A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SPOKEN AND WRITTEN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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SUMMARY

A Linguistic Analysis of Spoken and Written Narrative Discourse

This thesis presents a linguistic analysis of spoken and written narrative. General features of spontaneous versus written language are first investigated in a pilot study of spoken and written guided tours. Uncertainty regarding the generality of the features observed pointed to the need for a controlled study of spontaneous versus controlled language. The issue of the spontaneous/non-spontaneous continuum is then taken up, the relevant literature is reviewed, (works from sociology, anthropology, education and linguistics being surveyed), and the requirements of a controlled study are set out. A description is given of the methods and material used to elicit the spoken and written narratives from undergraduates, and the statistical tests applied.

The core of the investigation concentrates on Linking Signals and Referential Expressions. Three linking strategies are discussed: co-ordinating, subordinating and adjoining. Expressions functioning as linkers are also examined; scene organisers, discourse markers and adverbials. Referential options and conditions governing the deployment of nominal, pronominal and zero forms are explored. The analysis of the overall structure of narrative discourse suggests that Expectation is the most powerful factor governing narrative structure.

The results of the study suggest that the fundamental difference between spoken and written narrative is more a question of referential strategy than choice from the grammatical inventory. Speech is not associated with grammatical simplicity and writing with complexity. Rather, strategies are displayed in both forms of communication which override the dichotomy. Importantly, the study shows the limitations of quantitative methods for assessing oral and written language. Elements which occur with comparable frequency in speech and writing may have radically different functions in speech, as opposed to writing.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS
SPEECH VS. WRITING
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

NOTATION

ST	Spoken Tour
WT	Written Tour (the number that follows stands for the tour number 1-6)
SN	Spoken Narratives of "My Childhood"
WN	Written Narratives
[I]	Interviewer
[N]	Narrator

Transcription Conventions

.	short pause
...	long pause
....	very long pause
(( ))	inaudible utterances
- - -	talk has been omitted
h	out breath
( )	contextual comments eg. laughter
:	lengthened syllable

INTRODUCTION

That there are differences between speech and writing has been recognised for some time by anthropologists interested in examining the effects of writing on cognitive and social processes; by sociolinguists who have focused on the transition to literacy by children and adult learners, and of course by linguists. Within the field of linguistics, early studies have relied on word counts for studying the relation between speech and writing. Results obtained from these studies have tended to be contradictory as a result of the diversity of techniques and methods employed. It was only quite recently with the advent of the analysis of connected texts that the relation between spoken and written discourse has been seriously considered. As Halliday (1979) convincingly asserts, one of the reasons for linguists' failure to describe adequately the difference between speech and writing is

> "... because until recently they have neglected the study of one fundamental aspect of language, that of discourse, or connected passages of language in actual use, whether spoken or written, and this is where many of the differences lie".
>
> (1979:43)

The 1980's have seen a number of studies with different points of departure. While these studies have contributed to our understanding of the relationship between the two major modes of discourse, speech and writing, they are mainly based on intuition, providing no experimental evidence. In addition, they suffer from a major experimental design defect: the samples used in most of these

studies are not comparable; that is, the data for speech and writing are not generated by one and the same individual or set of individuals.

To systematically study structural differences between speech and writing, it is essential to control for at least the following factors: discourse type, topic, degree of formality, participant characteristics and task comparability (ie. having the same subject perform both spoken and written tasks). If these factors are not controlled, generalisations about "spoken language" as opposed to "written language" become virtually impossible.

The fact that previous studies of spoken as opposed to written discourse have produced contradictory results (Blankenship 1962; O'Donnell 1874; Halliday 1979; Chafe 1982) on the issue of complexity for example, is entirely due to the non-comparability of their data bases. Not only were they describing different subject matters, and different tasks, they were also describing the product of different participants.

That the relationship between speech and writing is dependent on the type of discourse to be analysed is illustrated in the use of coordination as opposed to subordination. While coordination is found to be twice as frequent as subordination in fiction and religion, subordination outweighs coordination in science and journalism (Smith and Frawley 1983). Thus, generalisation about whether writing is more complex than speech cannot be examined except in relation to a specific discourse type.

This thesis addresses itself to the issue of the difference between spoken and writtten discourse, but does not attempt to produce a description of all spoken, nor all of written discourse. Rather, it focuses on a specific discourse type, narrative, and presents the findings in the context of other research in the field.

The narrative discourse analysed was set up in a manner comparable to Chafe's (1980) study. A silent film entitled My Childhood portraying the life of two small boys in an impoverished Scottish mining village, just after the war, provided the story for narration. The subjects who provided the spoken and written narrative (14 in all, from an initial population of 20) produced both the oral and written narrative within 24 hours of seeing the film. The subjects were university students, native speakers of English, aged 19-39.

The plan of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter One reports a pilot study of spoken versus written guided tours. The aim was to establish the requirements of research design for the major study as well as possible analytic tools for describing spontaneous versus written discourse.

Chapter Two presents a survey of the literature on spoken vs. written discourse, and on narrative, which are relevant to the major concerns of the study. Research work from anthropology, sociolinguistics, education and linguistics is reviewed.

Chapter Three describes the methods and materials used for the study. This chapter lays out the procedures used for collecting the data, as well as the scope of the study. The analysis of the data is presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six. In Chapter Four the study concentrates on linking signals; three strategies are investigated: coordinating, subordinating and adjoining. Chapter Five explores referential options and the conditions governing the deployment of nominal, pronominal or zero reference forms in spoken and written narrative. The overall organisation of the story of the film "My Childhood", which was used for eliciting the narratives is examined in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven, finally, presents a summary and conclusions of the study as well as suggestions for future research.

The investigation shows that it is misleading to associate speech with simplicity and writing with complexity. While the complexity index is higher for written narrative than for spoken, the statistics show that in both modes, co-ordination is favoured over subordination. In addition, there are participant specific strategies which manifest themselves in a preferred linguistic behaviour across spoken and written narrative. In other words, averaging across individuals obscures the fact that some prefer complex structures in both spoken and written deliveries, while others prefer simple structures in both, and others again have no clear preference, but produce a mix.

The analysis also shows that the preference for nominal reference in written delivery, as opposed to pronominal reference in

the spoken, is bound up with a difference in information density in the two contrasted modes. While the written mode allows brand new entities to be modified in complex detail, the spoken mode requires complex modification, not of brand new entities, but of textually evoked entities. The focus and depth of information density in the two modes is thus quite distinct.

There are a number of restrictions in the scope of this study that should be mentioned. First, the present work represents a limited analysis of one discourse type: limited in the sense that a small, socially homogeneous population is selected to perform one task (narrative) in spoken and written mode.

Future work in the area of spoken and written discourse may wish to investigate how narrative is different from, say, description.

Second, another question that has not been addressed in the current study and which future research may wish to take up is the potential difference between different socioeconomic, occupational or ethnic groups within society.

Finally, the features investigated are restricted. This necessarily leaves out a number of potentially important areas such as the prosodic features of story telling. However, it is the belief of the writer that understanding of spoken as opposed to written discourse must begin with limited, deliberately structured communicative tasks which are valid in their own right in both modes of communication.

CHAPTER ONE

Rationale for the Focus of Research

1.1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on the differences between spoken and written language. As a preliminary attempt to define some of the lexical, syntactic and discoursal features of spontaneous spoken, as opposed to written language, a pilot study was carried out of the language of Guided Tours. The choice of these texts was dictated more by superficial relevance to the author's involvement in the teaching of English at the Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management, Egypt, than by any theoretical criterion. There was no assumption that the spontaneous spoken presentation of Tourist Guides "represented" the whole of spoken discourse. Rather, the aim of carrying out a pilot study on a content-specific field, in a specific kind of spoken interaction, was to establish:

a) the requirements of research design for the major study;
b) and possible analytical tools for describing spontaneous spoken as opposed to written discourse

Accordingly a small corpus of spontaneous spoken Guided Tours was selected, and the linguistic features of these were contrasted with Guide Brochures which described the same historic sites as are referred to in the Guided Tours.

Sections 1.2 and 1.3 present the main findings of the comparison of spontaneous spoken Guided Tours, and Guide Brochures.

1.2 Linguistic Analysis of Spoken Guided Tours

For the purpose of this pilot study, the investigator joined and tape recorded ten guided tours in Birmingham and London (details are given in Appendix VI). The investigation is based on six of these tours.

In attempting to find linguistic regularities across the six guided tours, the study first set out to answer the following questions:

a) Is the "language" used by the four guides different from the point of view of style?

b) If yes, do the 6 guided tours have any features in common?

Proceeding to answer these two questions, one is immediately hampered by the non-homogeneity of the data.

Each of the four guides has specific features which are not generalisable to the rest. The degree of formality for example, varies considerably across the six tours, as the following extracts show:

(1) ST1 I am happy to greet you at Aston Hall this afternoon I'd like to bid you welcome

(2) ST2 right. good afternoon to you ladies and gentlemen

(3) ST3 welcome to the afternoon session of the London day tour

The guide at Aston Hall (tour 1) uses a rather archaic language and employs technical terms more suitable for written guides or history books:

(4) ST1 an English country Jacobean mansion
in the midst of industrial Birmingham.

(5) we shan't be taking this one

(6) they were filled with potpourri

(7) popular strapwork of the Jacobean era

(8) held in brass chandeliers

His directives are also what Fraser (1980) terms "elaborate strategy" expressions of high degree of deference:

(9) ST1 may I show you the ceiling

(10) we'll go through here if you don't mind

(11) and if I may show you one more portrait

Examining the language used by another guide at Aston Hall (Tour 6) shows that his style is rather colloquial. The guide directs his audience by saying:

(12) ST6 if you'd like to pop this way

(13) we'll pop in through this door,

(14) we'll have to start floating upstairs
very, very soon

Comparison of some extracts from both tours (T1) and (T6) - both at Aston Hall - further clarifies the stylistic differences between the two guides. In the opening scene both guides had the following to say:

(15) ST1 it's a fine house we have to show you
you'd hardly expect to find an English
country Jacobean mansion in the midst
of industrial Birmingham but there's
a very good reason for its being as
you'll see it.

(16) ST6 the building is known as a Jacobean Great
House built at a cost of some eight thousand pounds
in the early seventeenth Century. it is
now three hundred and fifty one years old this year.
three hundred and fifty one years. now you can
see how long we've been waiting for you
to come? there are people who live just
down the road in a block of flats.
they haven't been yet know what I
mean? the house as you see it is the
same as it's always been

Heavy modification in Tour 1 gives a literary flavour to the guide's language while repetitives left-dislocations and rhetorical questions extensively employed by the guide of Tour (6) give the general impression of informality and chattiness. Also the empty language or fuzzy expressions (this is the sort of beautiful stuff, and there's a curious thing) adds to this impression of informality.

Examining the rest of the tours reveals more differences between the four guides. It is noted for example that while the element of clause structure usually occurs in the expected order for the statements with the subject preceding the predicator, in Tour (3) and to a lesser degree in Tour (4) the guide makes use of the inversion of subject and predicator.

(17) ST3 There on the right is the road to Lambeth Walk

Placing a locational expression in front position is heavily employed by the guide touring the West End of London. It seems that the guide by placing "the monument" in end position is obeying the

end-focus principle which reads: "last is most important" (Leech, 1981:210).

(18) ST3 the bridge beside it is Westminster Bridge.

