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Title: Old Russian birchbark letters: a pragmatic approach

Issue Date: 2016-09-28

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY II: SPEECH REPORTING

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, our attention will be focused on methods of speech reporting in birchbark letters, and the ways in which these various methods can be linked to the orality-literacy continuum. The question to be answered in this chapter is as follows: What is the distribution of the various speech reporting strategies throughout the birchbark corpus, and to what extent can this distribution be analysed as a reflection of orality or literacy?

First of all, the well-known basic opposition between direct and indirect reported speech will be discussed (§6.2). Secondly, some more terminology will be introduced (§6.3). Elaborating on that, all occurrences of speech reporting in the birchbark corpus will be identified and classified according to four different speech reporting strategies (direct speech, indirect speech, narrative report of speech act and free direct speech). Each strategy will first be introduced and illustrated by an English example, followed by some representative birchbark examples and by a table containing all instances of the particular speech reporting strategy throughout the birchbark corpus (§6.4). Following on this, the diachronic ordering of the occurrences on birchbark will be addressed (§6.5). So far we have the description and classification of the data.

The second part of the chapter will serve to discuss the data in view of answering our research question. The speech reporting strategies will be placed along a continuum (§6.6), described in terms developed by Leech & Short (1981). Some words will be devoted to the way in which the continuum of speech reporting strategies operates, which is connected to the notions of context-dependence and complexity (§6.7). At that point, we can proceed to determine how this continuum and the various categories of reported speech can be incorporated into our main topic of orality and literacy. These thoughts will be put into their right perspective by looking at functional motivations for the choice of a certain strategy (§6.8), and to some further outlooks about ad-

ditional connections between the topic of speech reporting and that of orality (§§6.9-6.10).

6.2 Speech reporting strategies

A notion that can be used to describe the concept of speech reporting is ‘polyphony’, a term introduced by Bakhtin (1929/1984, *passim*). Although it can be understood in a much broader sense, this term will for present purposes be taken in the straightforward sense that there are several voices within a stretch of discourse. In the case of the birchbark letters, the voice of the author is rendered in the main body of the letter, into which the voice of another person can be embedded, for which various strategies can be used. As an example, we can quote one birchbark letter already:

- (38) От Радѣка къ отъсѣви poklanjanie. Товарьсь есьмо послаь Смольньскоу. А Рoutilou ti oubili, а хотятъ ны jati въ Fomou съ Vjасьськоju, а тѣлѣвја: “Zaplatite četyri sьta grivъnъ ili а zovite Fomou sěmo, raky li da vьsadimo vь vь pogrьbo.” I poklanjanie ot Vjасьськѣ къ Lazorьvi. Poslaь esmь конь jukovouсьko, а самь esmь dospělъ. ‘Greetings from Radko to father. I have sent the goods to Smolensk. But they have murdered Putila, and they want me and Vjačeska instead of Foma, saying: “Pay four hundred grivnas or call Foma here, otherwise we will put you in jail.” And greetings from Vjačeska to Lazor’. I have sent the packhorse, and I myself am ready.’
(N952 / 1140-1160 / NGB XII: 46)

Before proceeding to the way in which the speech reporting strategies are represented in the birchbark corpus, let us first provide an overview of the theoretical notions to be employed for this description. When thinking of speech reporting, what comes to mind is a report by one speaker or author (the **reporter**) of the words of another person (the **reported speaker**). As Coulmas (1986: 12) puts it:

“The speaker does not claim authorship for a part of his utterance which he ascribes to another speaker or unspecified source. This part of his utterance does not serve a regular referential function such that words refer to things. Rather, they refer to words, not to any arbitrary words, that is, but purportedly to those words that some other speaker uttered at some other time.”

Traditionally, instances of speech reporting are divided into ‘**direct**’ and ‘**indirect reported speech**’. Let us have a look at two prototypical sentences which distinguish these two strategies:¹

¹ The term ‘strategy’ is used to draw attention to the fact that an author can choose one out of several ways of rendering reported speech; in that sense, he pursues a certain strategy (ideally, the

- (39) John said, “I’m tired.”
- (40) John said (that) he was tired.
(Li 1986: 29)

The two sentences seem to have the same general meaning and a similar structure: a narrative **frame** (*John said*) which contains a **tag** (*verbum dicendi*, i.e. speech act verb) (*said*), and a stretch of reported speech. It is obvious that the latter constitutes the difference between (39) and (40): *I’m tired* versus (*that*) *he was tired*. But in what respects does the stretch of reported speech differ in both sentences? Li (Ibid.) points out some of the differences, viz. that the pronouns and the verb tenses are different, and also that (40), but not (39), may contain an optional complementizer (*that*). Finally, there is a difference in interpunction (quotation marks). We shall later on return to these parameters to see whether they hold for Old Russian, too, but we shall first of all stick to the English examples.

Let us first focus on the difference in pronouns. In the stretch of indirect speech in (40), the pronoun conforms to the referential organization of the surrounding narrative frame: *John* and *he* are both third person referents. In the stretch of direct speech in (39), on the other hand, the pronoun conforms to the original utterance: the third-person *John* from the narrative frame becomes first-person *I* in the stretch of reported speech. Thus, where the switch from one perspective (narrative) to the other (direct speech) takes place, an abrupt referential boundary occurs. In the case of indirect speech, such a boundary is absent. It is the presence or absence of this referential boundary that will prove to be a point of crucial interest below.

According to Li (1986: 30), “the existence of different pronominalization strategies for the two constructions is universal”. We can, thus, assume for the time being that these insights can be transferred to the data on birchbark. We shall see later on that this is indeed true and, in fact, the only applicable “diagnostic criterion” (Ibid.: 32).

Collins (1996, 2001) applies the same insights to some other Old Russian data. According to him (1996: 29; 2001: 66-67), the difference between direct and indirect speech lies in the question whether deictic expressions in the stretch of reported speech are **shifted** (direct speech) or **transparent** (indirect speech); that is to say, in other words, whether or not a **switch** of referential

most suitable strategy) in order to convey his message. This does not mean, however, that it is always a conscious, strategic choice. In fact, we shall encounter examples below which provide evidence that it can be an unconscious ‘choice’.

perspective occurs between the frame and the report. This terminology will be used in the rest of this chapter.²

Other, and often fuzzier, definitions of direct and indirect speech have been given in the (earlier) literature. Jespersen (1924: 290), for instance, states that in direct speech “the exact words of the speaker” are given, whereas in indirect speech the words are adapted “to the circumstances in which they are now quoted” (Ibid.). Later authors couch the same idea in slightly different words, such as Li (1986: 38), who states that in direct reported speech both the form and the content of the reported utterance are reproduced; in indirect speech, then, only the content is conveyed, the form belonging to the current speaker (Ibid.). However, Collins (2001: 51) argues that this “verbatimness model of [direct speech] is not tenable”; after all, the ‘form’ or ‘the exact words of the [source] speaker’ are always affected by the process of reproduction by the current speaker, be it intentional or not. Even a phrase that was originally uttered in a different language can be rendered in direct speech (Roncador 1988: 38). Collins’s definitions, centring on deixis, will turn out to be an adequate starting point for a description of speech reporting strategies in the birchbark corpus. Collins shows that for Old Church Slavonic (1996) and Old Russian (2001) other, mainly syntactic, definitions are superfluous and not applicable, taking into account that “[reported speech] is a category of discourse analysis rather than syntax” (2001: 11).

6.3 Some terminological considerations

Recall the definition of reported speech given by Coulmas (1986: 12; see §6.2 above), who mentions that words are reported which were uttered by “some other speaker [...] at some other time”. Now, in order to felicitously describe speech reporting strategies on birchbark, we shall take a closer look at the participants involved, and label them with formal designations. Coulmas’s ‘some other speaker’ is termed “**reported speaker**” (Coulmas 1986: 2), who pronounces an utterance in the ‘**reported speech act**’, whereas the person who reports these words is called the “**reporter**” (Ibid.), who conducts a ‘**reporting speech act**’.

Another question concerns the persons at whom the reported and reporting utterances are aimed. On the one hand, there is the addressee of the reported speech act (the “**reported addressee**”, Li 1986: 31), on the other hand, there is the addressee of the reporting speech act (in terms of the birchbark corpus: the **letter’s addressee**).

² These statements about deixis do not mean that there can never be any other, supplementary criteria for determining whether a report is direct or indirect speech. Two additional factors that are relevant to the birchbark corpus (as we shall see below) are imperatives and vocatives, both of which are unmistakable elements of direct speech.

The term ‘reported speech’ seems straightforward, in the sense that some utterance, pronounced by the reported speaker in the past, is reproduced by the reporter (recall the definition given by Coulmas, §6.2); this is, however, a somewhat misleading definition. It should be noted that we do not always have reported speech in the abovementioned meaning of the term, as the ‘reported’ words may have to be pronounced by the addressee in the future. It is, therefore, appropriate to divide instances of ‘reported speech’ into two functional categories, which I shall call ‘**narrative**’ and ‘**instructive**’. The former term is used by various authors (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 2007), and denotes the reporting of some utterance that was pronounced by someone in the past, usually in the framework of a story (i.e. the ‘classic’ definition of reported speech). In the instructive category, on the other hand, the reporter ‘reports’ an utterance (formulated by himself) that he wants the addressee to pronounce in front of a third person at some future point of time; it will be seen below that this category is particularly relevant to the birchbark corpus, so that it is deemed appropriate here to introduce the term ‘instructive’ for these instances of speech reporting.³

- (41) [...] could you take the man's name and number, and tell him I'll try to call him before I leave Paris on Tuesday?
(Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*)

We see here an instance of indirect speech (there is no deictic shift), but the reported speaker and the reporter coincide; he gives instructions about what someone else should say at some point in the future. He, as it were, ‘reports’ speech that originates in himself, but is envisaged to be uttered in the future. The crucial distinction between narrative and instructive reported speech will be reverted to more than once in the following sections. As will be seen below, quite a number of instances of reported speech in the birchbark corpus are of the instructive type; ‘represented speech’ might, therefore, be a more suitable term than ‘reported speech’, as no speech from the past is ‘reported’ in instructive contexts. For reasons of uniformity we shall nonetheless stick to the established expression ‘reported speech’. Another terminological difficulty concerns the fact that in instructive reported speech no participant can be called ‘reported speaker’ *sensu strictissimo*. Rather, there is the ‘prospective’ or ‘envisaged’ speaker of a future speech act, who coincides with the addressee of the reporting speech act. This is a difficulty that is not covered by prevalent terminology in current theories of speech reporting. Collins (1996: 39), in passing, uses the term “potential speech act”, which might incline us to use the

³ Although Couper-Kuhlen (2007: 81) notes that studies of speech reporting are usually confined to narrative reported speech, she does not specify any other instances more precisely than by the general term “non-narrative” (2007: 82).

term ‘potential speaker’ for the person who is supposed to pronounce the reported utterance in the future.

The difference between narrative and instructive reported speech may actually be symptomatic for a more fundamental difference in the application of writing:

“Wyróżnić można dwa rodzaje zastosowania pisma. Po pierwsze pismo jest zapisem wcześniejszej od niego mowy, utwaleniem języka mówionego, po drugie zaś jest ono myślą ludzką od razu zapisaną, bez pośredniego stadium mowy” (Labocha 2004: 7).

