrontational discourse types, although manual annotation is needed to filter out uses of *say, tell, talk*, etc. which are not reporting expressions,

as well as DM tokens that are in the left or right context of reporting expressions but are outside the scope of the reports.

With respect to RQ 2.2 we found the most surprising results. While voicing has been previously identified as a characteristic of spontaneous, everyday, casual conversations, our data suggests that voicing is more frequent in MPIs than in any other genres. This could be explained by the fact that, unlike in IRs and DRs, in the case of voicing there is no expectation that the exact / approximate proposition has actually been put forward; consequently, this type of reporting lends itself to manipulative uses and abuses. This has important implications for the study of political discourse in general, and Critical Discourse Analysis in particular (cf. Furkó forthcoming).

As for RQ 2.3, we have seen that the most salient functions of DMs in reporting are associated with boundary marking (including frame shifting) in NCs and CIs, while DMs associated with pragmatic force modification as well as positioning / intersubjectivity are frequent in MPIs and SDs but less salient in more spontaneous and less confrontational conversations. We have also found that DMs are used as reporting expressions or as complete (direct) reports or voicing expressions in NC and CIs only, parallel to the informal, casual tone implied by such uses.

With respect to RQ 2.5 we have seen that DMs have a salient role in p-context 3 in all four sub-corpora, i.e. in aiding the H's interpretation of the report and placing the report in the context of the surrounding discourse. While p-context 3 DMs in MPI and SD reports mostly contribute to the interactional plane, DMs in CI and NC reports do so to the textual and rhetorical planes. Moreover, we have found that by making reference to the role of DMs in the three p-contexts identified by Kertész & Rákosi (2016) we have been able to differentiate between two seemingly similar, confrontational discourse genres, MPIs and conflict-driven scripted dialogues. Without reference to p-contexts, the traditional functional categories used for describing DM functions (on all of the four, i.e. on the ideational, rhetorical, textual and interpersonal, discourse planes) did not yield any statistically significant differences between the use of DMs in MPI and SD reports. While further analysis and validation will be needed we have identified a possible correlation between the frequency of reference to p-context 1 and the degree of planning / scriptedness.

8.2 Directions for further research

Because of space considerations, we have been constrained to limit our analysis to prototypical examples of the roles of DMs in reporting in the four sub-corpora. As mentioned earlier, we removed instances of reporting / tokens of DMs where any of the annotation tags resulted in inter-annotator disagreement.

However, we are currently working on a paper that deals with more peripheral examples (cf. Furkó et al. forthcoming) based on marginal cases of reporting, as well as DM uses where inter-annotator disagreement occurred. Looking at marginal cases will also provide more insight into possible reasons for the divergence of RP1 and RP2 in some cases, while we will be able to take a closer look at Capone's Paraphrase/Form Principle referred to in 8.1 above.

An additional direction will be the study of DMs in reports produced by speakers of languages other than English to reveal cross-linguistic or possibly cross-cultural differences of reporting in the different genres. We have already begun to look at DMs in Hungarian reports, but decided to focus on English examples for space considerations.

In the course of our research we have also identified metalinguistic elements that do not fulfil most (or any of) the criteria we used as an operationalisation for DM status (cf. introduction above), although they do play subjective, interpersonal and textual roles that are very similar to the functional spectrum of DMs in reporting. Thus, the fuzzy boundary between propositional and non-propositional markers, DMs and modal particles is another research avenue that might be worth exploring.

Finally, as mentioned above, p-contexts as indicators, or, possibly, measures of (un)scriptedness and other, more nuanced distinctions between (sub)genres is another area of research we wish to explore.

Appendix - List of abbreviations

A5.1: evaluative terms depicting quality, including DMs such as *well, OK, okay, right,* etc. (a USAS tag)

ASA: automatic semantic annotation

C: confrontational

CI: celebrity interviews sub-corpus

CST: computerized semantic tagging

DM: discourse marker

DR: direct report

H. hearer

IR: indirect report

MPI: mediatized political interviews sub-corpus

N: number of

NC: natural conversation sub-corpus

PFM: pragmatic force modifier

Q2.1: category of terms relating to spoken communication (a USAS tag)

Q2.2: category of speech act terms (a USAS tag)

RP: research perspective

RQ: research question

S: supportive

SA: speech act

SBC: Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English

SD: scripted discourse sub-corpus (House, M. D.)

USAS: UCREL Semantic Analysis System

V: voicing

Z4: the "discourse bin" including such items as *oh, I mean, you know, basically*, etc. (a USAS tag)

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