(19) the church in front of you is St Mary's Church.

One of the most striking features of Tours (3) and (4) is the frequent use of sentences lacking certain expected elements, most commonly a) referential plus BE, and b) BE. This feature has long been recognized as characteristic of a number of spoken and written English registers. Leech (1966) discussing advertising in English relates the "abbreviated mode", which typifies advertisements, newspaper headlines and telegrams, to restrictions on transmission as regards speed time and space.

The guide being constrained by time and space has to deliver the information at the right time and in the right quantity. The guide touring the West End of London in a coach frequently uses a telegraphic form, perhaps to save his time and energy but certainly also because the coach moves rapidly from one scene to another. As mentioned before, the most frequently deleted element is BE.

(20) ST3 over there the gates of death.

(21) up there behind you on the right
El Vino's Wine Bar.

In the above examples, while BE may be inserted, it is also perfectly correct to have added (can be seen), which makes the simplified mode used by the guide similar to what Leech (1966)

refers to as the "block language" found on captions and newspaper headlines.

However, an examination of a scripted spoken tour (T10) suggests that the rather simplified mode employed by some of the guides is not dictated by register conventions as the following extracts show:

(22) ST10 in the centre is a fossil elephant skull

(23) then to your right is a complete skeleton of an elephant.

(24) this statue is of Richard Owen.

BE is never deleted in the rehearsed tour. Some of the most interesting examples of the simplifed mode used by the guide of Tour (3) are those that rely for their interpretation on the shared knowledge of the audience and also those that are understood only by members of the same culture.

(25) ST3 here is Tube Station.

(26) ok Jim.

(27) in the coach park.

(28) ST4 during the war
at St Pauls
we had all stained glass windows.

(29) because we don't go into one place there
the jewels
which is closed in February

(30) for the Royal Wedding
the black doors here were open

To know that by tube station the guide is not simply describing a station that looks like a tube, and that tube is not a

proper name, one has to be a member of the culture. Also, to understand what the guide is referring to by "the jewels" one has to know something about the English monarchy.

(31) WT2 The Crown Jewels of the English monarchy which are displayed in the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Jewel House.

(OK Jim) and (in the coach park) are understood by those sharing the same situational experience, that is those who are on the bus. The tourists know that Jim is the coach driver and they know that OK is a permission given to him by the guide to drive away.

The above discussion suggests that features identified and isolated as being characteristic of spoken guided tours reflect several levels of phenomena. For example, the use of sophisticated and archaic expressions versus casual and fuzzy expressions may reflect individual style or register conventions. Simplification seems to be due to register conventions, individual style and/or reduced planning time. It is also quite clear that Guided Tours are not a homogeneous variety of language, as the features identified and isolated vary considerably across the six spoken guided tours. It is also noted that guides make use of strategies generally thought to be associated with spontaneous speech (repetition, reformulation, parallelism, empty language ...) together with syntactic complexities of writing: nominalisation, passives, subordination.

In the section that follows, a comparison is drawn between the spoken guided tours and written guides (brochures) in order to throw some light on the differences between spoken and written modes.

1.3 Spoken vs. written guided tours

One of the features that is readily apparent to any researcher analysing unscripted spoken discourse, where the speaker is addressing a visible audience, is the speaker's involvement with his audience. Chafe (1982:45) has noted that speakers and writers usually have different relations to their audiences. Speakers sharing a common environment with their listeners "have less concern for consistency than for experiential involvement" while writers are more "concerned with producing something that will be consistent and defensible when read by different people at different times in different places".

In contrast to written guides, the following features typically occur in the speech of guides:

1. Left dislocation: a characteristic feature of spoken discourse where speakers seem to say the most important thing in their minds first, adding the rest of the sentence as an afterthought.

(32) ST1 these huge mandarine jars
they serve a particular purpose.

(33) ST3 the huge complex along on the left
these are the law courts.

(34) ST6 Cromwell and his delightful people
they didn't actually like this sort of thing.

2. Parallelism/Repetition: guides frequently repeat the same syntactic form which Ochs (1977) found to be typical of unplanned spoken discourse.

(35) ST5 it's seen triumphs
it's seen tragedies.

(36) ST5 people were selling things
people were on roof tops

(37) ST6 it's actually better
better for the wood better for the
article better for the thing itself.

Ong (1982) has noted that in public speaking, speakers tend to say the same thing or equivalently the same thing, two or three times "as not every one in a large audience understands every word a speaker utters" (Ong 1982:40), or is necessarily paying attention! In spoken guided tours it is very frequent that the guide repeats and reformulates

(38) ST3 look down you see Cleopatra
Needle below
just see it here Cleopatra's Needle.

(39) ST6 very popular design.
just like the chair you see.
very popular design at one time.

The guide sometimes replaces a lexical item with a more familiar one.

(40) ST4 he was racked with <u>arthritis</u>
with <u>rheumatics</u>.

The use of syntactic parallelism and repetition is believed to be related to the organisation of planning time. In conversation for example, such devices are often employed as place-holders. But in

situations in which the speaker is not in jeopardy of losing the floor, repetitions have another function: planning the next move. As Ong (1982) observes, the public speaker needs to keep going while he is running through his mind what to say next. In a guided tour situation the guide has to keep an unbroken flow of speech since it is better to repeat something rather than simply stop speaking.

3) Participant Pronoun: A guide's involvement with his audience is manifested in his frequent reference to himself and to his audience by using (I), (we) and (you) as opposed to the impersonal (one) typical of the written brochures.

(41) ST2 now normally we start at the front
of the tower and work our way along
and I'm able to point out places of
interest to you.

(42) now if you look across there
you probably noticed as you
were coming ——

(43) ST3 immediately upon entering Fleet Street
one can see the unique and
unmistakable

4) A feature that has been cited when differentiating between speech and writing is the rhetorical question which also creates a sense of involvement with hearers.

(44) ST4 it's amazing isn't it?
to see how it still stands

(45) ST3 anybody comes from Australia?
down under as we call it?

(46) ST6 they were only earning about
a shilling a week
know what I mean?

(47) ST6 they're smashing, aren't they?

5) Direct Quotes on the other hand express involvement with the characters and events of the narration, which gives the hearers a sense of "immediacy" (Brewer 1982).

(48) ST2 so Henry the Third decided he would
have a watergate built ...
so he said a defensive tower should be
built.

(49) ST2 quite naturally Henry the Third was
very annoyed indeed and came out
to the man in charge and asked him
what was going on - - -
this man turned round to the king
and said Sire, the ghost of Thomas a Beckett
is going around at night.

Notice also the choice of lexical items which gives the impression that the speaker has actually witnessed all the events (said, came out, annoyed, asked, turned round).

6) Evaluative Comments: it is not at all surprising to find that the written brochures are competely lacking in the type of evaluative comments that typifies the spoken guided tours. Labov (1972) noted that speakers often communicate their attitudes towards what is being said by means of 'evaluation' without which the audience are simply left with a mass of undifferentiated information.

Direct quotes as well as rhetorical questions are common forms of what Tannen (1982) calls internal evaluation which "resides in all levels of verbalisation such as expressive phonoloy, speeding up or slowing down, repetition and lexical choice" (Tannen 1982:8).

Guides - being public speakers addressing a visible audience - very often express their attitude towards their audience (extracts 50-52) as well as towards events of the narrative itself.

(50) ST2 you're a terrible lot that make smiles

(51) ST2 we've got a sense of humour

(52) ST4 at least I hope he didn't look like that.

7) Generalised vocabulary as well as "empty" expressions typical of spontaneous speech characterises also spoken guided tours.

(53) ST2 I'm just gonna have to tell you
about them.

(54) ST6 only the head of the house or
school or something.

On the other hand written brochures - and indeed all instances of written language - are "detached" by the frequent use of "distancing" devices such as the passive voice, impersonal "one" and the frequent employment of rather sophisticated Greek or Latinate expression (see extract 55-56 above).

(55) WT1 The rooms are described in
the order that the visitors
normally tour the building.

(56) WT2 The Outer Ward is defended
by a second wall, flanked by
six towers on the river face,
and by two semicircular bastions
at the north-west and north-east.

1.4 Interpretation of the pilot study

It became apparent that although features of spoken Guided Tours, and of written Guide Brochures could be extracted, there were non-linguistic factors which severely limited the value of the pilot study.

First, the comparison of the spoken with the written guided tours data does not rest on strong foundations, for the following reasons:

1) The guides who produced the spoken data were an entirely different set of individuals from the authors of Guide Brochures. Given the possibility of inter-individual variation it was at least conceivable that some of the differences between spoken and written data rose not from mode differences, but from inter-individual differences.

2) The guides were each describing a different historic site, the implication being that at least some of the linguistic differences observed in the spoken as opposed to the written data arose not from mode but from content differences.

3) Each guide was addressing a mixed audience with a conceivably different composition, in a different setting. Some Guided Tours were recording on a bus tour, some on an historic architectural site, some in a stately home. Any of those factors could have influenced the differences between spoken and written texts.

4) The educational background of guides was unlikely to be comparable to that of the authors of brochures. This, too, could have acted independently as an influence on the spoken and written products.

It thus became clear that the question of the differences between spoken and written language could not be answered adequately without setting up a controlled experiment. An experiment was required which could ensure that:

1. The same subjects produced spoken and written data.
2. The content represented in the spoken and written data was the same.
3. Subjects shared age and educational background.
4. Subjects produced the spoken data in comparable social settings, and produced the written data in comparable circumstances.

The text type slected for full investigation was narrative, and the narratives produced were all based on the same content, namely a silent film.

The methodology of elicitation of narratives is fully described in Chapter Three, while the review of literature on speech and writing is presented in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

A Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

The relationship between speech and writing has been pursued within at least 4 frames of reference: anthropology, sociology, education and linguistics. While anthropologists are primarily interested in examining the effects of writing on cognitive and social processes (Goody 1977, Ong 1982), sociolinguists focus on the transition to literacy by children and adult learners (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz 1981; Michaels and Collins 1984). Linguists and language teachers, who are primarily interested in the structure of language, have investigated grammatical differences between speech and writing (Drieman 1962; De Vito 1967; O'Donnell 1974; Poole and Field 1976). Recently, and with the growth of interest in discourse analysis, scholars with different points of departure have examined linguistic differences between speech and writing (Stubbs 1980; Brown and Yule 1983; Chafe 1982; Tannen 1982).

This chapter will present an overview of each of the 4 major contrasting traditions in investigations of the speech/writing dichotomy. The chapter concludes with comments on areas of uncertainty and gaps in knowledge.

2.1.1 Orality and literacy: cultural research

Research on the cultural effects of literacy has its origin in folklorist and literary scholars' examination of the processes by

which folk epics are transmitted (Lord 1960; Havelock 1963). Olson (1980) in reviewing this work argues that the use of written records has altered the cognitive processes of people who rely on that form of knowledge. This has been the line of thinking underlying early studies by historians who have explained differences between speech and writing in terms of "mentalistic dichotomies": primitive versus domesticated; pre-logical versus logical; science of the concrete versus science of the abstract, (Levy-Bruhl 1910; Levi-Strauss 1962) notions which are reviewed in Goody (1977) who believes that the difference is not so much of "thought" or "mind" but rather of mechanics and techniques. He cites detailed ethnographic evidence to show that individuals in oral societies are as resourceful and as innovative as literates. Ong (1982) has recently resorted to this dichotomous view observing that in an oral society thought is redundant, elaborate, toned, additive and situational. In contrast a literate society is characterised as being analytic, compact, abstract, and objectively distanced.