‘Two kinds of the application of writing can be distinguished. Firstly, writing is the recording of earlier speech, a record of spoken language, whereas secondly, it is human thought directly written down, without the intermediate stage of speech.’

In terms introduced in §4.5.3, the difference comes down to whether a text is ‘speech-based’ or not.

6.4 The data on birchbark

We shall now proceed to a discussion of the occurrences of direct (§6.4.1) and indirect speech (§6.4.2) on birchbark, as well as the two other strategies that remain to be introduced below (narrative report of speech act, §6.4.3, and free direct speech, §6.4.4). When thinking of the terms ‘direct’ and ‘indirect reported speech’, our present-day literate mind tends to connect them to colons, quotation marks and other graphic devices in printed texts (cf. the English examples (39) and (40)). Needless to say, none of these punctuation marks are available in the birchbark letters (though for clarity’s sake they have been added to the transcription in the examples below). Consequently, only a graphophilological analysis will be suitable to provide a decisive answer about the speech reporting strategies that are employed. Inasmuch as possible, examples of each strategy will be given in the narrative as well as the instructive variants.

6.4.1 Direct speech

We shall first have a look at instances of direct speech. We shall start with the instructive type:

- (42) Ot Savy poklanjanee kъ bratъi i droužine. Ostavili mja byli ljudъe, da ostatъ dani ispraviti bylo im doseni a po pervomou routi poslati i otъbyti proče. I zaslavъ Zaharъja vъ v[ě]re ourokъ: “Ne daite Savě ni odinogo rescja хотja na nihъ. Emati samъ vъ tomъ.” A vъ [t]omъ mi sja ne ispravilъ vъ boržě ni kъ vamъ ni [t]ou ti bylъ. A vъ tomъ esmъ ostalъ [...]

‘From Sava greetings to [my] brethren and companions. The people have left me, although they were supposed to collect the rest of the

tribute before autumn and send it as soon as the road was passable, and go onward. But Zachar’ja, having sent [a man], has declared on oath: “Do not let Sava collect even a single fox-pelt from them. I myself am responsible for that.” And that is why he has not immediately afterwards settled accounts with me and has neither been with you, nor here. And therefore I have remained [...].’

(N724 / 1160-1180 / DND: 350)

In this example, in Collins’s (2001: 66) terms, “the embedded segment has the same deictic orientation as the projected speech event.” In other words, the referential frame of the segment of reported speech is the same as it was in the actual situation of utterance; but this means that it is different from that of the “ongoing speech event” (Ibid.), i.e. the reporting speech event uttered by the present speaker (the letter’s author). In indirect speech, Sava would have referred to himself in the first person, just like he does as the author of the framing narrative: *ostavili mja byli ljudve* ‘the people had left me’. In that case, there would not have been a referential boundary. But now it is clear that the deictic orientation in the stretch of reported speech is shifted, i.e. it is oriented not to the perspective of the present speaker (Sava), but to that of the reported speaker, in this case Zaxar’ja, so that we have a clear instance of direct speech. The mentioning of the name Sava leaves it even less ambiguous.

In this particular case, we have another very clear indicator, which shows that sometimes certain additional diagnostic criteria can play a role. The presence of an imperative in a stretch of reported speech is an unambiguous detector of direct speech (and, indeed, a frequently encountered construction in the instances of direct speech in the corpus). The imperative precludes an interpretation along the lines of indirect speech, which would necessitate a slightly more laborious rendering of this proposition, e.g. with a complementizer such as *ati* or the subjunctive *čto by* (cf. §6.7).

Another, even more explicit ‘detective’ clue can be the use of a vocative:

- (43) [...] Ot Esifa k Ъnfima. Čť prišle ot Markъ k tobě ljudii Oľksa, ili kъ žene mъjei, otvěcai jemu takъ: “Kakъ esi dokončalъ, Marke-VOC, съ mnъju, mně vyjexati Petrъvo dne k tobě i rosmъtriti sъla svojegъ; tьbě rъže svъja snjati, a mně naklady tvoje dati. A istina dana.” [...] ‘From Jesif to Onfim. If Oleksa will send people from Mark to you or to my wife, answer him as follows: “As you, Mark, have arranged with me, I have to come out to you on St. Peter’s day and inspect my village; you have to harvest your rye, and I have to give your interest. And the debt has been given.” [...]’

(N142 / 1300-1320 / DND: 536)

Thus, in spite of our lack of knowledge of the context, we can still be guided by additional criteria to determine the main criterion, viz. a deictic shift. If a vocative is present, it must be an indicator of direct speech. It makes up for the ambiguity that often accompanies direct speech by way of the greatest possible explicitness about the identity of the addressee of the stretch of reported speech. This makes the example unambiguous, even for unsolicited ‘overreaders’ like we are.⁴ The only thing that remains to be deduced from the context is the exact position of the closing referential boundary, i.e. where the report ends. In some cases, determining the strategy is more problematic. More about this issue will be voiced in §6.4.5 below.

- (44) О Семнунѣ къ Iгучькѡу. Чъја ти естъ корова да молѡви емѡу:
 “Оѣъ хоцьѣши коровъ а едеѣши ро коровѡу а възи три гривънѣ.”
 ‘From Semnun’s wife to Igučka. Say to him, whose the cow is: “If you want the cow and come for the cow, bring three grivnas.”’
 (N8 / 1180-1200 / DND: 434)

Here is another example of the instructive type. It is clear that the second person in *ožb xočbši korovb* ‘if you want the cow’ is aimed at the cow’s owner,⁵ whereas the second person in the reporting speech event is the letter’s addressee, viz. Igučka.

Finally, a table can be presented with all occurrences of direct speech in the birchbark corpus:

⁴ Compare this to the imperative subject in overtly communicatively heterogeneous texts. In those cases we also see a referential boundary (contrast), plus an explicit statement about the nature of that contrast, i.e. speaker selection (cf. §5.3).

⁵ This may seem slightly strange, but in the edition (DND: 435) a scenario is proposed in which it is assumed that the cow has escaped and inflicted damage, in compensation of which the owner now has to pay before he can get the cow back. The only strange thing that would remain is that the amount is so high (Ibid.).

<i>Nº</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Tag</i>	<i>Type</i>
N954	1100-1120	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N877/527	1120-1140	<i>zapiratisja</i> 'deny'	Narr.
N952	1140-1160	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Narr.
N665	1160-1180	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N724	1160-1180	<i>ureči</i> 'determine'	Narr.
N731	1160-1180	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Narr.
N794	1160-1180	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
St.R.11	1160-1180	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Narr.
N8	1180-1200	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N550	1180-1200	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Narr.
St.R.30	1180-1200	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N531 (4x)	1200-1220	<i>izvətati</i> 'accuse', <i>molviti</i> 'say' (2x), <i>vzmolviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
St.R.43	1280-1300	<i>reči</i> 'say'	Narr.
N142	1300-1320	<i>otvėčati</i> 'answer'	Instr.
N344	1300-1320	<i>prikazati</i> 'order'	Narr.
N3 (2x)	1360-1380	<i>otvėčati</i> 'answer', <i>prislati</i> 'order to be said; lit. send'	Narr.
N697	1360-1380	<i>reči</i> 'say'	Narr.
N755	1420-1430	<i>vosprositi</i> 'ask'	Narr.
N962 (2x)	15 th cent.	<i>molviti</i> 'say', <i>povestovati</i> 'speak'	Narr.

Table 9: Direct speech⁶

6.4.2 Indirect speech

Let us now look at an example of indirect speech:

- (45) Ot Mirslava k Olisěvi ko Gricinou. A tou ti vьnidьte Gavьko Polocanino. Prašai ego kođь ti na gospođь vitaetь. Ať ti vidьlo kako ti bylo ja Ivana jaľь, postavi i pьredь ljudmi kako ti vzmolvitь. 'From Mirslav to Olisej Grečín. Gavko, a resident of Polotsk, is coming. Ask him where he is lodging. If he has seen how I arrested Ivan, place him before the witnesses that he mentions.'
(N502 / 1180-1200 / DND: 405)

As can be seen, the deictic organization remains unchanged, i.e. it is the same in the stretch of reported speech as in the surrounding authorial frame. The referential perspective of the reporter (Mirslav) instead of the reported speak-

⁶ Some birchbark letters have more than one instance of reported speech; if more than one speech reporting strategy is used, the same birchbark letter appears in more than one table (e.g. N755, which is also present in Tables 11 and 12 below).

er (Olisej Grečin) is taken. Note that this is an instance of the instructive type, so that the term reported speaker is not entirely adequate here, but for reasons of uniformity we shall stick to this terminology. Mirslav formulates a question to Gavko which Olisej Grečin is supposed to ask him upon receipt of the letter. But still, Mirslav takes his own, and not Olisej's (the prospective or potential speaker's), vantage point, as in the latter case the instruction would have sounded 'Ask him: "Where are you lodging?"'. Thus, we are clearly dealing with an instance of indirect speech.

Interestingly, almost all instances of indirect speech in the birchbark corpus are of the 'instructive' kind (cf. Table 10 below); one letter may constitute an exception, though a marginal one, hinging on one reflexive possessive pronoun:

- (46) Ot Oleksěja ko Gavrilě. Reklъ jesi bylъ vo svojemъ selě verši vsě dobry i jaraja žita [...].
 'From Oleksej to Gavrila. You had said [that] in your-REFL village the grain-crops are all good and the spring barley [...].'
 (N195 / 1300-1320 / DND: 525)

The absence of a complementizer (cf. the optional addition of 'that' in the English translation) is not significant here. As Collins (2001: 11) points out, the presence of a complementizer is often erroneously taken as a syntactic criterion for the category of indirect speech (although the vast majority of the instances of indirect speech on birchbark have a complementizer (such as *ati, datъ, oti, cto by*), which can, therefore, be considered a typical feature). What is more telling is that the deictic orientation of the current speaker (Oleksej) is taken; the indicator for this is the reflexive possessive pronoun *svojemъ*, which is always coreferential with the subject of the main clause, in this case the second person singular (encoded in the copula *jesi* 'be-PRES.2SG'). If the deictic orientation of the reported speaker (in this case, by the way, coinciding with the addressee) were taken, the stretch of (direct) reported speech would have read *v mojemъ selě* [etc.] 'in my village [etc.]'.⁷

Note that verb tense is not particularly relevant in Old Russian in this respect, either (just like in present-day Russian, for that matter), because a report is not usually 'backshifted', but rather tends to be phrased in the tense used by the source speaker, be it in direct or indirect reported speech (cf. Collins 1996: 30; 2001: 11).

⁷ It may also be argued that this is actually an instance of an NRSA (see §6.4.3). Cf. DND: 526, where the report is treated as a double accusative construction, and thus syntactically subordinate to the verb.

Finally, a table is presented here with the instances of indirect speech in the birchbark corpus. It is interesting to take note of the distribution of the types of reported speech, i.e. the massive predominance of the instructive type, which is so obvious that it can hardly be coincidental. The reason for this may be that it avoids confusion between the identity of the letter's addressees and the addressee of the instructive report (cf. §6.8).

<i>Nº</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Tag</i>	<i>Type</i>
N999	12 th cent.	<i>povelěti</i> 'order'	Instr.
St.R.7	1140-1160	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N798	1160-1180	<i>povelěti</i> 'order'	Instr.
N502	1180-1200	<i>prašati</i> 'ask'	Instr.
Torž.13	1180-1200	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N346	1280-1300	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N195	1300-1320	<i>reči</i> 'say'	Narr.
N5	1320-1340	<i>molviti</i> 'say'	Instr.
N354 (2x)	1340-1360	<i>molitisja</i> 'entreat' (2x)	Instr.
N25	1400-1410	<i>slatisja</i> 'refer'	Instr.