2.1.2 (Socio)linguistic Research

The work on literacy in primitive societies has prompted research in orality and literacy in industrial societies. Gumperz et al (1981, 1984), discuss the factors associated with the transition from orality - which is related to everyday talk, to literacy in school. They discuss problems confronting children and beginner learners in the transition to literacy. For children, the linkage has to be formed between the system of "iconographic speech where much of the information is carried through prosodic and

paralinguistic cues and the discursive forms of written language where information must be lexicalised" (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1981:107).

Recent work by Gumperz and his colleagues discuss transition to literacy by adult learners. Using methods of discourse analysis (analysis of extended texts) they show how spoken discourse conventions are transferred to written discourse. Gumperz, Kaltman and O'Connor (1984) investigate how "thematic cohesion" is achieved in two different segments of spoken discourse: one from a discussion among graduate students - characterised as literate, the other from a tutoring session of a basic writing student - characterised as neo-literate. Gumperz et al show that the oral cohesive devices used by the graduate students can be easily transferred to written expository discourse (however, while, then). In the case of the neo-literate the analysts found difficulty establishing thematic progression because of the large number of ands and Ø signals.

Although Gumperz et al stress the importance of comparing "functionally equivalent tasks which are signalled through equivalence of content and similar cohesive devices" (1984:9), there is some doubt as to the "equivalence" of the samples they analysed. It is important to note that although the neo-literate sample is from a tutoring session, the student was talking about a friend of his who stole 400 dollars from him. It is thus somewhat doubtful whether the culturally-specific idiomatic expressions (e.g. cool dude, losing heart) would still be used if the discussion were related to the neo-literate field of study. This is not to deny

that there are differences between both passages which are mainly due to an interplay of cultural and ethnic factors, together with the degree of literacy between literates and neo-literates.

Following in the footsteps of Gumperz et al (1981, 1984) are Michaels & Collins (1984) who use the concept of "thematic cohesion" to distinguish between "literate" and "oral" styles. But in order to compare systematically spoken and written styles they avoided the shortcomings of Gumperz et al (1981) and set up a controlled study where topic and setting were under control. They showed a short film to first grade children and had them tell what they saw in the film. They noted that some children use a wide variety of lexical and syntactic devices to signal causal relations, coreference and so on, whereas others rely more on prosodic cues and "loosely" connected clauses. Michaels and Collins also compared fourth-grade children's speech with their writing. They report that those whose discourse style relies heavily on prosodic cueing have more difficulty expressing themselves in writing, while those who use lexicalised cohesive ties (when, that and complements for example) in oral discourse do not have this difficulty.

2.1.3 Educational Research

Another group that showed keen interest in differentiating between speech and writing are Educationalists. Golub (1969) in pursuing guidelines for the teaching of oral and written composition, conducted a study in order to determine structural similarities and differences between the two modes of discourse. A picture was shown to 55 students who were asked to tell what they

saw. After being graded by experienced high school teachers of English on a 7 point scale, the 10 highest and 10 lowest oral and written compositions were selected for analysis (in all 40). Golub studied 35 linguistic items. Some of his interesting results concern the items that were found to occur significantly more often in speech. At the 0.05 level of significance, relative clauses and connectors are found to be more frequently used in high-oral discourse than in high-written, suggesting that "the growth of linguistic performance in oral discourse is somewhat in advance of written performance" (1969:84). In other words, advanced students tend to employ more relative clauses and connectors in their speech than in their written composition.

Difficulties encountered by students in their transition from speech to writing have been discussed by Shaughnessy (1977) who, in a book length study, examined students' errors in Basic Writing classes at City College of the City University of New York. Shaughnessy largely attributes students' errors to a failure to bridge the gap between oral everyday talk and the advanced writing they are required to undertake in college. This failure has shown up for example in their inability to write in "sentences" as opposed to "fragments". Shaughnessy has found that one of the Basic Writing students' problems lies in their unfamiliarity with "the sentence as a grammatical unit" and "with the process whereby simple sentences are enlarged so as to include various types of subordinate structures" (1977:27). She believes that many syntactic difficulties encountered by BW students are rooted in differences between writing and speaking - "the student unaware of the ways in

which writing is different from speaking, imposes the conditions of speech on writing. The inexperienced writer must be expected to make a transition from writing talk to writing writing" (op.cit. 33).

2.1.4 Linguistic Research

It is only relatively recently that linguists have recognised the distinctiveness of speech and writing. The neglect was largely due to early views prevalent amidst structuralist linguists who regarded written language as merely a reflection of speech. Bloomfield insisted that "writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks" (1933:21). De Saussure (1960) also accepted the view that writing simply represents language. Against this general trend some scholars associated with the Prague School (Vacheck 1973) discuss "the co-existence, in one and the same language of two norms, the spoken and the written" (quoted in Goody 1977). That is, written and spoken language are complementary to each other. But it is only with the increasing emphasis in modern linguistic theory on semantics and pragmatics that the study of the grammatical structure of spoken discourse has become an extremely active field. First though, a review is presented of early studies which were mainly directed in the identification of a variety of syntactic, lexical and morphological differences.

Early linguistic research used frequency counts as a primary method for distinguishing between speech and writing. Gibson et al (1967) for example compared samples of the speech and writing of 45

freshmen speech students at two universities. Their aim was first, to develop a list of the twenty-five most frequently used words for both oral and written messages and secondly, to determine the differences and similarities between written and spoken vocabularies as measured by the type-token ration (TTR) - the ratio of the number of different words (types), to the total number of words (token). In order to maximise the variety of topics and hence vocabulary, students selected topics from a set of 50 titles. The results of the study show that there is no significant difference between speech and writing in the twenty-five most frequently used words. The study also shows that subjects use more varied vocabulary in writing than in speech. This same data was earlier used by Gibson and his colleagues (1966) to study similarities and differences between oral and written style. They computed three kinds of scores: Flesch Reading Ease (average sentence length and average number of syllables per 100 words), Flesch Human Interest scores and type-token ratio. The procedure used was designed to control the influence of the order in which subjects responded, thus half of the subjects gave their speech first while the other half wrote the essays before their speech. They report that spoken language is more readable, contains significantly shorter average sentence length, significantly fewer syllables per 100 words and less diversity of vocabulary concluding that "apparently the subjects wrote in one style and spoke in another style" (1966:449). These findings are in agreement with a study conducted by Drieman (1962). He found that written language, compared to spoken, has shorter texts (the average length of each spoken text is 216 words, and written 115 words) and more polysyllabic words. The study also

shows that there are more attributive adjectives in the written texts which make it "more ornamented and more varied in quality" (1962:45).

The study by Drieman is of interest mainly for its methods of data collection. Drieman has recognised the importance of having comparable data from the same subject, on the same topic and under controlled conditions. Eight graduate students were shown a painting and then each was asked to describe it orally. This was followed by the writing exercise (the order was reversed for 4 of the subjects). Then "the entire oral and the entire written" texts were compared.

In two studies, De Vito (1966, 1967) searched for more precise differences between oral and written discourse in vocabulary and in level of abstraction. In samples from ten university faculty members, he found that speech differs from writing in having more self-referentials (I think, I say), more pseudo-quantifying words - words loosely indicative of amount or size (much, many, a lot), more terms that indicate opinion (seems, appears), more "allness" terms (all, none) and more qualifying terms (if, but). In the 1967 study De Vito set out to differentiate the language of speaking from that of writing with regard to levels of abstraction. Applying the Gillie (1957) level of Abstraction formula: (finite verbs per 200 words, plus definite nouns (nouns preceded by a definite article) per 200 words, plus 36 minus nouns of abstraction (words ending in the suffixes -ness, -ment, -ship x 2), De Vito found that speech is less abstract than writing, and that oral language contains

significantly more finite verbs and significantly fewer nouns of abstraction.

Not all studies cite differences, however. Blankenship (1962), for example found more similarities than differences. She compared the published articles and the speeches of four "nationally known speakers". Blankenship found little variation in sentence length, more transitive verbs in speech and more passive constructions in writing. What is of interest here is that the linguistic differences between individual speakers/writers were more significant than the differences between oral-written discourse. This led her to conclude that "syntactical structure is determined by an individual's style rather than by reader/hearer purposes" (1962:422). Blankenship's conclusions are a direct result of the spoken and written texts chosen. Obviously the 'modes' are very close and the fact that the second is delivered orally is almost irrelevant.

The most cited study on syntactic differences between speech and writing is that of O'Donnell (1974) mainly for the analytic tool employed: T unit. Guided by the belief that limitation of previous studies on speech and writing are largely due to their methods of analysis (for example, Blankenship's verbal expressions), O'Donnell proposes the T-unit which is one independent clause + one syntactically related dependent clauses. He concentrates on spoken and written material produced by one individual only, an adult male graduate. Some of the differences reported are: the high frequency

in the written sample of gerunds, participles, attributive adjectives, modal and passive constructions.

A study that contrasts sharply with the above work is that by Poole and Field (1976). They studied the speech and writing of 80 undergraduate students at the University of New England in terms of the Bernstein code elaboration model (students were stratified into socio-economic groupings on the basis of father's education). Poole and Field studied four major linguistic areas: structural complexities (subordinate clauses), language elaboration, verb complexity and personal reference. Their results show that oral language is more structurally complex than writing. But writing contains more adjectival elaboration, more complex verb groups and fewer indices of personal reference.

A similar view is expressed in the study by Horowitz and Newman (1964) who asserts that speech contains more ideas, more subordinate ideas and is more elaborate than writing.

2.2 Contradictory findings in previous studies

One of the features that is readily apparent in the above studies and also in a number of other more recent investigations (discussed below) is the wide range of claims and findings presented. For example, Poole and Field (1976), Halliday (1979), and Beaman (1984) claim that speech is more structurally complex than writing. Blankenship (1962) concludes that there are no linguistic differences between the two modes. But most researchers find writing to be the more complex of the two, the more explicit

and the more abstract (De Vito 1967; O'Donnell 1974; Chafe 1982; Brown and Yule 1983). This diversity of findings is largely attributed to the diversity of the techniques and methodologies employed, which has resulted in conflicting results. For instance De Vito used published written material and impromptu speech. His subjects were college professors who must have known they were involved in an experiment on speech. O'Donnell's spoken material is from transcripts of a television talk of one speaker only, and the written material is from published newspaper columns written by other individuals. Poole and Field use interviews with university students about high-school and university life. For the written data these same students were asked to write on a different topic - life forecast essays - about their lives from graduation to retirement. Blankenship compared formal planned speeches given before a university audience by well known public speakers and the published papers of the same speaker. This may have resulted in her failure to find clear cut distinctions between spoken and written language. (See above for discussion).

Other contradictions seem to be mainly definitional. Blankenship (1962) finds sentence length in speech and writing to be mainly the same. This is contrasted to O'Donnell (1974) who also discusses the mean length not of the 'sentence' but of the T-unit and reports that it is considerably longer in writing. Horowitz and Newman's (1964) assertion that speech is more complex than writing is based on <u>ideas</u> (which are cognitive) rather than syntactic units.

Halliday (1979) and Brown and Yule (1983) base their conclusions not on any experimental evidence but on intuitions, as do a number of many recent studies that lack any statistical evidence (Gumperz et al 1984; Tannen 1982, 1985).

One of the major discrepancies among studies concerns the extent of subordination. Almost without exception studies have claimed that writing shows a much higher frequency of subordinate clauses (Chafe 1982; Kroll 1977; Brown and Yule 1983). Two studies though, find little difference in the number of subordinate clauses between speech and writing (Poole and Field 1976; Beaman 1984); But a careful examination of the above studies shows that what is being referred to as "subordination" has not been adequately defined and sometimes it is difficult to know what exactly is being counted. Chafe (1982) for example discusses that and to complements as well as relative clauses as components of the linguistic measure embedding. For Poole and Field (1976) as well as O'Donnell (1974) it is difficult to tell what is being counted. Poole and Field investigate under the heading of "indices of structural complexity", subordinate clauses, adjectival clauses, uncommon clauses, Loban index of subordination with no attempt to either give examples or clearly define these indices. This is a major factor contributing to the contradictory findings concerning subordination.

Thus, there must be some suspicion as to the results obtained from written and spoken samples which are not comparable, are not empirically/ statistically based, and which are vague about what is being investigated and counted. And as Akinnaso (1982:108)

has stressed, "differences in setting, context, and purpose between formal (published) academic papers and informal conversations are in themselves significant variables that may affect lexical and syntactic choices." Consequently the findings seem to result more from the maximisation of contrasts in the data base than from differences in modality.

2.3 Planned/Unplanned discourse: A Continuum

The two scholars whose work on differences between speech and writing forms a starting point for the research outlined here are well aware of the nature of their data. Ochs (1977, 1979) is mainly concerned with planned vs. unplanned discourse; Chafe (1982, 1985) cites four types of discourse in connection with a long term project on speech and writing: informal spoken from dinner table conversation, informal spoken from lectures, informal written from letters and informal written from academic papers. Both scholars have so far analysed only the most distant styles: informal (unplanned) spoken and formal (planned) written. Ochs (1979) defines unplanned discourse as being discourse that lacks forethought and organisational preparation. Planned discourse on the other hand has been thought out and organised prior to production. She discusses these two types as being extremes of a cline; at one end is "a string of nonsensical, haphazard sounds" and at the other extreme discourse in which "every idea and every lexical item and every structure ... is considered and designed in advance" (1979:55). In contrast to planned discourse Ochs identifies the following features in 'relatively' unplanned speech:

1. reliance on morpho-syntactic structures acquired in the early stages of language development: the deictic rather than indefinite article (this guy); tendency to use the present tense; conjoining by and or but.
2. avoidance of relative clause structure.
3. tendency of repeating and replacing lexical items, what Schegloff et al (1977) call 'repair mechanisms'.
4. reliance on non-verbal means (pointing, reaching, eye gaze etc).
5. reference deletions relying on listener's acquaintance with what is being referred to.
6. reference plus proposition constructions (left-dislocation) e.g. Pat McGee. I don't know if you know him.
7. avoidance of passive constructions.

In his comparison of speech and writing Chafe (1982; 1985) identified four dimensions along which speech and writing are differentiated: writing has an integrated quality due to the fact that it is a "slow, deliberate, editable process"; in contrast speech is fragmented as it lacks forethought. Chafe (1982) also speaks of detachment as being a feature characterising the relation that holds between a writer to his audience and involvement with listeners as typical of speech.

Below is an illustration of some of the major linguistic features that are manifestations of integration, fragmentation, detachment and involvement.

Integration	Fragmentation
nominalisation: treatment development rather than treat or develop	loose connections: (Ø) or coordinating conjunctions (and, but, so)
participles (ing)	hesitations and pauses
attributive adjectives	
sequence of prepositional phrases	
relative clauses	
subordinating conjunctions	

Detachment	Involvement
passive voice	first person reference
abstract noun phrases	speaker's mental process
nominalisation	emphatic particles
	fuzziness
	direct quotes

Chafe's (1982) dimensions of speech and writing

Chafe (1985) further distinguishes between three types of involvement: ego involvement (I, me, we), involvement with the hearer (right, OK), and involvement with subject matter (really, direct quotes), which in fact do not differ significantly from what was originally discussed in the 1982 study. A further report, with precise tabulated analysis is to be published shortly.

A somewhat similar approach to this general field of research can be found in Lakoff (1979, 1982). Lakoff sets up a gradience with two end-points: the oral dyad as one end pole, and expository prose as

the other. A set of variables determines whether the text is closer to one or the other of the end poles. The most spontaneous will be found to the left and the more we move to the right, the more it is likely that the text has undergone extensive preplanning, editing and revision.

	oral-dyad	telephone	lecture	letter	prose
visibility	+	-	+	-	-
reciprocity	+	+	-	+	-
informality	+	+	+/-	+/-	-
spontaneity	+	+	-	-	-
empathy	+	+	-	-	-
inconsequentiality	+	+	+/-	+/-	-

Lakoff's (1979) Continuum of Spoken and Written discourse
(an adaptation by Ostman 1982)

Despite its oversimplicity and imprecision (for example there is some degree of reciprocity in a lecture, many types of letters have empathy and/or spontaneity and some telephone conversations are highly formal, preplanned and some have no immediate reciprocity), Lakoff's grid demonstrates that speech and writing do not have to be viewed as dichotomous but rather as a continuum.

Deborah Tannen is another linguist who believes that the speech-writing dichotomy is misleading. In a series of papers (1980, 1982(a), 1982(b), 1985) she discusses the inadequacy of such divisions and asserts that features that have been associated

exclusively with spoken or written language are often found in discourse of the other mode.

In her study of 1982(a), Tannen analysed a spoken and written narrative by the same speaker about the same events. She finds that in the written version of the story the narrator employs features of spontaneous oral discourse together with features of written discourse (for example, direct quotes, repetition of words and phrases, first person and so on). But in addition, she (the narrator) uses complex syntactic structure (Chafe's integrative devices) characteristic of expository prose. This has led to her concluding that "writing is a genre which is necessarily written but which makes use of features associated with oral language because it depends for its effect on interpersonal involvement ..." (1982:14). More recently Tannen (1985) proposes in place of this dichotomy a differentiation between two modes of discourse, one focusing on involvement to produce a form of discourse that is context-bound characterised by listener/reader participation, the use of paralinguistic cues, repetition of words and phrases and parallel syntactic structure. The other type is maximally dependent on lexicalisation - that is "the writer demands the least from the reader in terms of filling in referents, background information, crucial premises, cohesive relationships and evaluation" (1985:137).

Another linguist who differentiates between speech and writing according to plannedness is Stubbs (1983). He draws a distinction between two types of language: a) spontaneous language which is characterised by being <u>unplanned</u> in that it is composed in

real time in response to immediate situational demands; and b) language which is deliberately planned. Stubbs suggests that the former characterises most spoken language while the latter characterises writing. Type (b) it is claimed, also characterises what Stubbs calls introspective data - data which is elicited by the linguist as part of some experiment.

	Naturally occurring	Planned
Everyday conversation	+	-
Much written language	+	+
Introspective data	-	+

Stubbs (1983) characterisation of planned/unplanned language

According to Stubbs' characterisation both the spoken and written narratives in the present investigation are of the (b) type. This is in fact misleading, for although the spoken narratives are elicited and are monitored, they are unplanned. For, although the narrators may have access to a general outline of the talk, the final syntactic and lexical choices remain spontaneous. Splitting up planned into two clarifies the point raised above. Thus there are types of language in which a) planning takes place prior to delivery (for example lectures, media as well as most written language); and b) language in which there is no time lapse between planning and delivery (free every day conversation, informal letters as well as the spoken narratives in the present study).

	Planning takes place prior to delivery	No time lapse between planning and delivery
telephone	-	+
lectures	+	-
media	+	-
informal letters	-	+
everyday conversation	-	+
spoken narratives	-	+
written narratives	+	-

The narratives of "My Childhood" differentiated according to plannedness

2.4 Concluding Remarks

The above review shows that contradiction in the linguistic literature on speech and writing results from a number of factors, mainly:

1. type of texts investigated: a number of studies compared informal speeches and published papers.
2. number of texts analysed: researchers use a very limited number of texts. At one extreme O'Donnell (1974) analyses one spoken and one written.
3. spoken and written samples are produced by different participants.
4. reliance on intuitions rather than on empirical methods.

5. non-agreement on methods and techniques of analysis (sentence, clause, verbal expression and so on).
6. vagueness as to what exactly is being counted.
7. avoidance of quantitative methods.

It is quite obvious that samples used in many of the above-mentioned studies contrast not only mode of delivery speech and writing, but also degree of formality, purpose and level of linguistic competence of participants.

The above shortcomings have been partially avoided in a number of recent studies differentiating between speech and writing (Tannen 1982; Beaman 1984; Kroch & Hindle 1982; Michaels and Collins 1984) as well as in the current investigation.

To systematically study structural differences between speech and writing, it is important to control the topic in order to minimise complicating intervening elements. It is also essential to have the same person produce both spoken and written tasks. This design permits systematic comparison across different subjects performing the same task as well as providing comparable data from the same participants on speech and writing.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1 The study of speech and writing

As indicated in Chapter Two, early linguistic research directed towards a differentiation of lexical and syntactic tokens in speech and writing has produced conflicting results. Recent studies, although recognising the limitations of previous research, have tended to be less empirical and less quantitatively oriented (Ochs 1979; Tannen 1982; Brown & Yule 1983; Gumperz et al 1984; Michaels and Collins 1984).

The current study reconciles both approaches:

i) it is carried out within the framework of the analysis of extended discourse[1] which attempts to discover linguistic regularities in whole texts rather than in sentences in isolation, and across a number of texts, not just in one.

ii) it recognises the importance of providing statistical evidence of structural differences between speech and writing.

3.2 The Choice of Narrative

It has been suggested that narrative discourse is to be the basic discourse unit according to whose structure other discourse units are modelled (Linde & Labov 1975). Schiffren (1981) who studied tense variation, points out that "the narrative is a naturally bound unit of discourse in which formal and functional

aspects of grammatical variation can be examined in a controlled and systematic way" (1981:45).

The choice to elicit narratives for the current investigation is believed to have a number of advantages:

1. Topic channelling: having subjects tell about a single specific topic provides comparable data from a large number of individuals and also allows replication.

2. Minimal distortions: recounting the story of a film has the advantage of avoiding many of the distortions of on the spur-of-the-moment speech that characterises everyday conversation. For example, incomplete utterances as well as referentials which are often difficult to interpret out of their original social context.

3. Since the analyst knows what the speaker is trying to say, this allows comparisons to be made across speakers. This methodology has been exploited for a range of purposes in, for example, "Description of apartment layout" (Linde & Labov 1975), "The Pear Stories" (Chafe (ed) 1980), "Diagram Drawing" (Yule 1981).

3.3 Material

A 50 minute film entitled "My childhood" was chosen to elicit both a spoken and a written narrative from each of 20 individuals. A summary of the episodes in the film is presented in

Appendix I. The idea of using a film is not original and was used by the Berkeley linguists (Chafe 1982) in their project on spoken discourse.(2) They planned that using a film would make it possible to show the film to people at different places and at different times.