Table 10: Indirect speech

6.4.3 Narrative reports of speech acts

So far, we have been talking in terms of an opposition, viz. direct versus indirect reported speech. The system of person deixis contains their respective symptoms. While not denying the appeal of this simple dichotomy, there is more to be said about speech reporting strategies.

- (47) He promised to visit her again.
(Leech & Short 1986: 324)

On the one hand, this sentence fits into the dichotomy. Assuming that the original utterance was something to the effect of 'I will visit you again', we can see that the deictic frame of the original utterance is not taken over here. Rather, the deictics of the surrounding narrative frame are also used in the stretch of reported speech: cf. *he* and *her*. In Collins's terms, the deictic expressions are transparent; there is no switch of referential perspective between the reported speech and the reporting frame.

However, what distinguishes this example from the category of indirect speech is that the reporting strategy in (47) syntactically integrates the stretch of reported speech into the reporting narrative by grammatical subordination. Thus, apart from the basic distinction as to deictics, this sentence shows another characteristic, which sets it apart from indirect speech as such. The reporting strategy used in (47) is termed '**narrative report of speech act**' (NRSA) (Leech & Short 1986: 323). It 'condenses' the reported utterance into a single subordinated phrase or even a single word.

Nevertheless, the basic criterion of transparent deictics would group it along with indirect speech. This shows that the basic dichotomy has to be refined in order to incorporate strategies other than the two basic ones. We shall deal with this issue below.⁸

A typical NRSA in the birchbark corpus contains a tag followed by an infinitive, plus a possible complement, as in the following narrative example with *vъzjati* ‘take-INF’:

- (48) + Ot Dobrošĕkĕ kъ Prokšĕ. Prisъli mi grivъnou: a Davyď ti mi ne vъdalъ; velitъ vъzjati ou vežъnikъ.
 ‘+ From Dobroška to Prokša. Send me a grivna: David has not given [it] to me; he orders to take [it] from the fishermen.’
 (N664 / 1160-1180 / DND: 365, NGB XII: 256)

This type of reporting does not have to be of the narrative type, but can equally (though rarely attested on birchbark—only thrice—cf. Table 11) be ‘instructive’:

- (49) Čelomъ bitije k ogъzi mtri ot Onsifora. Veli Nesterju rubľ skopiti da iti k Ijuriju k sukladniku. [...]
 ‘A request to madam, mother, from Onsifor. Order Nester to get a rouble together and to go to Jurij, the business associate. [...].’
 (N354 / 1340-1360 / DND: 550)

The report can even be reduced to a mere noun phrase:

- (50) Ot Rъmъšĕ poklanjanъe kъ Klimjatĕ i kъ Pavlou. B[oga] dělja kotorei ljubo potroudisja do vladyčĕ. Sъkažita vladyčĕ moju obidou i moi boi želĕza. A ja emou ne dъľъžъne ničimъ že. I molju va sja.
 ‘Greetings from Remša to Klimjata and Pavel. For God’s sake let anyone [of you two] go to the archbishop. Tell the archbishop [about] my shame and my beating [and] chains. And I owe him nothing. And I entreat you [both].’
 (N725 / 1180-1200 / DND: 415)

⁸ The existence of narrative reports of speech acts as a separate speech reporting strategy might be questioned, in view of the fact that the deictic criterion groups it together with indirect speech. Why should syntactic considerations suddenly be relevant here, whereas it has just been stated that deixis is the only universally reliable diagnostic criterion for distinguishing speech reporting categories? As will be argued below, NRSA can be seen as a subtype of indirect speech, making it less ambiguous, not only by stable deictics (as is also the case in indirect speech), but also by the impossibility of a deictic shift due to the NRSA’s syntactic subordination. In the light of our further discussion, this distinction will turn out to be fruitful (cf. §6.7.1.3). Thus, the basic opposition comes to light through the deictic criterion, while further refinements are attained by way of additional, complementary criteria.

Some doubts might arise as to the status of this construction, but Coulmas (1986: 20) argues that similar instances should be analysed as reported speech:

It may seem far-fetched to subsume sentences such as these under the notion of reported speech, but notice that they share some crucial features with indirect speech: There is a report verb and a “propositional” part. The latter is syntactically reduced to a noun phrase in object position, but then this is exactly the position that a complement sentence occupies.

We shall thus take it to be an instance of an NRSA. A slightly less typical structure is an NRSA with a participial construction (attested on birchbark only twice, viz. in N550 and N1020, both with the verb *tvoritisja* ‘claim’ and the active past participle). Take a look at N550:

- (51) [...] A vьžniki tvorjatesja vьdavoše-P.PTC.M.NOM.PL Sobyslavou cetyri grivne, a posbliščenyxo 15 grivno. [...] ‘[...] And the fishermen claim to have given four grivnas to Sbyslav, and of the settlement tax 15 grivnas. [...].’
(N550 / 1180-1200 / DND: 401, NGB XII: 250)

In order to provide a clear overview, a table will now be shown which presents all instances of NRSA on birchbark (as will be done with the other strategies below), ordered chronologically. The third column indicates the verbal tag that is used (cited here in the infinitive), with a rough English translation. Needless to say, these English translations are only approximate and do not capture all subtleties and shades of meaning, but they might serve to give a rough impression. The fourth column shows whether the example belongs to the narrative or instructive type.

<i>Nº</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Tag</i>	<i>Type</i>
N1005	12 th cent.	<i>prositi</i> ‘ask, request’	Narr.
N877/572 (2x)	1120-1140	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’ (2x)	Narr.
(N879)	1120-1140	<i>reči</i> ‘say’	Narr.
N664	1160-1180	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N672	1160-1180	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N550	1180-1200	<i>tvoritisja</i> ‘assert’	Narr.
N725	1180-1200	<i>skazati</i> ‘say’	Instr.
N482 (2x)	1280-1300	<i>povelěti</i> ‘order’, <i>tvoritisja</i> ‘assert’	Narr.
N102	1340-1360	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N354	1340-1360	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Instr.
N415	1340-1360	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	n/a
N275/266	1360-1380	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Instr.
N406	1360-1380	<i>prošati</i> ‘ask, request’	Narr.
N697	1360-1380	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N314	1380-1400	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N754	1380-1400	<i>povelěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N157 (2x)	1410-1420	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’ (2x)	Narr.
N242	1420-1430	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.
N755	1420-1430	<i>velěti</i> ‘order’	Narr.

Table 11: Narrative reports of speech acts

6.4.4 Free direct speech

Now that we have seen three speech reporting strategies, we have to deal with two more. What the above examples all have in common, is that the stretch of reported speech is explicitly introduced by a tag, or *verbum dicendi*, such as ‘said’ (39-40) or ‘promised’ (47). Two other speech reporting strategies can be distinguished, whose only difference from, respectively, direct and indirect speech is the lack of such a tag. Thus, ‘**free direct speech**’ is the same as direct speech (i.e. shifted deictics), but without an explicit signal that it is reported speech:

- (52) ‘He’s drunk now’, he said.
‘He’s drunk every night.’
‘What did he want to kill himself for?’
‘How should I know.’
‘How did he do it?’
‘He hung himself with a rope.’
‘Who cut him down?’
 (Ernest Hemmingway, *A Clean, Well-Lighted Place*, as cited in Leech & Short 1981: 322)

The first line of (52) is ordinary direct speech, signalled by ‘he said’. The following lines, however, lack such a tag, while the referential organization is the same as in the original utterances, and are thus free direct speech. Still, the graphical cue of inverted commas is there. It is only left implicit to whom the reported clause should be attributed (not the fact that it is reported speech in the first place). The identity of the utterer of each subsequent sentence is assured by the sequence of “adjacency pairs” (Brown & Yule 1983: 230).

The category of free direct speech occurs relatively infrequently on birchbark. So far, four instances of this type have been identified, two of which (N154 and N697) were already acknowledged in the edition, and two (N755 and Tv.5) were reinterpreted as containing free direct speech by Gippius & Schaeken (2011). Consider the following example:

- (53) Ot Iliice ko Ilic. Šjuiga dubie perepisyvaete a bcely ti lazilo: “Jazo dubie otimaju po svoei meti.” Ate eno sotesyvaete: “To moi dubo. Vaše bortiko okralosja pervy.” A nyne poedi samo semo, utverdi svoju borte. ‘From Ilijca to Il’ja. Šjuiga is overwriting [the marks on] the oaks and has taken out the honey from the hives, [saying:] “I am taking away the oaks on my own mark”. He is cutting away the cut-mark, [saying:] “It is my oak. Your former beekeeper has fallen into robbery”. And now come here yourself; confirm your [ownership of the] bee-yard.’
(Tv.5 / 1300-1320 / DND: 569)⁹

In spite of the absence of any formal markers of speech reporting, Gippius & Schaeken (2011) convincingly show that the only way in which the letter can be plausibly interpreted is by positing the presence of two pieces of direct reported speech. They show this by conducting a pragmaphilological analysis, taking into account the situation and context of the letter. This approach already hints at the fact that the letter can only be correctly understood if one has recourse to its background and context. Thus, the letter’s addressee would have had no problem at all to infer its polyphonic nature. This is a crucial point to which we shall return below.

⁹ The translation is based on Gippius & Schaeken (2011: 18), while taking into account a subsequent correction by Gippius (NGB XII: 274).

- (54) [...] Čto este mně velěli ou Putila konь vzjati, · inъ mně ne dastъ. · “Ne vinovatъ · esmъ · Kuzmě.” · A ešče mene zazva(1ъ) ---rodъ · a rka · takъ za toboju · xlēbъ · moi · i ži(vo)tъ · vēsъ. [...]
 ‘[...] Regarding the fact that you have ordered me to take a horse from Putil, he does not give it to me: “I owe nothing to Kuz’ma.” And ...rod has also called me, saying: “for you is my bread and all my belongings.” [...]
 (N697 / 1360-1380 / DND: 576)
- (55) [Inside:] Vosprosilē praviščikē Omanta rostjagalesъ Fipe s Yvanomъ Stoikomъ. “Videle jsmъ i cjule promeži Filipomъ Ivanomъ. Dale Filipe Stoiku 3 rublě serebromъ i 7 grivenъ kunъ i konъ.” A uvēdajetsja Stoike v viri i s posadnikomъ i s sočkymi. A to sja dijalosъ sedně vo veliki dnъ.
 [Outside:] A to dijalosъ na pogostě na torgě.
 [Inside:] ‘The court officers have interrogated Omant [about the fact that] Filipp started a lawsuit against Ivan Stojko. [Omant said:] “I have seen and heard [what happened] between Filipp and Ivan. Filipp gave three silver roubles and 7 grivnas kun and a horse to Stojko.” [Now] Stojko is going to deal with the matter under oath with the governor and the centurions. And this happened today at Easter.’
 [Outside:] ‘And this happened in the district, on the market.’
 (N154 / 1420-1430 / DND: 672)
- (56) Tolko za mnoju i slovъ. Pozvale mene Olekьsēi na gumno, aзь Ostašьka ovydъ moloti. Olekьsēi [jeg]o vosprosi: “Comu molotišъ bezъ našixъ sirotъ? A namъ v zemlě polovina a verъši castъ.” “I velělъ mi starěšēi moi i sēmjana i ěmjana molotitъ vaša”, Ivane.
 ‘I only have to say this. Oleksej has called me to the threshing-floor because Ostaška was threshing the spring rye. Oleksej asked him: “Why are you threshing without our farmers? Half of the land and part of the grain is ours.” [Ostaška answered:] “My boss has ordered me to thresh all your grain (lit. your grain for sowing and for consumption)”, [i.e.] Ivan.’
 (N755 / 1420-1430 / DND: 636; NGB XII: 269-270)

All four occurrences of free direct speech on birchbark are situated in the later period (cf. Table 12). We shall return to this somewhat surprising chronological distribution in §6.9.