The primary constraint in selecting a film was the need for (little or) no linguistic input, since the presence of given linguistic content would distort subjects' renderings of events remembered. The average television or full length film production depends heavily on language for interpretation, and early attempts to use documentaries with sound track removed proved problematic. Subjects could not interpret the action without the text. What was needed, then, was narrative action which was so clearcut that no language was necessary for an interpretation to be made. Accordingly a film was selected which was intended to be purely visual, with sound effects, but no language content. Bill Douglas's film 'My Childhood' was selected. It is virtually without language, such dialogue as exists being in broad Glaswegian, which was very largely incomprehensible to subjects. We were aware that the length of the film might affect subjects' recall of events, but for the particular purposes of the study the process of recall as such was not essential. In addition, the film had an episodic organisation which facilitated the recall of events. Once speakers remembered the beginning of an episode, they tended to complete it. Some though, did express their confusion as to the order in which episodes took place.

3.4 Subjects

A total of one postgraduate and 19 undergraduate students enrolled at the University of Aston in the academic year 1983/84, watched the film. Of the 20, one had to leave before being interviewed, another took part in the oral interview but never handed in the written version, and four of the spoken versions were unsuitable for transcription as the quality of the recordings was very poor. This left a total of 14 subjects. 10 were paid for participating in the study. The other 4 volunteered. Below is a list of those whose spoken and written narratives were used for the investigation:

Participant	Age	Sex	Department
1 JI	39	F	Management (postgraduate)
2 NF	21	F	Politics & Sociology
3 BN	19	F	Applied Psychology
4 LD	19	F	Applied Psychology
5 VP	20	F	Combined Honours
6 DN	28	F	Combined Honours
7 NP	22	F	Politics & Sociology
8 AA	19	F	Combined Honours
9 JP	19	F	Combined Honours
10 MB	20	M	Applied Psychology
11 CL	21	M	Business Admin & Sociology
12 RC	21	M	Behavioural Science

13 CH	21	M	Behavioural Science
14 TB	19	M	Civil Engineering

3.5 Procedure

With some variation dictated by local circumstances, the film was usually shown to four persons at a time on video in a comfortably seated room designed for TV viewing. Before watching the film, the analyst handed over a set of instructions to each participant[3] together with a card on which they wrote their names (they were told that they did not have to write their names in full, but all did so). They were told that the experiment was part of a research project on the process of recall.

It has to be recognised that the instructions given to subjects may have affected structural aspects of the narratives produced. The only way to assess the effect of these instructions would have been to set up a control study in which a different set of instructions was used. (Eg. testing the suitability of the film for use with children). However, this lies beyond the scope of the present study. The possible (and unmeasured) effect of the instructions on the linguistic output is acknowledged, and the reader is asked to bear this effect in mind when interpreting the results.

It is the view of the writer that the most likely effect of the instruction was to induce subjects to recall as much detail as possible, and possibly therefore to create longer narratives than they might have done without this instruction. Given the nature of

the film, which was markedly episodic, it seems probable that the process of "recreation" of the story was more influenced by the nature of the story than by the instructions on recall.

After watching the film, each person was interviewed in a separate room by someone of the same sex[4] and approximately the same age and educational background. The analyst took part in one recording session (NP) when the interviewer failed to show up. Written instructions were given to each interviewer before the recording session. (See Appendix IV). For the recording, a Philips two-way speaker system tape recorder with a built-in microphone was used. Because the recordings did not take place in soundproof rooms, external noise was inevitable (for example, of students walking in corridors). Also, an amplifier was used in transcribing two of the spoken deliveries (MB, CH). But in general the quality of the recorded material was satisfactory.

The recorded material varied in length, the shortest was 3.5 minutes, the longest 16 minutes. Subsequent to the oral interview

the story of the film was written down.[5] Subjects 6, 5, 9 and 8 chose to write it at the University. No time limit was given. The rest of the participants handed it in the following day having written it on the evening of the day when they saw the film. The length of the written stories varied from 342 words to 1065 words, the spoken from 526 words to 3026.

The transcription was done in standard orthography. Punctuation was used to indicate intonational pauses rather than syntactic boundaries. Period (.) indicates pause, two and more periods indicate a longer pause (no accurate measurement of pauses was undertaken). Capital letters were used to indicate proper names. Editing was minimal in spoken narratives as well as in the written ones where no corrections of spelling or grammatical errors were made. Most of the spoken interviews yielded monologues: an extended speech by one person. Although interviewers were encouraged not to interrupt, many of them did not intervene much. At the other extreme, some of the listeners (especially in the interview of AA and of JP)[6] asked many questions. The conversations that took place after the narrators had finished telling the story of the film were eliminated from the investigation as well as interviewers' questions. Apart from that, the whole of each of the narratives was subjected to a careful analysis. The transcription was checked by two native speakers. Written Narratives are presented in Appendix II, Spoken Narratives in Appendix III.

3.6 Analysis

It was argued in Chapter I that although study of the features of spontaneity in spoken guided tours is worthwhile, and points to a number of identifiable characteristics, a more structured analysis is required if accurate descriptions of spoken as opposed to written discourse is required.

The design of the data elicitation allows spoken and written modes of narration to be compared under a number of headings. This thesis selects major structural aspects for detailed investigation: referential expressions and linking signals. Chapter V deals with referential expressions: how characters and objects are introduced in speech as opposed to writing and then re-referred to. Speaker/writer strategies of employing nominal, pronominal or zero (Ø) reference is also investigated. It is important to mention here that the investigation is not concerned with questions such as "what pairs of elements can stand in the relation of antecedent and anaphor?" (Stenning 1978:165) or what does or does not refer (Hawkins 1978:114) or issues like correct versus successful reference, ambiguity of indefinite pronouns, and specific-non-specific referents (Lyons 1977:187-189), or referential and non-referential expressions (Donnellan 1978). These types of questions have been extensively studied in philosophical linguistics and semantics and result from the analysis of single sentences in isolation. But in analysing connected discourse many of these issues are not of interest. Moreover as Brown and Yule rightly note, in discourse analysis "the analyst is largely concerned, in

his investigation, with data which is the product of the actual use of linguistic expressions in a definable context for a particular purpose, rather than the potential use of such expressions" (1983:208).

The other aspect of the data that stems from the analysis of connected discourse is 'linking signals'; how do speakers, as opposed to writers, combine 'units'. This is discussed in Chapter IV. The analysis, then is not exhaustive. It focuses on the major syntactic and lexical differences between oral and written presentation of the same narrative, leaving an area such as prosody in narrative to future investigation.

In order to test the significance of the results[7] obtained from the distributional analysis, two non-parametric tests are used.

1. The Wilcoxon signed-ranks test allows one to assess the significance of proportional differences between the two sets of quantitative measures in speech and writing.

2. The chi-square is used to test the significance of the differences between frequencies of occurrences of more than two features. A 2 x 3 test is used. A computer program designed by Dr P Coxhead[8] is used for the chi-square test.

3.7 Terminology

Some notes on use of terms may assist the reader in the following chapters.

Discourse: extended stretch of language whether spoken or written. In this the term is used interchangeably with text which also refers to a stretch of language, so we shall talk of written texts and spoken texts. Discourse analysis is thus the analysis of whole texts.

Sentence: whenever the term sentence is employed it will denote a 'complex' rather than a 'simple' sentence. Thus a sentence is a stretch consisting of more than one idea unit/clause.

Topic: is not used as a technical term. It tentatively refers to what the speaker is talking about.

Mode: refers to the medium in which language is transmitted: spoken/written.

Spoken/ written: I use the term 'speech' and 'writing' (or spoken and written) to refer to discourse produced in these two physical modes.

Oral/ literate: is used in Gumperz et al (1984) who compares the spoken and written language of persons in industrialised societies.

Partici- pants/ narrators: those that took part in the experiment.

Delivery: narratives produced by participants. We shall talk of spoken/written deliveries.

FOOTNOTES

(1)

The approach adopted here avoids an a priori commitment to any analytic model and in this respect it forms a major departure from previous analyses undertaken by discourse analysts: for example, analysis of teacher talk (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) lecture monologues (Coulthard and Montgomery 1981). Initial attempts to analyse guided tours data using the model of discourse developed by Sinclair and Coulthard 1975 have also failed. According to Levinson (1983), the approach adopted in the current study would fall within the framework of conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, 1978) whose "methods are inductive, search is made for recurring patterns across many records of naturally occurring conversations " (Levinson 1983: 287). In Chapter V a different approach to "discourse" is presented. Prince (1981) uses the term discourse model which contains discourse entities, attributes and links between entities (Prince 1981:235). The entities are such things as individuals, sets, events, actions, states, etc. In the course of producing or interpreting a text, the model is built up, entities are introduced and referred to. The present study is restricted to first class entities (Lyons 1977:442).

(2)

Their film entitled "The Pear Stories" was shown to Greeks, Americans and to the Quiche Maya village of Guatemala. It also provided the data for a number of studies differentiating between speech and writing (Tannen 1982, Beaman 1984, Michaels and Collins 1984).

(3)

The participants were told beforehand that the study was likely to take approximately 70 minutes, in addition to 30-45 minutes for writing down the story of the film.

(4)

One of the recording sessions that had to be eliminated was because the interviewer and speaker were not of the same sex. The speaker - who was female - was clearly inhibited in telling the story to a male interviewer.

(5)

Golub (1969:77) noted that the order in which samples are taken from subjects (whether they write first or speak first) have no significant effect on the results of the experiment.

(6)

The interviewer is a research linguistic student who is engaged in the study of "role shifting" which proved to be an important element that affected the level of interview. Thus part of this particular session had to be eliminated.

(7)

Figures in some tables were expressed in percentages as the results were indicative of the differences. Further statistical analysis was thus deemed unnecessary.

(8)

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CHAPTER FOUR

Linking Signals in Speech and Writing

4.1 Does Speech have Sentences?

The aim of this Chapter is to investigate speakers/writers' strategies in marking discourse boundaries. In other words how do speakers, as opposed to writers, signal that one chunk is related to the following or preceding chunk. First there was the thorny task of segmenting the data into units, an issue which has been quite controversial especially among those interested in spoken discourse. There is agreement on the non-applicability of the notion of "sentence" to the analysis of extended spoken texts as the following quotations show:

> In spontaneous speech ... sentence boundaries are not always clear-cut, often one finds distortions and fragments of sentencehood.
> (Chafe 1976:162)

> Anyone who has really carefully listened to the way unplanned discourse sounds or who has tried to transcribe with total accuracy a spontaneous piece of discourse will immediately notice that people do not speak in sentence-like utterances.
> (Kroll 1977:85)

> Any attempt to analyse this data in terms of sentence structure and function is beset with difficulties from the outset. Sentence identification and classification is a much greater problem here than in any other variety of English.
> (Crystal 1980:155)

> The traditional unit "sentence" is often impossible or, at best, awkward to work with.
> (Svartvik 1982:132)

> ... any attempt to divide the transcript into sentences involves making arbitrary decisions about sentences boundaries, due to the large number of clauses coordinated with and, but and then.
>
> (Stubbs 1983:35)

The non-applicability of "the sentence" to the analysis of spoken texts also has a bearing on the differences between speech and writing. In search for a unit of analysis, those interested in the speech/writing dichotomy have proposed a number of candidates. O'Donnell (1974) proposed an approach originally put forward by Hunt (1965): the (T-unit) which contains one independent clause and the dependent clauses (if any) syntactically related to it. In traditional grammatical terms, it can be the equivalent of a simple sentence or a complex sentence; a compound sentence, however, would contain more than one T-unit. But the applicability of the T-unit to spoken data is doubtful, as has been reported by Kroll (1977). Blankenship (1962), using a modification of Fries' (1952) grammatical system, proposed the 'verbal expression' as the unit of analysis. The verbal expression is defined as "any group of words functioning in relation with a verb" (1962:420). Recently the Berkeley group have applied the 'idea unit' as the unit of analysis. (Tannen 1980: Chafe 1980, 1982; Beaman 1984; Michael & Collins 1984; Hildyard and Hidi 1985). Chafe (1980) has noted that spontaneous speech is produced not in a flowing stream, but in a series of brief spurts. In the "Pear film" narratives, which have been used in a number of studies investigating the differences between speech and writing, the notion of "idea unit" has been adopted.