<i>N^o</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type</i>
Tv.5	1300-1320	Narr.
N697	1360-1380	Narr.
N154	1420-1430	Narr.
N755	1420-1430	Narr.

Table 12: Free direct speech

Finally, for completeness's sake, there is 'free indirect speech', which involves indirect speech without a tag. It is often mentioned in literary studies, as widely occurring in fictional prose. It does not seem to be covered in the birchbark corpus, but we shall encounter it in the theoretical discussion of §6.6.

6.4.5 Undecided cases

A limited number of instances of reported speech simply lack any deictic expressions whatsoever; as deictics are the only criterion for classifying them as either direct or indirect speech, these instances have to remain unclassified.

- (57) [...] zděse, ospodo, javljajutsja rukupisanie lživyja. A perepěsysyvjajut' vaš' Netrebui dějakъ pozovnici i rukopěsania lživyja. A tvorjatsja pečatale Iva Parfě rukusaniueja. A xřěst'janu vaš' vamъ, svoei ospodi, čolomъ běju.
 '[...] here also, lords, there are false testaments showing up. And your Netrebuj [and] the clerk copy false summonses and testaments. And they claim [that] Ivan Parfeev has put his seal on the testaments. And your peasants petition you, our lords.'
 (N307 / 1420-1430 / DND: 678)

Intuitively, one might say that this is most likely to be indirect speech, but there are no decisive clues in the text. The only reference in the stretch of reported speech is to a third person side participant, and thus no deictic elements are available that refer to speech act participants.

Although the definition of the deictic orientation point seems to be sufficient to encompass all aspects that are needed to classify reported speech into the two basic categories, this does not mean that every instance of reported speech in the birchbark corpus is crystal clear as to its classification. Especially when parts of the letter are damaged or missing, as in the following example:

- (58) [...] i ty uxо položi na sudě. A na mene se šli na tomъ cto esi konъ poznalъ u němcina i uxо esi za mene dale, i němcine za sebe povodъ složilе, a veg[leše na V]iguja. [...]
 '[...] then you give-IMP testimony in court. And refer to me in that you have recognized the horse at the German and you have given testimony for me, but the German has rejected the accusation, and accused Viguj. [...].'
 (N25 / 1400-1410 / DND: 658)

Due to the lack of context, it is not entirely clear whether the last phrases (marked by dotted underlining) also form part of the embedded reported speech, or whether they belong to the embedding narrative. It seems most plausible to include them into the stretch of reported speech, but in the absence of deictic markers we cannot determine this formally.

There are some more reasons why certain instances of speech reporting are somewhat shrouded in clouds of mystery. When considering the next example, the question will arise: is the underlined section an instance of direct speech, free direct speech, or is it not reported speech at all?

- (59) Poklono ot [...] jesi velile velile verše imati, tvorjace i vinovati, odinu tri koroběi ouv Yvanka ouzjale. Starosta Oleskandrova pogosta bĕjetsĕ celomĕ, sto by jesi, gospodine, okupile ixĕ i slovo položile so mnoju. [...] ‘Greetings from [...]. You have ordered to take bread, having announced them [to be] debtors, one [shipment of] three baskets [he] has taken from Ivanko. The elder of the Oleksandrov district bows before you, may you, lord, redeem them and make an arrangement with me. [...]’
(N102 / 1340-1360 / DND: 555)

As Collins (2001: 83) shows, the verb *biti čelomĕ* ‘bow down, lit. beat the brow’ can function as a tag in Old Russian, introducing direct speech. However, it does not have to fulfill that function; it can also be an ordinary greeting or politeness formula. The subjunctive construction with *čto by* can indeed occur in indirect speech (N354), but it often occurs in non-reported speech, too. In the absence of contextual knowledge, it is hard to define this letter’s referential organization. This is a typical symptom of the context-bound, ‘immediate’ character of many of the birchbark letters, which points to the crucial role of contextual knowledge. Similar problems arise when analyzing example (60), which we have encountered already as (50):

- (60) Ot Rĕmšĕ poklanjanĕ kĕ Klimjatĕ i kĕ Pavlou. Bĕ dĕlja kotorei ljubo potroudisja do vladučĕ. Sĕkažita vladučĕ moju obidou i moi boi želĕza. A ja emou ne dĕlĕžĕne ničimĕ žĕ. I molju va sja. ‘Greetings from Remša to Klimjata and Pavel. For God’s sake let anyone [of you two] go to the archbishop. Tell the archbishop [about] my shame and my beating and chains. And I owe him nothing. And I entreat you [both].’
(N725 / 1180-1200 / DND: 415)

Is the underlined part an explanation to Klimjata and Pavel, as to why they should tell the archbishop about Remša’s shame and beating and chains, or is it the continuation of what they should say to the archbishop, rendered in indirect speech? These interpretational difficulties testify to a large measure of context-dependence of these birchbark letters, an issue to which more attention will be devoted in §6.7.3.

6.5 Diachronic considerations

Now that the distribution of instances of reported speech has been conveniently arranged in tables, it is appropriate to devote a few words to their chronological order—or rather, to see whether any order can be detected in the birchbark corpus, and what the consequences might be for our considerations about orality and literacy. Ideally, the number of instances of each speech reporting category should be marked out against the total number of instances of reported speech in time intervals that are as short as possible. Due to the limited size of the corpus, however, whole centuries have been taken into account.

Lopatina (1979: 446) asserts that indirect speech in Old Russian still bears the traces of direct speech, which she apparently looks upon as a more basic category:

“Конструкция косвенной речи, по-видимому, на протяжении всего рассматриваемого периода находилась в стадии развития и испытывала влияние конструкции прямой речи.”

‘The construction of indirect speech apparently found itself in a stage of development and was under the influence of the construction of direct speech during the entire period in question.’

This influence is, however, not due to a chronological primacy of direct speech, but rather, among other things, to the pervasive influences of orality, by which reporting strategies are also affected (we shall enlarge on this issue in §6.7). Untenable claims are sometimes made about the chronology of speech reporting strategies. Apart from positing the distinction between direct and indirect speech on the syntactic level, Kolesov (2009: 494) also claims that indirect speech developed later than direct speech: “Косвенная речь развивается позже прямой одновременно с развитием гипотаксиса” ‘Indirect speech develops later than direct speech, simultaneously with the development of hypotaxis’. That this claim is, to say the very least, not supported by the birchbark data becomes clear from the fact that indirect speech is attested from the very beginning of the period.

Collins (2001: 191) observes “a drift from direct to indirect style” in his corpus of Old Russian legal texts. Diagrams 1 and 2 show that the birchbark corpus also shows a decline in the use of direct speech. Indirect speech, on the other hand, is distributed more or less evenly throughout the period. Narrative reports of speech acts see a slight increase. In Figure 5, the number of birchbark letters showing a certain speech reporting strategy is presented as a percentage of the total number of birchbark letters, grouped per century. In Figure 6, the instances of speech reporting are presented as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of each strategy per century. In Table 13, the absolute numbers are presented.

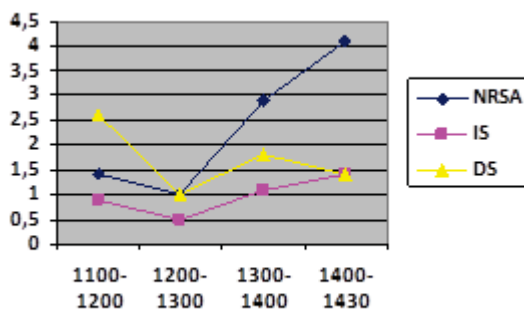


Figure 5: Strategies, in % of total amount of letters in each period

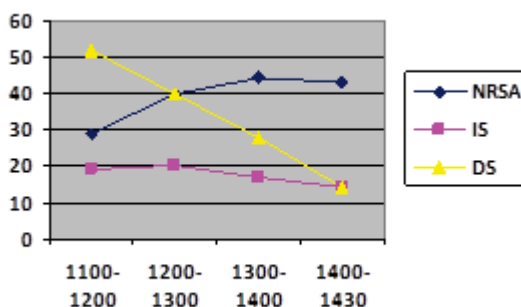


Figure 6: Strategies, in % of instances of speech reporting in each period

Period	NRSA	IS	DS	Reports	Overall number of birchbark letters
1100-1200	6	4	11	21	431
1200-1300	2	1	2	5	199
1300-1400	8	3	5	18	273
1400-1430	11	4	6	25	73

Table 13: Strategies, in absolute numbers¹⁰

The state of affairs which is represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 needs an explanation. Crucially, we should not only look at the sheer number of occurrences, but also take into account the *functions* of the various strategies. The speech reporting strategies may be connected to theoretical notions of orality and lit-

¹⁰ All birchbark letters have been taken into consideration insofar as they are dated and have enough content for investigation. Birchbark letters from before 1100 and after 1430 happen not to show any instances of speech reporting.

eracy, but the actual language users employed each strategy with a certain practical, communicative purpose, be it intentional or not (§6.8). It is not as if it were a “diachronic competition between synonymous categories” (Collins 1996: 23). These considerations would thwart any broad claims about the connection between diachronic developments in the use of speech reporting strategies and the orality-literacy continuum.

Secondly, the relatively small size of the corpus would prevent us, again, from drawing too radical a conclusion on the basis of these data. The general impression, however, remains one of relative conformity to the expected rule of thumb, viz. that the use of speech reporting strategies increasingly conforms to a ‘literate’ mindset. In what way the strategies can be linked to orality or literacy will be explained in the following subsections.

6.6 Speech reporting strategies on a scale

Having distinguished among five speech reporting strategies, and having observed their distribution throughout the birchbark corpus, we can now proceed to delineate how these strategies relate to each other. The idea of a strict dichotomy (direct vs. indirect speech) has to be embedded into a scale of reported speech categories (based on Leech & Short 1981: 324). This scale is presented in (61), with a key to the abbreviations.

- (61) NRSA IS FIS | DS FDS
- NRSA = Narrative report of speech act
 IS = Indirect speech
 FIS = Free indirect speech
 DS = Direct speech
 FDS = Free direct speech
 | = boundary of the basic dichotomy between indirect and direct speech
 (see below)

The examples put forward above have shown us that there is a strict dichotomy (direct vs. indirect reported speech), with a strict diagnostic criterion (shifted vs. transparent deictics). We shall call this the ‘basic dichotomy’. Neither Coulmas (1986) nor any of the authors in his edited volume seem to make use of the full range of terms developed by Leech & Short (1981). They seem to be exclusively concerned with the basic dichotomy, as is also shown by the title of the volume (*Direct and Indirect Speech*). But the two opposites of this dichotomy are part of a larger scale (although they are not the two extremities of this scale!).

Now, what constitutes the essence of this scale? In other words, what is the criterion for placement on the scale? Leech & Short (1981: 324) call it a “cline

of ‘interference’ in report”,¹¹ i.e. it denotes the degree to which the author (i.e. the reporter) interferes with the interpretation of the stretch of reported speech. In Clark’s (1996) terms (cf. §2.3), the question would be: to what extent is it a joint project, in which the author aims at a jointly negotiated interpretation in cooperation with the reader, or, conversely, to what extent does the author interfere and claim dominance over the reader’s interpretative options? If the author claims dominance, the report is “compact” Collins (2001: 288), i.e. ‘integrated’ into the authorial discourse; if the author leaves more responsibility to the reader, the report is “diffuse” (Ibid.), i.e. standing out from the authorial discourse. Let us now ‘tread’ along the scale and discuss each strategy separately.

Narrative reports of speech acts, at the leftmost end, are the least situated variety; no confusion is likely to arise over the question to whom the referential expressions refer, as all this information is linguistically encoded by means of syntax—it is one and the same clause, which implies that a switch of referential perspective is impossible. Plank (1986: 305) also points at the correlation between integration and the uniformity of deictic references: a shift cannot possibly occur, and thus a wrong referent cannot be assigned to the deictic expressions.¹² Consequently, this strategy is potentially unambiguous: the author can be pretty sure that the addressee will interpret the utterance exactly as it was intended. Leech & Short (1981: 324) classify this strategy under “[n]arrator [i.e. author] apparently in total control of report”.

With the other, less integrated, varieties of reported speech, a switch of referential perspective is grammatically possible, and the situation or context is to be relied on (to varying degrees) in order to determine whether or not such a shift has indeed occurred.

The next variety, indirect speech, is also characterized by relative compactness. There is no shift of deictic expressions or referential perspective, so that one does not have to lean on any clues outside of the text as to whose perspective is taken, as it simply remains constant (transparent). What makes indirect speech slightly more diffuse than narrative reports of speech acts, however, is

¹¹ The term ‘cline’ is, in the present author’s view, not the most optimal one; it implies that the various strategies are situated on a gradual continuum. However, the strategies can be distinguished from each other by strict criteria (there are no intermediate forms), so that is more appropriate to speak of a ‘scale’.

¹² This is the connection between deixis and syntactic integration. “Je schwächer Redeanführung und wiedergegebene Rede syntaktisch miteinander integriert sind, desto eher können ihre deiktischen Bezugsrahmen wechseln; je stärker ihre Integration, desto uniformer die deiktischen Bezüge” “The weaker reporting and reported speech are syntactically integrated, the sooner their deictic reference frames can switch; the stronger their integration, the more uniform the deictic references’ (Plank 1986: 305). Cf. Chafe’s (1982) term ‘integration’ as opposed to ‘detachment’.

the fact that the *possibility* of a perspectival shift is now grammatically open.¹³ Indirect speech is often treated as being more complex than direct speech, but, as Collins (1996: 66) points out, the referential strategies which are used are actually simpler, because they remain stable.

In free indirect speech, the referential perspective remains the same as in the surrounding frame, so that the context is to be relied on to distinguish the reported speech from the reporting frame. This is already a characteristic of diffuseness.¹⁴

Direct speech is also well on its way to the diffuse end of the spectrum, because, as we have seen, the boundary between authorial frame and reported speech involves an abrupt shift in referential perspective. Still, the authorial frame provides some clue as to the existence of this boundary, usually with a tag (*verbum dicendi*). Thus, the presence of reported speech is made explicit, but not its referential orientation; the latter has to be deduced from the situation. The three middlemost categories (IS, FIS, DS) are, then, labelled by Leech & Short (1981: 324) as “[n]arrator apparently under partial control of report”.

Free direct speech, at the rightmost end, is the most situated category; to grasp its referential meaning, even more recourse to the situation is required than in the case of direct speech. After all, the referential perspective is shifted, and in addition, there is no textual clue about where the boundary lies between authorial frame and reported speech. For our topic, free direct speech is also the most interesting category, as it provides us with language use of a clearly oral nature; we shall come back to this point in §6.9 below.

Thus, the above continuum reflects a scale with values ranging from compact to diffuse (cf. Collins 2001: 289). That is to say, on the one hand (the

¹³ Such a shift can, by the way, only occur in the 3rd person in indirect speech. To return to example (40), it is possible to interpret it in such a way that it is not John who was tired, but another 3rd person: ‘John_x said that he_y was tired’.

¹⁴ One might be inclined to argue that free indirect speech is actually the most diffuse variety and should be placed at the rightmost edge of the continuum. Firstly, the boundaries are not marked, and secondly, not even a deictic shift can be relied on to determine these boundaries. As Collins (2001: 135) notes, there is “ambiguity between [free indirect speech] and narrative”. One could also stretch the definition of free indirect speech beyond that which is common in literary studies, as Collins (2001: 142ff.) seems to do, and include instances where reported information is presented just like the rest of the narrative. On birchbark, this would lead to examples of the following kind: *Zdeso Filist jexatv xoce* ‘Here Filist wants to go’ (N19); *None, ospodine, Oleksii ne xoce nam rzy dati* ‘So, lord, Oleksii does not want to give us rye’ (N310). These statements are evidently the result of an earlier speech act, uttered by Filist and Oleksii, but they are not an explicit rendition of their utterance by way of a speech act verb. However, even if one considers these instances to be free indirect speech, they are often hard to distinguish from ordinary narrative (though the above examples have a clear indicator, viz. *xoce* ‘wants’), in view of the ‘bad data problem’ in historical texts. For this reason, a more extensive discussion of this issue is not thought to be particularly appropriate and useful here.

compact end of the scale) there is maximal authorial *interference*, which means that the letter's author remains in maximum control of the interpretation; he 'steers' the addressee as much as possible towards a felicitous interpretation of the meaning he intends to convey. On the other hand (the diffuse end of the spectrum), there is maximal situational *inference*, i.e. the author leaves as much liberty in the interpretation process as possible to the addressee, who has to make sense of implicit clues from their common ground or physical surroundings (in which the letter-bearer or messenger may play a significant role—cf. §6.7.3 and §6.9 below for more on this topic).

As Semino, Short & Culpeper (1997: 33) note, "some distinctions on the cline are harder-edged than others. [...] the boundary between the direct and free indirect categories is not really clinal". In their corpus, there is never any ambiguity between free indirect speech and direct speech. This underlines the validity of maintaining the basic dichotomy between direct and indirect speech, indicated in (61) by the vertical line between FIS and DS. The strategies to the left belong to indirect speech (judging by the deictic criterion), the strategies to the right of the line belong to direct speech. The dividing line does, however, not indicate an abrupt shift in authorial interference. The strategies can, therefore, still be presented on a scale. Thus, (61) reflects two approaches: on the one hand the classificatory dichotomy, which divides the strategies in twain according to their most salient characteristic (deictic orientation), and on the other hand the scale of authorial interference, which presents the strategies according to their main functional feature. These two aspects are not to be confused with each other.

6.7 Complexity and context

Let us now dig a little bit deeper into the peculiarities and implications of the scale presented above, and discuss notions of complexity of formulation and interpretation, and further elaborate concepts of context-dependence. First of all, it should be noted that the proposed division into narrative and instructive reported speech somewhat complicates the way in which the scale should be treated. The scale concerns the extent to which the reporter manipulates the reported utterance by conforming it to his own narrative perspective. But can an instructive utterance, which originates in the reporter himself, be said to be manipulated? It can be more or less controlled, but it is not the report of an actually pronounced utterance, as we have noted already. Furthermore, the extent of the author's intervention has consequences for the degree of complexity for both participants. In other words, the different strategies amount to varying degrees of complexity, not only for the author, but also for the reader. This adds another dimension to the discussion of the various strategies, which is, however, not necessarily expressed by the same scale, as will be shown below. To be more precise, authorial interference involves different degrees of planning burdens in the various strategies, as well as different degrees of the

interpretative efforts the reader needs to invest in order to decode the message.¹⁵ It is in this respect that the difference between narrative and instructive reported speech turns up again. Crucially, the factor that underlies the planning burden and interpretative effort is the measure of context-dependence of each strategy, as will be discussed towards the end of this section (§6.7.3).

6.7.1 Complexity

So we have seen that shifted deictics are more context-dependent. It now remains to be seen whether we can also say that a shifted perspective (diffuse strategy) is more complex and requires more *effort*, and if so, for whom (i.e. for the author or the reader, or both). Complexity has two sides: for the author and for the reader. It is closely connected to the degree of context-dependence. The amount of effort has to be described in the various strategies and types of speech reporting. We shall first devote some more attention to the statement that the planning burden differs for narrative and instructive reported speech. We shall take the basic direct-indirect dichotomy as a starting point for this discussion.

6.7.1.1 The author's effort

As was shown above, direct speech involves a referential shift. But to what extent is this a burdensome situation for the author? One might think that the deictic shift would make direct speech more difficult for the author to formulate. “Diese Sicht scheint mir jedoch die kognitiven Anforderungen des [...] Zitierens weit zu übertreiben.” ‘It seems to me, however, that this view greatly exaggerates the cognitive demands of [...] quotation’ (Plank 1986: 298). In terms of the report's deictic orientation, the author does not have to change the deictics from his memory of the original speech act. For the author, the report is contextualized in a situation in the past.

In narrative indirect speech, the deictics of the report are the same as those of the reporting frame, but this means that they differ from those of the original speech act. According to Koch & Oesterreicher (2011: 78), “[d]ie integrative Anpassung des eingelassenen Diskurses an das deiktische Bezugssystem des übergeordneten Diskurses erfordert einen hohen Planungsaufwand” ‘the integrative adaptation of the embedded discourse to the deictic reference system of the embedding discourse requires a high planning effort’. It should be noted, though, that this applies only in the case of *narrative* reported speech. With instructive reported speech the situation is reversed.

¹⁵ The terms “Planungsaufwand” ‘planning effort’ and “Bürde der Dekodierung” ‘decoding burden’ are used by Voeste (2010: 969, 974), who borrowed the term “Bürde” from Plank (1986: 298). The term “Planungsaufwand” is used more widely in German academic discourse; interestingly enough, it seems to stem from Koch & Oesterreicher’s (1985, 2011) model.

As far as the production by the reporter is concerned, a difference exists between narrative and instructive direct reported speech. The reporter either remembers a past utterance (though not necessarily verbatim!) or phrases one himself at that moment.

“Was bei der direkten Rede vom wiedergebenden Sprecher eigentlich ja nur zu leisten ist, ist, den Wortlaut möglichst getreu wiederzugeben; die Bürde, daraus den richtigen Sinn zu entnehmen, lastet am ehesten auf dem Adressaten der Redewiedergabe” (Plank 1986: 298).

“The only thing that the reporter has to achieve in the case of direct speech is to reproduce the utterance as faithfully as possible; the burden of extracting the right sense from it rather rests with the addressee of the report’.

Turning to instructive direct speech, it is obvious that the author has to adapt his own utterance to the referential perspective of the envisaged speech act to be pronounced in the future by the letter’s addressee. The author has to put himself in the position of the addressee, and thus, from a displaced standpoint, formulate a message which is not yet tied to an actually existing context.