For Chafe, a prototypical idea unit has the following properties: (1) It ends with an intonation contour that might be called clause-final; (2) It is preceded and followed by some kind of hesitation (filled or unfilled pauses); (3) it is a clause, consisting of one verb phrase with whatever accompanying noun phrases are associated with it. Chafe (1980) however, emphasises that all three criteria (intonational, pausal and syntactic) are not always present, nor does the presence of any one of them necessarily signal the boundary of an idea unit.

It is important to note that although Chafe's notion of "idea unit" has been discussed by a number of researchers, none of them used it in their frequency counts. Both Chafe and Beaman used a frequency index to measure the occurrence of a particular feature (the number of occurrences per 1000 words). Tannen, as well as Michaels and Collins, did not produce any frequency counts. Angela Hildyard & Suzanne Hidi, although mentioning that the concept idea unit is the method adopted to parse the narratives in their study, have actually ignored two of Chafe's criteria: pause and intonation. For them an idea unit is defined as being "a clause containing a main verb, subject and object plus modifiers" (1985:294).

This suggests that in developing a counting system of occurrences of any single feature one has to rely on a clearly defined and identifiable unit. Hence, the choice of Kroll's (1977) idea unit, which is mainly a syntactic unit that can be objectively identified. In addition, it has the advantage of capturing "the amount of grammatical manipulation "work" needed to create the

units of discourse" (1977:89). A full account of the operational definition of the idea unit (being essentially Kroll's) used in this study for statistical purposes is given in section 4.3.

4.2 Discrepancies between syntactic and prosodic units

It has been proposed that speech is segmented into "breath groups" (Lieberman 1980, 1982) "signalling units that have clear articulatory and acoustic correlates that reflect the presence of neural mechanisms that govern its production and perception" (Lieberman 1980:192). That there is a direct correlation between this unit of production (i.e. breath group) and its grammatical structure is far from clear. Halliday (1967) found that the tendency is for the tone-groups and the clause to be coextensive. The Hallidayan notion of tonic was the subject of a series of experiments (Currie 1980, 1981) which investigated whether judges who had been trained according to Halliday's system could agree on tonic placement in any utterance. The results of the experiments showed that even trained phoneticians found the task of identifying single tonics in actual utterances very difficult and there was clear disagreement among the decisions of the judges.

Quirk et al (1972, 1985) have also found an overall correlation between tone units and grammatical units, but stress that no rigid rule can be made about the relation of grammatical to tone units. They give an example of an extremely irritating case where every single word can constitute a tone unit (1985:1360). He / said / we / could /. The correspondence of tone units to grammatical units has been recently refuted mainly with the

advent of discourse analysis where extended texts are being analysed. Svartvik (1982), although claiming that linguists generally agree on the identification of tone units, goes on to say that a close study of authentic speech material reveals that there is no general consistent correspondence between grammatical and prosodic units (1982:136). Several analysts have thus preferred to work with pause-defined units. Brown et al (1980) and Brown and Yule (1983) reported difficulty with consistently identifying tone groups by intonational criteria and resorted to working with units bounded by pauses, while Chafe (1980) used three criteria for unit identification: intonation, pausing and syntax.

A detailed prosodic analysis of one of the extracts of 'My Childhood' shows a mismatch between the segmentation of idea units by syntactic cues (a post hoc activity carried out by the analyst) and intonational cues (which is primarily a speaker-based activity).

(1) JI : SN a there was very little in the way of e .. verbal communication.
b it was mostly e:m ... just e.. activities going on.
c and it was a very e. very poor ... environment
d and there were ... two boys living with the .. their grandmother..
e e:m the two boys were either brothers or . half brothers ... (tch)
f I should think one is abou:t ... nine
g and the other pushing twelve ..
h e:m... the father ... I think came into the picture on one occasion .
i e:.. when he came to give . a present of e: a.. caged bird to e: the older of the two boys ..

Although there is syntactic closure at the end of each of the above units (a, b, c ...) intonational closure in terms of tone groups is difficult to identify. If we choose to work with pauses

only, analysis would still be difficult because pauses do not regularly bound clauses. The same problem is raised by Johns-Lewis (1986) who suggests that although "pauses coinciding with tone unit boundaries and simultaneously grammatical juncture or sentence boundaries will contribute to the perception of fluency and will produce something closer to the intonational canonical form" asserts that the problem remains as to "hesitation pauses (those occurring at places other than major grammatical junctures) ... that frequently have the effect of disrupting intonational units" (1986:xxii). The question of whether there is one interrupted tone unit, or two separate tone units, each with indeterminate or level nuclear tone, is impossible to resolve within the framework of linguistic accounts of intonation such as Halliday (1967, 1985) or Brazil (1980, 1985). It seems that the reason that Brown & Yule (1983) have managed to work with pause identified units is that they have dismissed extracts of the above type where regularities are hard to discern (1983:161). (See 4.6.3 below for a discussion of the function of pauses). The study of prosody is still in its infancy and it is only when more research is undertaken of the prosodic and paralinguistic features of speech, specifically at the grammatical level, that we shall be able to come to a firmer understanding of the relation between syntax and prosody. (See the collection of papers in "Intonation in Discourse" ed. Johns-Lewis 1986 for a discussion of this and of other points, and specifically Gussenhoven in that volume).

4.3 Chunking by Idea Units:

For the purpose of this study the notion of "idea unit" as has been originally employed by Kroll (1977) in her study of the syntactic differences between speech and writing, is adopted. Kroll suggests that an idea unit "represents a chunk of information which is viewed by the speaker/writer cohesively as it is given surface form. Thus it is related more to the psychological reality for the encoder than to a grammatical analysis of its form". (Kroll 1977:90). Below is an operational definition of the idea unit adapted from Kroll followed by examples from the narratives of "My Childhood".

1. Subject and verb counted as one idea unit together with (when present) a) direct object; b) mark of subordination/coordination; c) prepositional phrases; d) adverbial element.

2. Full relative clauses (when the relative pronoun is present).

3. Prepositional phrases when in head position and when intonationally marked in speech or set by a comma in writing.

(the slash / separates idea units)

(2) NF : SN e:../ at home ../ whe:n ... the younger of the two . boys goes home ./ his grandmother sitting in her rocking chair ./ where she's frequently. / a:nd ... his older brother is there.doing something / that I can't remember.

(3) BN : SN (tch) o:h what happens next / the next scene was..the little boy was in the graveyard / and he was looking

at a grave./ and there was some dead flowers in the grave / and he threw the flowers out/h.. then he went back to the house / and ... there were some dead flowers in a cup.. / I poured. he poured water into the cup / and then he threw the flowers out. / poured water into the cup / and threw the water out of the cup.. / and gave it to the grandmother / presumably to warm her hands /

Often narrators begin a unit by a coordinator followed by a subordinator. These are counted as one idea unit but listed under both coordinate and subordinate.

(4) NF : SN a:nd when. the older brother finds that the little boy hasn't got. em very much coal / he's only got four chunks of coal / he gets very angry / and they start fighting.

There is a large class of idea units beginning with an adverbial element, like obviously, presumably, which are also used as connecting devices. These are tabulated separately and are discussed in section (4.4.4) below.

A separate category labelled pragmatic particles is set up to indicate those idea units which are initiated by words like well, anyway. (See Table 4).

Idea units are then categorised as being:

1) Subordinate,(1) that is linked by a subordinator or a wh-element.
2) Coordinate(2), linked by the coordinating conjunction and, but, or, and the conjunct so.
3) Adjoined, where there is no overt marker to link the units.
4) Other, which include pragmatic particles, adverbials and scene organisers.

5) Multiple, those units that function simultaneously both as coordinate and subordinate.

4.4 Results of analysis and Discussion

Using the classification of idea units outlined above, Table (1) shows the frequency distribution of the types identified in the data.

	Subordinate	Coordinate	Adjoined	Multiple	Other	Fragments	Total no. of idea units
Speech	332 (19.92%)	868 (52.10%)	206 (12.36%)	62 (3.72%)	198 (11.88%)	72	1,666
Writing	188 (30.03%)	237 (37.86%)	78 (12.46%)	22 (3.5%)	101 (16.13%)	-	626

Table (1) Linking signals in the spoken and written narratives of "My Childhood"

The main trends to emerge from the frequency figures are:

1. The oral narrative uses approximately three idea units for each one used in the written narrative.
2. There is a clear preference for the coordinate structure (52%) as opposed to the subordinate structure (20%) in the spoken narrative.
3. In the written narrative, coordinate structures (38%) are still preferred to subordinate (30%) but the preference is not as marked as it is in the spoken narrative.
4. Adjoining, where there is no overt signal of cohesiveness between idea units, is not significantly more likely to occur in speech (12.36%) than in writing (12.46%).

What does surface as being a major connecting strategy in both spoken and written discourse is coordinate structure, while subordinate structure comes second. This is a rather surprising finding given what has been promoted about written language in most studies of speech and writing, namely that there is a preference for subordination over coordination in written discourse. This has been the view of those studies that are mainly based on intuition (Ochs 1977; Radar 1982; Brown & Yule 1983), but equally by those who have provided frequencies of occurrences (Blankenship, 1962; O'Donnell 1974; Chafe 1982). Other studies (such as Poole and Field 1976; Beaman 1984) generally support the findings of the present study. The contradictions in previous research are due to a number of factors: text type chosen for comparison (conversation vs. expository prose), the linguistic measures and methods of analysis

(O'Donnell, T-Unit; Blankenship verbal expression), also researchers have relied on intuitions about discourse rather than analysis of actual texts. In addition, previous investigations have tended to indiscriminately carry out a "blind" count of all occurrences of any particular feature without considering its function.

4.4.1 Coordinate Structure

The results in Table 1 above show that whether in speech or writing, the preference is to link units by coordination rather than subordination. It is just admissible to claim that these results represent all of spoken and all of written discourse. Rather, they demonstrate the features of a specific "genre" - that is, narrative. These results, then do not prove how speech is different from writing. (See Chapter Two for earlier discussion). In a recent statistical study by Smith & Frawley (1983) it has been reported that coordination is used significantly more than subordination in the four genres studied: journalism, religion, science and fiction. But when each genre is investigated separately, they found that coordination is twice as frequent as subordination in fiction and religion while subordination is more frequent in science and journalism.

In the current study the units linked by the coordinator and constitute 47% in speech and 35% in writing. However, an indepth investigation shows that not all instances of and are that of true coordination especially in speech. The multi-faceted functions of and are discussed next.