(62) [...] Ot Esifa k Onfima. Čtǔ prišle ot Markǔ k tobě ljudii Oľksa, ili kǔ žene mǔjei, otvěcai jemu takǔ: “Kakǔ esi dokončalǔ, Marke-voc, sǔ mǔju, mně vyjexati Petrǔvo dǔne k tobě i rosmǔtriti sǔla svojegǔ; tǔbě rǔže svǔja snjati, a mně naklady tvoje dati. A istina dana.” [...] ‘From Esif to Onfim. If Oleksa will send people from Mark to you or to my wife, answer him as follows: “As you, Mark, have arranged with me, I have to come out to you on St. Peter’s day and inspect my village; you have to harvest your rye, and I have to give your interest. And the debt has been given.” [...]’

(N142 / 1300-1320 / DND: 536)

In this example, the second-person address of Mark is not burdensome for Esif; it does not involve a shift for him, as he would have used the same second-person forms if he were talking directly to Mark. But now that he inserts the intermediary of Onfim, the first-person forms are displaced: they refer not to Esif, but to Onfim, which involves making a referential shift for Esif. Alternatively, we can posit that Esif maintains his own perspective, in which case it is actually meant as a direct message from Esif to Mark, which Onfim was supposed to convey, or even read out loud from the birchbark letter. It should then be interpreted as ‘answer him [in my name] as follows’. This is quite probably the case for most instructive direct speech. In that case, there is no deictic shift from the author’s point of view, but the addressee has to infer a shift. This makes instructive direct speech more difficult to process for the addressee, but not more difficult to produce for the author. Note that there is considerable overlap with the phenomenon of communicative heterogeneity

here (one person gets a mandate to deliver a message to another person; more about which below).

There are not many instances of instructive direct speech containing first person forms (N₁₄₂, N₅₃₁, N₆₆₅), which, if the author indeed makes the switch towards the addressee's perspective, require the highest planning burden. Second person forms occur a lot more often, but the author could have used these himself, too, when speaking to the intended addressee (which is less demanding than instructing someone else in a displaced perspective). In those cases, the intermediary status of the present addressee is less visible, and the authorial burden is less pressing; cf. example (62).

6.7.1.2 The reader's effort

As far as complexity for the reader is concerned, there are two factors that need to be taken into account: syntactic integration and deictic adaptation.

“Die syntaktische Integration und die deiktische Anpassung des eingelassenen Diskurses bei indirekter Rede signalisieren deutlich, wenn auch in planungsaufwendiger Weise, dass es sich um eine Redewiedergabe handelt. Bei der direkten Rede bedarf es demgegenüber anderer, sparsamerer Signale” (Koch & Oesterreicher 2011: 79).

‘The syntactic integration and the deictic adaptation of the embedded discourse in the case of indirect speech signal clearly, although in a planning-intensive way, that we have to do with reported speech. In the case of direct speech other, scantier signals are needed.’

Remember that in the case of old Russian, syntactic integration functions as a diagnostic criterion only for NRSAs (which underlines the usefulness of distinguishing this category). Deictic adaptation also occurs in indirect speech. As we have seen, in narrative indirect speech there is a switch for the author (he changes the original deictics into those of the report, i.e. adapts them to his own deictic perspective), but not for the reader (he just reads both the report and the frame in the same deictic perspective). It is, therefore, in the interest of the reader to use an integrated strategy, especially if the communication is ‘distant’ (in the sense of the language of distance; cf. §6.7.3).

Speaking theoretically, direct speech is generally more complex for the reader, since he has to infer the presence of a deictic shift. The deictic centre is displaced, so that it does not coincide with the author's origo. To put it in other words, the report is contextualized in either a past situation (narrative), the memory of which the reader does not necessarily share with the author, or a future situation (instructive) that is envisaged by the author, but not necessarily shared by the reader as yet. Thus, the reader has to make an effort in order to contextualize the report, not only into his own system of deictic orientation, but also to incorporate it into his common ground with the author. The author may give clues for the interpretation, such as the vocative (cf.

§6.4.1). In that case, the reader's interpretative burden is still fairly high, but it is somewhat mitigated, and the strategy serves a purpose. It best serves its goal of saliency (§6.8). Of course, the reader's 'burden' can be lightened by the context, or more broadly, by common ground which the reader shares with the author. This is one of the main burdens of the present study.

So far, we have made observations that apply to the basic dichotomy of direct and indirect speech. It has become clear that stating one strategy in its entirety to be more complex (burdensome for the author as well as the addressee) than another would involve making a broader generalization than can be afforded. At the very least, the distinction between narrative and instructive reported speech should be taken into account. Thus, the interpretative burden is the same, but the planning burden differs between narrative and instructive reported speech. This insight would mitigate claims made by Plank (1986).

6.7.1.3 Narrative reports of speech acts

As far as narrative reports of speech acts are concerned, i.e. the most compact variety, marked by syntactic dependence, the present author would like to call attention to an observation made by Voeste (2010: 974):

“Eine mehrfach durchgeführte Abhängigkeitsmarkierung der Redewiedergabe bedeutet einen hohen Planungsaufwand. Das Ergebnis gewährleistet aber auch, dass dem Leser die „Bürde“ der Dekodierung entscheidend erleichtert wird.”

‘Multiple dependency marking of reported speech means a high planning effort. However, the result also secures that the decoding “burden” is made decisively easier for the reader.’

In German, multiple devices are available, such as a shift in tense and mood. Multiple dependence on birchbark means a deictic shift (indirect speech) plus a complementizer. An even higher degree of dependency is, of course, full syntactic integration (NRSA), which Voeste (Ibid.) does not consider to relieve the decoding burden, though. In Voeste's (Ibid.: 976) opinion, indirect speech has the most substantial planning burden, but it also maximally secures understanding. However, still further syntactic integration, as in narrative reports of speech acts, no longer supports decoding (Ibid.: 975); it has become too integrated, and essential information is lost. Thus, a narrative report of a speech act implies maximal authorial interference, but, according to Voeste, not necessarily maximal ease of interpretation. But is this true? Firstly, as has been noted already, syntactic integration precludes a wrong assignment of referents by grammatical constraints. In other words, it is the least ambiguous variety. Voeste does, however, not recognize this from her Early Modern German examples: “[...] gehen somit noch einmal wesentliche Information verloren, die im ungünstigsten Fall [...] zu Ambiguität führen können.” ‘so again essential information is lost, which can, in the worst case, [...] lead to

ambiguity' (Ibid.: 976). Whatever the nature of the ambiguity perceived by Voeste, it is not of a referential kind: the referents can be identified felicitously because of grammatical constraints. This makes the strategy maximally unambiguous in terms of referential organization. Secondly, NRSAs are used in environments where their use can be afforded (cf. §6.7.3). So, more authorial effort is rewarded by maximal interference, and hence a maximal ease of interpretation for the reader.

Free direct speech, finally, does not imply more authorial effort than 'normal' direct speech. After all, the only difference is that in the former the tags are absent. We have already noted that the interpretative burden for the reader is higher, because the boundaries of the report are not indicated, so that not much can be added about this strategy at the present point in the discussion.

6.7.1.4 Concluding remarks on complexity

To sum up: the various strategies cannot be compared unconditionally as to their difficulty of formulation and interpretation. First of all, as we have seen, the additional factor of the narrative and instructive types complicates statements about the authorial planning burden. Secondly, the speech reporting strategies occur in different functional environments, which precludes generalizations about their overall interpretability; this will be the topic of §6.8. Still, this situation exactly allows us to make a connection with the notions of orality and literacy. After all, a diffuse strategy can only be employed adequately if the degree of orality-backed situational attachment is sufficient to secure a felicitous understanding of the message. More context-dependence means that the text is easier to decipher for the reader *if* the context is appropriate, otherwise it is more difficult. This explains why context-dependence can be a relevant consideration. There is a reason why an author chooses to employ a certain degree of context-dependence, so as to create an optimal balance of effort for himself and for the reader. This happens in close interaction with the situation in which the letter is meant to function, which is connected to orality. This line of thought will be taken up in §6.7.3. But at this point, another remarkable phenomenon has to be taken into account, in order to further elucidate considerations of authorial effort.

6.7.2 Slipping

A phenomenon which is closely connected to complexity and an immediate result of a high authorial burden is known as '**slipping**' (a term first used by Schuelke 1958), i.e. "slipping from one reporting mode to another in mid-stream" (Collins 2001: 13). In Tannen's (1989: 118) terms this is further specified as "fade-in" (from indirect to direct speech) or "fade-out" (from direct to indirect speech).

- (63) Dr. Loper said last night he wished “to express my gratitude to all the Stanford students for all the time spent” in the search for his small son.
(Schuelke 1958: 90, quoted from *Stanford Daily*, February 20, 1956, p. 1)

The report in (63) starts out as indirect, with transparent deictics (*Dr. Loper* and *he* are both in the third person), but then a fade-in occurs to direct speech, with a shifted reference to Dr. Loper (in the first person: *my*). Finally, the report fades out again to indirect speech (third person *his*).

The phenomenon of slipping is not unknown in Old Russian in general, or also in present-day Russian and English, for that matter, as we have seen in (63). According to Bulaxovskij (1958: 416), who uses the term “контаминации” ‘blends’, “при построении большого текста обычны [...] срывы с косвенной речи в прямую” ‘in the process of the composition of a large text disruptions from indirect to direct speech are common’; he cites an example from the 17th century (Ibid.). Instances of slipping are also encountered on birchbark, as will be discussed in this section.

Interestingly, the distinction between narrative and instructive reported speech again turns out to be relevant here. The prevalence of a fade-in, noted by Bulaxovskij, would only apply to the narrative type. In the instructive type, a fade-out would be more likely. Let us see why this is the case, making use of an example from the birchbark corpus. An interesting instance of slipping, which is also mentioned by Collins (2001: 13-14), occurs in N531. We can see the fade-out in this letter: there is a shift from instructive direct to indirect speech, as witnessed by the deictic diagnostic criterion (cf. the subscript letters denoting the identity of the participants, e.g. the 1st person in the report switching from *i* to *1*):

- (64) [...] Ты_i že, brace_i gospodine_i, molovi emo_i tako: “ože boudou ljudi_k na moju_i sьtrou_i”, ože boudou ljudi_k pri komo_k boudou dala_i roukou za zjate_m, to te ja_i vo vine. [...]
‘[...] But you_i, lord_i brother_i, speak to him_i in this manner: “If there are people_k [to witness] against my_i sister₁”, if there are people_k before whom_k I₁ shall have given surety for [my_i] son-in-law_m, then I₁ am at fault. [...]’
(N531 / 1200-1220 / DND: 416 / translation Collins 2001: 14)

Why does this shift occur, from a functional point of view? In this extraordinarily long letter, of which only the relevant part is quoted in (64), Anna gives a whole set of instructions to her brother Klimjata regarding what he should say to Kosnjatin in front of witnesses; at first, all these instructions are given in direct speech. But having filled one side of the piece of birchbark and just having started writing on the other side, Anna apparently lost track of the text’s referential organization, and started writing in instructive indirect speech, i.e. from her own referential perspective. “Разумеется, психологически эти

сбои легко объяснимы” ‘It is obvious that these failures can easily be explained psychologically’ (DND: 419), because shifting referential expressions for an extended section of reported speech constitutes quite a dense burden (“Planungsaufwand” ‘planning effort’ in Koch & Oesterreicher’s (2011: 78) terms; cf. §6.7.1). Anna projects herself into the perspective in which she envisages Klimjata to be when he will be talking to Kosnjatin, which involves a burdensome mental shift for her, as was discussed above. In the narrative type, such a projective shift would occur in the opposite direction: indirect speech involves more authorial burden, so that the author will be inclined to slip into direct speech.

Zaliznjak calls the shifts in N₅₃₁ “погрешности” ‘errors’ (DND: 419). But would they really have stood out as failures or errors to the addressee? It is proposed here that they would not.

This leads us on to the next question: Why are such shifts possible on birchbark without losing potential for a correct interpretation? Maier (2011: 12) is concerned with a similar question in the case of Ancient Greek: “[H]ow come Greek texts allow reported speech perspective shifting by covert mixed quotations, where English requires overt quotation marks?” The answer is that the language of immediacy is employed, because the situation allows it to be used. Compare Maier’s (2011: 12) hypothesis regarding Ancient Greek: “I hypothesize that speakers in a direct communicative situation will always mark quotational shifts, to ensure successful communication.¹⁶ For this marking speakers can rely on an array of more or less subtle paralinguistic means”. These paralinguistic means, in turn, presuppose either the physical presence of a messenger, or otherwise a heavier dependence on the context in some other way (cf. the next subsection).

Plank (1986: 299, fn. 5) notes that

“Behaghel (1928: 709) und Kerling (1982) sehen in Fällen von ‚slipping‘ [...] ein Kennzeichen der mündlichen Rede. Diese Einschätzung scheint mir noch am ehesten haltbar, wenn sich der Übergang von indirekter zu direkter Rede an Satzgrenzen und quasi unwillkürlich vollzieht.”

‘Behaghel (1928: 709) and Kerling (1982) see in instances of ‘slipping’ [...] a characteristic of oral speech. This assessment appears most tenable to me if the

¹⁶ Collins (2001: 14) notes that slipping is “common in ordinary discourse in every language with which I am familiar”. A remarkable consideration is that, although slipping can be called a typically oral feature, it occurs quite frequently in present-day academic prose—a prototype of the language of distance. An example of it can be seen in the first sentence of this footnote, which ‘slips’ into a direct quotation from Collins. Of course it has the additional benefit of the quotation marks, a typically modern achievement, necessitated by the increased context-independence of the written register.

switch occurs from indirect to direct speech, at sentence boundaries and quasi inadvertently.’

However, as we have seen, this is only true for narrative reported speech. The clearest instance of slipping in our corpus occurs in instructive speech (N531), and involves a switch from direct to indirect speech. This observation again underlines the validity and usefulness of the distinction between narrative and instructive reported speech. Both make different demands on the author in connection with his planning burden.

Collins (1996: 46) states that “from the standpoint of language use indirect speech is well motivated”. It should be noted, however, that in any case in N531 this is not a conscious choice, nor is it for the benefit of the reader. It is rather a way to avoid the author’s high planning burden when formulating a long stretch of instructive direct speech, which necessitates projection, i.e. the author projects his utterance in a different perspective, especially when the letter’s addressee is mentioned (in the projected first person).

In this respect, N354 is also of interest (the first part of this letter has been quoted as (49); see (7) in §2.2 for the entire letter). It shows a switch from instructive indirect speech to direct address of the envisaged addressee. This is not exactly the same as the fade-in discussed above, but the reason for the shift is similar: although less demanding than instructive direct speech, a prolonged stretch of instructive indirect speech would apparently also be too burdensome for the author to formulate. But in N354, the author goes one step further: the intermediary function of the present addressee is disposed of. The result is, of course, communicative heterogeneity. A slightly different analysis would also be possible, viz. slipping from indirect into free direct speech, in which case the phenomena of communicative heterogeneity and speech reporting (of the instructive kind) would somehow seem to overlap.

This leads us back to the greater effort of instructive direct speech. As was already mentioned above, it is quite probable that examples like (62) should actually be analysed as instances of a phenomenon akin to overt communicative heterogeneity. The letter then serves as a mandate. The extra effort which a further integration of the report into the frame would have necessitated for the author is dispensed with if the result is deemed acceptable and interpretable anyway, just like in the case of hidden communicative heterogeneity. Here we have the first link to orality. On a more basic level, a lack of planning is a sign of the language of immediacy.

6.7.3 Context-dependence and orality

It should be borne in mind that the above statements about the complexity of the various strategies apply to the phenomenon of speech reporting in general, not to its specific cases of usage. Every instance of speech reporting is embedded in a certain context, upon which its felicitous interpretation is dependent

to a greater or lesser degree. This is a decisive factor in relation to matters of complexity. Thus, for example, in the case of a speech reporting strategy that by itself would be complex for the reader, the reader can be 'disburdened' by the favourable context in which the report functions.

If a strategy such as (free) direct speech is complex for the reader, this usually means that the report is dissociated from the context, because otherwise it would be easier to infer the deictic shift from the context. This is the crux of the whole matter, which is also connected to orality. In other words, complexity is only a relative concept; it totally depends on the measure of contextualization. The extent to which a report is *tied* to the context is interrelated with the extent to which its interpretation is *dependent on* that context. This corresponds to Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) "Situationsverschränkung" 'situational involvement'.

If the author renders a report using deictic integration, this means that the report is decontextualized from the original speech event. This leads to interpretative ease for the reader (who does not need to infer a deictic shift) if he has no recourse to context, i.e. if a context-independent interpretation is necessary (e.g. if there is no messenger who can elaborate on the written message). However, deictic integration does demand an authorial effort: an effort which is unnecessary if a context-dependent interpretation is possible. In that case, the deictic disambiguation must take place in common ground, and the report is maximally context-dependent. One element of disambiguation is the messenger, who enlarges the common ground by providing a face-to-face situation.

The addressee has more or less freedom to interpret the report according to the situation in which it functions. If less freedom is left to him, the meaning is more rigidly encoded in the words themselves (i.e. the language of distance is employed). This is necessary if there is not enough common ground to warrant a felicitous interpretation of the language of immediacy, e.g. because of a distance in space and time which is not bridged by a messenger or by a sufficient shared knowledge of the topic.

It is here that another connection with our general topic of orality and literacy can be made. Now, by way of a caveat, we have to direct some attention to the topic of functional considerations in the use of speech reporting strategies.

6.8 Functional considerations

The above discussion might (wrongly) create the impression that the only aspect which plays a role in the choice of a speech reporting strategy is connected to the degree of orality. Of course there is more to it than that. This subsection serves to put our earlier considerations into the appropriate perspective. Collins (1996, 2001) extensively describes the pragmatic functions of the various speech reporting strategies. When transferring these insights to the data

on birchbark, one might expect to find the same tendencies. In some cases this comes true, in others less clearly so.

Collins (2001: 50, 286) argues that every usage of a particular speech reporting strategy is pragmatically or functionally motivated. So it is not just a question of the extent to which the author wanted to gain control over the interpretative process. However, the text type of Collins's investigations (Biblical discourse in Old Church Slavonic and legal discourse in Old Russian) is much lengthier than our brief birchbark letters. Accordingly, it is difficult, if not impossible, to transfer all his insights about functional motivations of reporting strategies to our data. But let us briefly review the main contentions of Collins's (2001) theory, anyway.

Direct speech often has a foregrounding function, i.e. the report is made more prominent (Collins 1996: 64), more vivid (2001: 68) and (seemingly) more objective (Ibid.: 71). All these aspects are due to the higher interpretative demands that direct speech makes on the reader. Thus, he is more involved in the joint project (Clark 1996), which is essentially dialogic in nature. A similar 'mutuality' is absent, or much less obvious, in prototypical written language.

We have already seen some of the considerations concerning the authorial burden. Collins (2001: 201) also notes that "the longer and more convoluted a report is, the greater the preference is for [direct speech]". This is the only strategy that allows really long reports. As we have seen by the phenomenon of slipping, the selection of a strategy does not have to be a conscious choice.

"Where S [the speaker] is trying to stress common ground that he shares with H [the hearer], we would expect him to make only the minimal adjustment in point of view when reporting... Hence we would expect a preference for direct quotes with uninterpreted referring expressions, names, and so on, even where this may result in a loss of clarity" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 122, as cited by Clark & Gerrig 1990: 793). It should be borne in mind that this loss of clarity must be compensated, in our case by the situation in which the letter functions. When direct speech is used, normally "there is no risk of perspectival confusion [...], because disambiguating elements appear in the immediate context" (Collins 1996: 43). If there are no such elements, the disambiguation must take place in the common ground, as was noted above (i.e. the report becomes more context-dependent).

Thus, we have to do with communicative (common ground) as well as purely propositional considerations (saliency, given/new etc.). The choice for direct speech may be influenced by functional motivations, but it can only be employed if this is allowed by the situation in which the letter plays its part. Accordingly, the nature of the situation of utterance (including the possible presence of a messenger) is an underlying, more basic factor than the other considerations. In other words, there are functional reasons for choosing direct speech (in the area of saliency, etc.), but these reasons have to be 'afford-

ble'. The functional reasons mentioned by Collins (2001) are overruled if precluded by the situation of distance that exists in written communication. After all, there is not much point in making a report more vivid, or in foregrounding the information in the report, if this results in a confusion of perspectives, and hence in a severe loss of clarity.

To sum up: the use of direct speech does not necessarily and exclusively have to emanate from an oral mindset, but the fact that readers were able to deal with it, in certain cases without the help of further intra-textual disambiguating elements, suggests that an oral mindset was available in correspondence; in other words, it suggests that letters could be part of a communicative strategy based on immediacy. In addition, and within the confines of the demands of the communicative configuration, there are other functional factors playing a role, such as those mentioned by Collins (2001).

A great deal can be said about the functional and propositional reasons for the use of a particular speech reporting strategy, but on a more fundamental level, the communicative prerequisites for a felicitous interpretation must be favourable if a strategy is to be used. Orality is to be seen as a more underlying factor compared to the factors mentioned by Collins (2001).

A similar line of thought can be taken up for indirect speech, with the difference that indirect speech can be used more widely: there are fewer restrictions on its distribution. Indirect speech does not have a demand for immediacy: it can be used in the language of distance as well.

Indirect speech conveys "backgrounded information" (Collins 2001: 107), which is less prominent (1996: 42). If we look at the length of the examples on birchbark, they turn out to be much shorter stretches than those in direct speech. However, the brevity of the birchbark letters often precludes bold statements about salient and less salient propositions.

"In reported commands of this kind, the use of indirectness prevents confusion between the perspectives of the addressees in the different layers of representation" (Collins 1996: 40). So this is a functional consideration, but definitely one that has to do with the limitations and drawbacks of the written medium, i.e. the language of distance. This also explains the almost exclusive occurrence of the instructive type among the instances of indirect speech, i.e. it firmly attaches the indirect strategy to the instructive type (although, conversely, the instructive type often occurs in the direct strategy, too). It can be added to this that an instruction phrased in indirect speech sounds less threatening; it functions as a mitigation (German *Abtönung*) of the instruction.

Of course, if the content of a report is less relevant, the reader should not need to invest much effort in decoding the report. On the other hand, if it is very relevant and important, the reader should (a) be forced to invest more time, and thus pay more attention to the important proposition; but this works only if disambiguating elements are present (either in the text, in the common

ground or in the person of a messenger); (b) if no such disambiguating elements are present, the safest way is to choose a compact strategy, such as an NRSA, in order to maximally ensure a felicitous interpretation, even if the lighter interpretative effort results in the reader paying less attention to the report.