The Structural and the Pragmatic and: in extracts (5,6,7) below the construction of the sentence requires the insertion of a connecting signal and omission would result in grammatical/semantic anomaly; and as Quirk et al (1985:923) point out the ease with which the coordinator and is added and omitted is an important factor in comparing the behaviour of linkers.

(5) VP : WN She's found in the field with
a dead bird
and taken home.

* She's found in the field with a dead bird taken home.

(6) CH : WN It appeared that the boys were
the unintended consequences
of her occupation
and had different fathers.

(7) CH : SN he brings a present for one of
the little boys
and not the other one.

The use of and in the above extracts is contrasted to its pragmatic use where it has a number of different functions. Pragmatic connectors have been discussed by Van Dijk (1979) as well as by Stubbs (1983) but both have employed the term rather vaguely. Van Dijk draws a distinction between semantic and pragmatic uses of and, but, or. He points out that pragmatic connectives express a relation between speech acts whereas semantic connectives express relations between denoted facts. Stubbs under the heading Pragmatic Connectives discusses logical operators (p & q) → r and natural language connectives such as and, but, since asserting that " ... the behaviour of natural language connectors ... cannot be explained in either logical or purely syntactic terms, and they can be shown to have pragmatic functions' (1983:77). Levinson (1983)

uses the fourth sub-maxim of Grice (be orderly) to solve the dilemmas caused by logical and p & q → q & p. While there is no difference in semantic content between (Having a child and getting married and Getting married and having a child) the sub-maxim be orderly provides "a pragmatic overlay on the semantic content": tell them in the order in which they will or have occurred (1983:35, 108).

I am using the term pragmatic rather tentatively in Levinson's (1983) sense who suggests that "in order to adequately explain any grammatical phenomenon one has to refer to "pragmatic" concepts like discourse structure which takes context into account" (1983:33).

In its structural use and usually connects two units. This is contrasted to its pragmatic use as in extracts (8) and (9) below:

(8) VP : SN and e:m..e::m a bit later on there was an air raid.
I think they were in an air raid shelter
and there was an old man singing
and there were all these kids with their mothers.

(9) CH : SN a. and once again it shows shows her in the film later on..in a mental.hospital.
b. a:nd she's just sort of sitting.lying there
c. and the nurse is doing her best to sort of make her.look presentable.
d. and e: the nurse introduces Jimmy
e. it's Jimmy again ...
f. and..he just sort of looks at her..
g. and she just pulls the sheets over her face

where it is used to indicate a continuation or addition; the speaker announces that he has got more to offer. It seems that this is one of the characteristic features of narrative discourse where and

indicates "next in a series" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 236). Although omission of and in the above extracts (8,9) does not result in any grammatical/semantic anomaly, its inclusion adds to the fluency of the text. It is difficult to imagine a spoken or even written text like the following: (the period (.) is used as a replacement for and).

(10) again it shows her in the film later on in
a mental hospital. she's just sort of
sitting lying there. the nurse is doing
her best to sort of make her look
presentable. the nurse introduces Jimmy.
he just sort of looks at her. she
just pulls the sheets over her face.

Given more time to plan, the and in extract (9:g) which means and then, would be expressed using a more complex strategy as in extract (11) below.

(11) MB : WN His grandmother then starts crying.
after which his mother covers
her face.

Another function of pragmatic and is its use as a filler word. When and is elongated (a:nd) and followed by a pause filled (e:m) or unfilled (...) it almost always signals the opening of a new episode, as in (8) above. Although the speaker is not jeopardised by "floor loss" long periods of silence are intolerable and could give the impression that the speaker is not knowledgeable about the topic. So the speaker resorts to using the pragmatic and to give himself time to plan the chunk that follows.

From the above discussion it is noted that Pragmatic and is characterised by:

1. segmental elongation (a:nd) plus filled/unfilled pause (a feature specific to speech);

2. it occurs initially in a subordinate dependent clause which is placed first in a complex sentence.

(12) NF : SN as he rides down the road on his bicycle.
(tch) his elder brother runs after him..
but he doesn't come back.
a:nd e: when the boy returns later in the evening
the grandmother was just about to beat the canary
with the the broom.

3. it is usually positioned at episode boundaries.

It mainly has the following functions:

1. when elongated it has the same function as that of pauses: planning the chunk that follows;

2. it has a sequential function equivalent to then / and then in which the events are sequentially related in time;

3. it also has an additive function equivalent to and also;

4. the and positioned at episode boundaries link larger chunks together;

5. at episode closures it functions as a summative. Most of the spoken narratives are ended up by:

(13) NF : SN and. I think that's about it

(14) VP : SN and that was the end of the film

Examining the proportion of pragmatic and to structural and in speech and writing indicates that the figures for the category of coordination in Table (1) are misleading, as they are based on a "blind" count of all occurrences of and. But a careful examination

of the different uses of and shows that what has been characterised as structural and in fact occurs in written narrative discourse more than in spoken discourse.

	Structural	Pragmatic	Total IU
Speech	168 (10.08%)	616 (36.97%)	1666
Writing	166 (26.52%)	67 (10.70%)	626

Table 2: Structural and Pragmatic and

These results are not surprising, given the amount of time available to plan and structure written tasks. At episode boundaries where a speaker would either pause or begin by an and followed by a pause, a writer would start the episode with no overt marker. Where the speaker also uses and to give a sense of continuity, the writer resorts to a more complex strategy. Compare the following two extracts, one written and the other spoken.

(15) BN : SN
a. a:nd then ... a siren went off
b. and all the miners presumably were coming home
c. a:nd all the little boys went to meet their fathers

(16) NF : WN
a. As the youngest is digging through the slag-heap for lumps of coal
b. The siren in the mine goes off denoting the end of the day shift - - -

a. As he's just about to disappear over the top of the heap
b. he looks back to see the children of the miners running to meet their fathers

Whereas (BN) employs and to connect (b) to (a) and (c) to (b) and (a), (NF) uses the integrative device (ing). The variable use of

strategies by participants to link units in speech and writing is discussed in section (4.5) below.

Another multi-function conjunct (to use Quirk et al's 1972, and 1985 term) heavily employed in speech is so: in speech 3.66% of the units are linked by so and 0.80% in writing. In addition to differences in frequency, the behaviour of so in speech and writing is somewhat different. In writing, whereas linkage is usually limited to two or three adjacent units as extract (17) shows,

(17) TB : WN a. Jim likes the cat
b. and senses Tom will harm it
c. so he tries to protect it.

in speech causals can link a series of units. (See section 4.4.2 for a discussion of because linkage). In addition to introducing clauses of result, so also has a number of other functions illustrated in extract (18) below. First it is used as a continuative (to continue) (a) then as a summative (k) recapitulating what was actually said before in (f). This redundancy helps the speaker to monitor his own speech and keeps track of different events in the film. So in (l) is a resultative of (k), ie. the grandmother's death, and also of other events that happened throughout the film, for example the loss of both his cat and his German friend. This function of so is similar to that of and used at episode closures, but whereas so denotes a causal relation, and denotes a sequential relation.

(18) LD : SN a. e:m so he came back..
b. sort of cried and cried..
c. and went back to the house.
d. sort of sat on his bed crying
e. and his brother says don't worry gran

and I will look after you
f. then grandma dies
g. they just ... they come back one day.
they find ... when they e:m ... yea
h. they find her in the field
i. and sort of just standing in the field with a dead bird in her hand
j. a:nd ... after that they take her back to the house
k. and ... (tch) ... so she's dead
l. so the little boy runs away.
m. and he goes up to the railway bridge..

4.4.2 Subordinate structure

Table (3) below shows a count of every structure that is coded as subordinate: conjunctions (as, when, because ...); relatives (who, which, that); and Wh-interrogatives (what, why, whether). In all, there are 29 different types used to mark subordinate structure in speech and writing, 24 of which appeared in both deliveries. The five types that occurred in writing only are: whilst, whereas, due to, save that and despite, which are characteristic features of connectives in formal written discourse.

	Conjunction	Relatives	Wh-interrogatives	Total Idea Unit
Speech	223 (13.38%)	106 (6.36%)	57 (3.42%)	1666
Writing	131 (20.93%)	67 (10.70%)	10 (1.60%)	626

Table (3) Subordinate structure

(19) MB : WN But it isn't clear
what form of interaction took place,
save that it appeared to be associated with
the bird or present - - -
In the final scene we see the boy following the
man to the man's house
whereupon, inside, the man is spoken to by a
woman.
whilst the boy shuffles his feet outside.

(Whereupon) is employed in both the spoken and written versions of (MB) only, whose deliveries have been characterised as being "complex" (Section 4.7 below).

A linking signal that is used in speech only, is like which is also frequently used as a "softener" or what Chafe (1982) terms "fuzzy expressions". When used as a linking signal it connects units and is at unit boundary.

(20) VP : SN and e:m later on .. well there were bits in between
like the granny wandering off into the fields

(21) LD : SN and they all sat round the fire . sort of
really quiet
as if . like there is nothing else going on
anyway

Of the (223) subordinating conjunctions in speech the because/cos type of linkage is the most frequently employed (15.54%) followed by when (12.43%). In writing on the other hand the time adverbial as (13.46%) is the most frequently used.

Similar results have been reported by Beaman (1984) who found significantly more time adverbials in the written narratives. Kroll (1977) has also found that the time marker as occurred much more frequently in writing.

Frequent use of time markers is not at all surprising from students who are narrating a film which involves sequentially ordered episodes. What could not have been predicted though, was the relatively low usage of time adverbials in the spoken production, as compared with the written. (Beaman's study is also based on narratives, as well is Kroll's whose subjects related personal narratives). But in a study of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions Smith and Frawley (1983) found that the two most frequent subordinating conjunctions in the four genres investigated - fiction, journalism, religion and science - are that and as, which could suggest that in fact as as a linking signal is a characteristic feature of written discourse in general and not of narrative discourse only.

In spoken discourse, on the other hand, where planning is never far ahead, sequentiality of events is conveyed either by time adjuncts (then, and then) or by stringing events in the same order in which they occurred in the narrative one after the other.

(22) NF : WN Finally, the boys wake up one morning to find granny dead in her chair.
The oldest goes off to find one of their fathers and the little one runs down to the railway line and jumps from the bridge onto the top of a coal truck
as it goes by.

(23) BN : SN the older boy ... I don't know what happened to him
but the younger boy went to the..railway line..
and had his head on the railway line..
and fell asleep.
and then.he saw a train coming along.
and climbed over the bridge. and he ran up onto the bridge

and jumped onto the train.
and that wa:s the end

The use of and in extract (23) above adds to the evidence that the function of and is multi-faceted. A large percentage of and's in speech fulfills functions other than that of coordination. As Sloan (1983:451) points out "'and' is a diffusive word that often does little more than confer a vague sense of ideational continuity on statements that inwardly bear a variety of relationships: conclusive, causative, illustrative, explanatory, sequential, parenthetical, digressive, etc."

As mentioned above, the behaviour of causals (because, so) is different in speech and writing. It is noted that in written discourse linkage is usually limited to two adjacent units, whereas in speech there is no such restriction. In extract (18) above, for example, so is used to link a series of events, a phenomenon that does not characterise written discourse. But Hoey (1983) who analysed written discourse, has drawn attention to linkage between parts of discourse (paragraphs) by means of the conjunct so.

In the extracts that follow because and so link two adjacent units.

(24) BN : WN the boy was cross
because the soldier took his cap back.