6.9 Free direct speech revisited

In free direct speech, the reported speaker is always mentioned in the preceding discourse: “the context obviates the need to identify the addressee” (Collins 2001: 163). In addition, it is connected to turns in speaking, which links the strategy with the conversational mode of speech. As has been pointed out already (regarding Tv.5, cf. Gippius & Schaeken 2011), the reporter assumes the least responsibility for the reported utterance in free direct speech.

As we could see in Diagrams 1 and 2, direct speech definitely becomes rarer throughout the period. However, one thing remains unclear, viz. why the most diffuse reporting strategy (free indirect speech) is attested only towards the end of the period, in the 14th and 15th centuries (cf. Table 12 in §6.4.4).¹⁷ We would expect such a prototypically oral strategy to occur much earlier, and subsequently fade away through time. Why does this not seem to be the case, judging by the data?

As Gippius and Schaeken (2011: 20) note, “the sender can choose to leave out the tag if he thinks that the addressee is able to comprehend the structure of the message on the basis of common ground knowledge of the situational context”. The fact that such an oral-based strategy still occurs in the later period serves as an indication that communication on birchbark could still be ‘mediated’ by the messenger, who ‘enacted’ the letter’s contents. Non-transparent referential expressions were thus made up for by the messenger’s personal presence. It follows from this that even towards the end of the period the messenger could still play a prominent role, and the pattern of communication could still be largely oral.

In spite of this apparently undiminished relevance of the messenger even in the later period of birchbark correspondence, some indications can be found for the phasing out of oral strategies; a significant one is provided by the following letter:

- (65) Р Чоломъ бѣжетъ Oleksei i o Zabolotъja Sofonteju Timof[ě]ju. Čo jeste prikazali mně svoju zemlju, noně, öspodo, podovaľ jesí rožni vašimъ zgorovъjemъ. (Porъ molvitъ:) “Položi gramotu po čomu esi davalъ.” (Olesej:) “Prikazali mi starěšii, i jazъ davalъ.” A noně porъ pověstutъ

¹⁷ Because of the limited number of attestations, free direct speech has not been included in the diagrams.

такъ: “D[a]valъ jesi požn[i v naim]y, i xto imetъ tŕii požni kositъ, i jazъ tuxъ poimaju, da travu na vorotъ vzvjažju, da ixъ vedu v gorodъ.” Noně, ōspodo, kakъ o mně sja pečalutesja? A jazъ vamъ, svoi ospode, čolomъ bŕju. Tolko, ōspo, imete mene žalovatъ, ootťolite, ōspodo, p ko mně gramotъku do Petrova dnĭ, zanežъ, ōspodo, seno kosjatъ ō Petrove dni.

‘Oleksej bows down about the pieces of land behind the swamp to Sofontija and Timofej. [Concerning the fact] that you have entrusted me your land, I have given out fields in your name. (The priest says:) “Show the writ, on the basis of which you have given it.” (Oleksej [says]:) “The elders have ordered me, and I have given it.” And now the priest says thus: “You have given fields on loan, and whoever will mow those lands, I will get them, and I will tie the grass around their neck and bring them to the city.” How, lords, will you now take care of me? And I bow down to you, my lords. If you, lords, will reward me, then send me, lords, a letter before Peter’s day, because, lords, they mow the hay on Peter’s day.’

(N962 / mid-15th century / NGB XII: 69)

It is significant that the words rendered in brackets here are added above the line in the original. As the editors (NGB XII: 71) already acknowledge, these additions solve the problem as to who pronounces the respective utterances and how they are connected to the rest of the text; in other words, they serve to disambiguate the deictic frame of the stretch of reported speech.

Apparently, the maximally hearer-based free direct mode of reporting did not suffice anymore; in other words, writing had become too ‘literate’ to tolerate such oral-based deviations from the increasingly literate norm. First, the author tried to couch his message in the ‘old’ oral pattern, but then he suddenly realized that this was not clear enough (Ibid.). This might have occurred to him halfway through, because the third stretch of reported speech is already ‘properly’ introduced by a tag in the main text: *A noně popŕ pověstutъ takŕ* ‘and now the priest says thus’.

This tendency towards greater explicitness may be connected to what Lazar (2011: 132) calls the “schwindende Rolle des Boten” ‘declining role of the messenger’. In the old ‘system’, the messenger would have elaborated on the letter’s content; he would have performed the letter in such a way that the addressee could infer the identity of the utterers of the various reported speech events, as well as the boundaries between reported speech and authorial narrative. “Their boundaries—their beginnings and ends—must be clear” (Clark & Gerrig 1990: 766). However, due to the changing role of the messenger (from ‘performer’ to a mere ‘carrier’), which Lazar (2011: 147) posits in the 14th century, these boundaries were no longer clear enough in free direct speech, so

that the author of N962, in the process of writing (or dictating, for that matter), made the decision to resort to tagged direct speech.

Much more remains to be said in regard to Lazar's bold statement about the 'declining role of the messenger' in the 14th century. After all, as we have seen, even the 15th century still witnesses instances of free direct speech, which can be taken as an indication of the messenger's unaltered role and presence. On the other hand, the tendency for greater explicitness in (65) presents evidence for a tendency towards a greater awareness by the author of the distance involved in writing, which may indeed point to a decline of the 'mediatory' role of the messenger. This discrepancy obliges one to be careful in bringing forward any decisive claims about the declining role of the messenger that are based on evidence concerning speech reporting categories. Any indications should be substantiated and reinforced by including the insights provided by the study of other linguistic parameters in the corpus.

6.10 More elements of orality: Dictation and performatives

There are some more considerations that remain to be voiced concerning orality and speech reporting. In some birchbark letters, the reported addressee coincides with the letter's main (real) addressee. Strictly speaking, it is narrative reported speech, but functionally, more remains to be said about it.

- (66) Ivanjaja molovila Fimь: "ljubo kunь vosoli, pak li dorgo prodaju".
 'Ivan's wife has said to Fima: "You either send the money, or I will demand that a large fine is imposed on you".'
 (St.R.11 / 1160-1180 / DND: 446)

Zalijnjak (DND: 447) already notes that *molovila* 'say-PERF.F' is a perfect that should be understood in a performative sense. A similar instance with *rekla* 'say-PERF.F' is encountered in St.R.43. Three considerations can be voiced here concerning the orality/literacy interface. First of all, it should be noted that the tag 'said' testifies to a perception of a letter as an extension of the spoken word. Secondly, the use of the perfect tense for performative utterances might point to a projection of the temporal deictic centre to the time of reading, so that a situation of face-to-face communication is envisaged (cf. the notion of epistolary past tense, chapter 7). Thirdly, the tag formula can be seen as an indication for a dictated letter (cf. N8, N771, Gippius 2012: 243). A dictated letter concerns the writing down of an actual oral instruction, so that the letter is a report of an earlier speech event. Not only the report itself, but also the letter as a whole is a report, a written fixation of a spoken utterance.

N344 is also very likely to belong to this type. A more comprehensive treatment of the category of performatives, to which these examples belong, is given in another case study (chapter 8).

An instructive counterpart to this type can be seen in N954:

- (67) Gramota ot Žiročьka i ot Těšьka kъ V[ъ]dъvinou. Mlvi Šil'cevi: “Семou рошibaеši svině cjužě? A p[ъ]nesla Nъ[z]dъrьka. A esi posomilъ коньсь вьхъ Ljudinъ. So onogo polou gramata. Pro kъni že ta bys(ъ) ože si tako sъtvorilъ.”
 ‘A letter from Žiročko and from Těško to Vdovin. Say to Šil’ce: “Why are you damaging other people’s pigs? Nozdr’ka has made [this] known. And you have disgraced the entire Ljudin End. [There has been] a letter from the other side [of the river]. It was about horses, that you have done the same with them”.’
 (N954 / 1100-1120 / NGB XII: 50)

It does not belong to the performative type (it is clearly instructive), but some of its functions seem to overlap with performatives. Speech reporting in this case serves only as a strategy to involve more persons into the communicative act. Two possible scenarios come to mind. The first is that this letter is a type of ratification, just like the communicatively heterogeneous letters can provide, only here it is more explicit: it is phrased in a different constellation. Vdovin may be the messenger, who is authorized by Žiročko and Těško to deliver the message in their name to Šil’ce. This would imply that the letter was meant to be shown to Šil’ce, who can, consequently, be considered the letter’s main (though indirect) addressee.

The instructive type of reported speech may thus teach us another lesson about orality. Leaning on Gippius (2004), the question might be asked: was the letter’s addressee supposed to present the letter and read it out aloud in front of the ‘represented addressee’? In that case, the letter’s “косвенный адресат” ‘indirect addressee’ would be the one who is mentioned as “Say to X”. Are (some of) these letters with instructive reported speech also to be looked upon as mandates? This would provide a functional explanation for the use of instructive direct reported speech. The best example is N954, but also N8 and N665 can be analysed in this way.

On the other hand, a second scenario remains, viz. that the authors wrote to their superior, asking him to take action.¹⁸ Now, who could Vdovin have been in that case? It might be argued that he was some person in a governmental function, who was needed to lend authority to the letter. In that case, the authorization would work out reversely compared to the other scenario, sketched above.

¹⁸ It may seem attractive to take the hypocoristic forms of the authors’ names (Žiročko and Těško instead of Žirolavъ and Těx...; cf. NGB XII: 54) as an indicator of deference. However, the present author has been unable to find solid evidence for this claim, due to the somewhat obscure distribution of full names and hypocoristic forms. More research would be necessary in this respect.

Thus, we can see that speech reporting can be more than what it might seem to be at face value. Its use can serve a specific, pragmatic goal (functioning as a mandate) within a certain communicative situation, where it gives added value (ratification) to an otherwise monological discourse.

6.11 Concluding remarks

The remark has been made that “both direct and indirect speech are equally characteristic of orality and literacy” (Collins 2006: 285). Though it is not stated explicitly, it seems that Collins conceives of literacy in the medial sense (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher). The above reflexions have shown that matters of orality and literacy do nevertheless have a bearing on the use of speech reporting strategies, though this is somewhat mitigated by other, functional, considerations.

The differences in authorial effort show how crucial it is to make a distinction between narrative and instructive reported speech. It is too simplistic to state that more authorial effort results in a lighter interpretative burden, directed by what is coded in the text (literacy), and, reversely, less authorial effort results in a heavier interpretative burden with more reliance on the context (orality). The relevant factors turned out to be more subtle.

Let us recapitulate three major points that have come out of this case study, against the background of the theoretical premise that speech reporting strategies can be classified according to their degree of integration into the reporting discourse, which results in their degree of context-dependence, and, consequently, the degree of complexity for the author in phrasing and the addressee in interpreting the report.

- 1) The distinction between narrative and instructive reported speech is crucial for establishing a link with the category of communicatively heterogeneous birchbark letters, in that instructive direct speech can be interpreted as a mandate.
- 2) The degree of orality can be measured by the degree of context-dependence, which is in proportion to the role of the messenger; in the case of mandates, the messenger is identical to the letter’s addressee.
- 3) The diachronic picture shows, among other things, a decline in the use of direct speech and an increase in the use of NRSAs. This means that reports tend to become less context-dependent over time, which is a sign of *Verschriftlichung*.

These results provide us with the building blocks for a further appraisal in the light of the other case studies in chapter 9.