(25) AA : WN Because the war had ended by that stage
the prisoner has gone

(26) MB : WN He returns to find Gran trying to kill the canary
so he hides it

In spoken discourse, planning is usually an ad hoc activity. Thus it is not always possible to plan a causal relationship much ahead of production. Speakers plunge into narrating the events and actions and may find out afterwards that a further explanation is needed. This results in constructions of the type in extract (27) below where the <u>because</u> clause in (i) is not in a cause relation to the clause directly preceding or following it but seems to link the whole episode (a - h) to (j - p).

(27) VP SN
a. and granny started crying
b. and the little boy looked at this thing in the bed
c. and it looked about..sixty
d. and it probably wasn't
e. but it had all dark rings around the eyes and straggly hair
f. and obviously made to look bad.
g. and didn't say a word
h. and granny was crying.
i. <u>because</u> earlier on in the film
j. you flashed onto a picture on a mantlepiece
k. and it was a gilt-framed old-fashioned thing.
l. you know one of these old-fashioned edwardian. things of a woman with all crimped hair..
m. and I think that was the mother
n. and that was the one that was in the bed..
o. she. there was a slight resemblance.
p. it had really big eyes..

Unplannedness of speech also gives rise to a construction whereby a series of <u>causes</u> follow the <u>result</u>, a construction that cannot possibly occur in written discourse.

(28) CL : SN
a:nd the. then the Germans went
said they were going afterwards
which upset the youngest boy
<u>because</u> this was like his only friend
<u>because</u> his father didn't want anything to do with him.

Moving to the category of relatives where units are linked by a relative pronoun, it is not at all surprising to find more in the written narratives of "My Childhood". The difference, however is not as great as has been suggested in a number of studies, Kroll (1977) found (12%) in speech as opposed to (32%) in writing; Chafe (1982) (9.7%) vs. (15.8%). However, Beaman (1984) has recently reported the opposite. Using a frequency index measurement (occurrence per 1000 words), she found a greater frequency of relative clauses in the spoken narratives than in the written; (11.7%) in speech and (6.9%) in writing. These contradictory results are mainly due - as I have repeatedly pointed out - to the samples used. Chafe's written sample is from academic papers, Kroll's from homework assignments and Beaman's from unplanned written narratives. Beaman's sample is very similar to that of the current study and differences in results are mainly due to the idea unit counting system which for example has not included reduced relative clauses. Extract (29) for example, has not been classified as a relative as there is no overt marking.

(29) JI : SN I think it was no more than a room

But what is of interest here is the inter-speaker and inter-writer variation that occurred in the employment of relatives (Section 4.7 below).

The third type of subordinate structure is the Wh-interrogative. It is interesting to note that when delivering the written narratives participants do not express their uncertainties about certain incidents of the film. This has resulted in a

significant difference in the category of the Wh-interrogative (11.68 in speech and 4.15 in writing).

(30) NF : SN I can't.understand
why they keep a cat
if they're so poor...

(31) TB : SN they find her in a field hugging
a dead bird wrapped in a piece of newspaper
I haven't the foggiest idea
what that was about

In writing all occurrences of Wh-interrogatives are in the affirmative and are related to questioning by the characters of the film rather than the narrators themselves, (apart from two instances about the dialect spoken in the film).

(32) JI : WN On occasion it is difficult to hear what
is said

(33) CH : WN In the film Jimmy has little concept of the
reasons
why his life is so empty

(34) BN : WN Followed by the younger brother's questions
of what dead meant and heaven meant. The
brother explained.

What has also been employed by speakers in units of the following type:

(35) NF : SN Oh god what happened next?

and they mainly function as episode linkers mainly occurring at episode boundaries and are related to what Chafe (1982) has characterised as "speaker's mental process".

In all, these unit types occured (16) times in speech, (9) of which are in the narrative of (BN).

4.4.3 Adjoined Structure

Although there is no difference in frequency of occurrence between speech and writing in the category of adjoining, the type of these units as well as their behaviour is different in both deliveries.

Units that are connected by means of an adjoined relation are of the following types:

1. sequentially related in that two events or more (especially in speech) follow each other in time:

(36) MB : SN
he .. he goes beserk
he he attacks the cat
and kills it
and throws it outside the house

(37) JI : WN
The war ends,
the German has to go home.

(38) NF : WN
then suddenly the German goes
jumps on the bus
and leaves

(39) VP : WN
Jamie runs out to the railway;
listens on the track for trains
and runs up into the steam on the bridge.

In extracts (37) and (38) it is noted that units that are connected by Ø do not exceed two, whereas in the spoken versions, (extract 45) speakers often string three or four idea units one after another. (See also extract 56). Adjoining in written discourse seems to be a case of an "appended clause" (Quirk et al 1985:Ch.13) in which part of the second clause is ellipted.

2. The second unit is an expansion of the first, adding more information.

(40) VP : SN and then he heard the siren going ...
e:m. it was the siren for the mines to finish

(41) BN : SN and started combing the woman's hair
it was really long hair
she looked really bedraggled

These expansion units are also for clarification, as in the following extract:

(42) LD : SN and we saw his brother
we saw the little boy

3. Comments are also connected to neighbouring units by adjoining and these occur more in speech:

(43) BN : SN and when they got home
the cat.. had got ...
it was busily crunching on the
bird's bones
it was horrible

4. Other units give the impression that they are connected because they share some grammatical features, indeed all the above neighbouring units share grammatical features of tense, aspect or clause structure, (see Quirk et al (1985:Ch.19) for a discussion of Structural Parallelism of asyndetic clauses).

(44) VP SN they were often playing e:m
he often ate his lunch with him
you saw him several times meeting these prisoners of war

(45) CH SN you notice the absence of this German soldier
the war's ended
you see them celebrating
the German soldier is going home
he's being sent home

4.4.4 Other linking signals in speech and writing

In section (4.4.2) above the function of and then to sequentially order events has been discussed. Other expressions commonly used for the same purpose are scene organisers (next scene, the next thing, or simply next) and adverbials (time and place relaters - Quirk et al 1972); these include meanwhile, at some point, on one occasion, at home. The former are mainly concerned with narrator-based activity; ie. of narrators sequencing events in the order remembered and not necessarily in the order in which they occurred in the film. The latter describe actions and events related to specific times and places and are tied to the actual scenes that took place in the film.

	discourse markers	scene organisers	adverbials	Total Idea Units
Speech	79 (4.74%)	43 (2.58%)	76 (4.56%)	1666
Writing	--	22 (3.51%)	79 (12.61%)	626

Table (4): Other linking signals in the spoken and written narratives of "My Childhood"

The category of adverbials also include attitudinal disjuncts (Quirk et al 1972): apparently, presumably, obviously.

(46) JI : WN Evidently there is affection between them
and the German is looked upon as a father figure

(47) VP : WN On the way home he runs through
and scares a black cat
At home the older brother is chopping wood at
the table for the fire

These occur significantly more in the written version, a view which is shared by Kroll (1977) who found no occurrences of what she calls 'sentence adverbials' in the spoken sample of the data. In speech, on the other hand, narrators use the and then to move from one episode to the other.

Attitudes and comments are usually expressed in a separate unit in the spoken narratives as in extract (48) below, whereas it is integrated in the written ones (extract (49)).

(48) TB : SN and the gran's again going
stop it stop it.
lack of control

(49) TB : WN They fight
whilst their gran unsuccessfully tries to
stop them.
Obviously, she has little control over them.

In speech the verbs seem, think or thought are obviously used to fulfill the same function as that of attitudinal disjuncts in writing.

(50) TB : SN and we thought he's gone there just to wait
for the steam

(51) CL : SN they didn't seem to go back to school
I think it must have been the school holidays
or the summer

An interesting category is that of discourse markers which is largely specific to the spoken narratives. These have been discussed in the recent literature of discourse as "pragmatic particles" (Svartvik 1982), "hedges" or "colloquial expressions" (Chafe 1982). But they all refer to almost the same feature whether it is the particle well or the expressions you know, I guess or you see. In the current study these expressions are intonationally marked and either occur at unit boundary, (e.g. well, anyway) or are in a separate unit (e.g. you know) and hence are fragment unit type (3) rather than linking signals. Well is either used as an initiator at narrative boundary

(52) NP : SN e:m ... well I think .. it was basically the
story of these two boys

or as a self-editing signal

(53) CH : SN and his supposed brother
well his half brother

but most occurrences are in response to comments or questions by the interviewer.

(54) CH : SN [I] is this the beginning?

[N] well this is it
it sort of progresses

Anyway usually signals a topic or episode turning point.

(55) JI : SN and e: the e: mother was ill in some way in a hospital in e: some more remote place anyway .. something obviously happened.

It is interesting to note that the speaker in the above extract (55) begins by a pause then gradually raises the tempo, then lowers it by the time the end of the unit is reached to the extent that (place) is hardly heard. Then suddenly the tempo goes up again at anyway which clearly signals a change of topic.

So far I have discussed linkage of units by coordinate and subordinate structures showing that in fact contrary to previous studies, coordinators are significantly more frequent than subordinators in speech and writing. And that structural and occurs in writing more than in speech. The different functions of and have also been discussed showing that, in addition to linking adjacent units, it also can link larger chunks of discourse (note and in the second paragraph above). In the category of subordinate structure, although there is an overall difference between speech and writing - with more occurring in writing - when considering the different types used, we see that Wh-interrogatives occur significantly more in speech. In the category of conjunctions, it is noted that in addition to differences in frequency of occurrence, the behaviour of causals is very different in both modalities. An interesting suggestion has also emerged from the investigation, namely that participants favour different strategies when linking units whether in speech or in writing. This is now discussed.

4.5 Literate vs. Oral Strategies

It has often been claimed that speech is less complex than writing; that complex syntactic structures, like subordination or heavily premodified noun phrases with accompanying post-modification, are characteristic features of written language, while loosely organised syntax, paratactic phrases or those connected by the simple clause conjunctions: so, and, then, but; and general non-specific words and phrases - to mention just some - are features reserved for spoken discourse (Chafe 1982, Tannen 1982, Ochs 1977, Brown and Yule 1983). As I have mentioned before these differences grow out of the communicative act (spontaneous speech vs. discursive prose) rather than the mode of delivery.

Systematic examination of the 28 spoken and written narratives has shown that narrators, whether delivering speech or writing, have at their disposal two main strategies: a complex strategy achieved by "integrative" devices (that complements, non-finites, relative clauses) to combine ideas, and a simple strategy where ideas are typically connected by and, but, so.

These two strategies are best exemplified in two passages in Ong (1982) who draws a distinction between orally based thought and expression and chirographically and typographically based thought and expression. In the former 'thought and expression tend to be additive' while in the latter 'subordinate' (Ong 1982:37).

> In the beginning God created heaven and earth.
> And the earth was void and empty, and darkness
> was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit
> of God moved over the waters. And God said:

> Be light made. And light was made. And God saw the light that it was good; and he divided the light from the darkenss. And he called the light Day, and the darkness Night; and there was evening and morning one day.
> (Genesis 1:1-15))

> In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless wasteland, and darkness covered the abyss, while a mighty wind swept over the waters. Then God said, 'let there be light', and there was light. God saw how good the light was. God then separated the light from the darkness. God called the light 'day' and the darkness he called 'night'. Thus evening came, and morning followed - the first day.
> (New American Bible 1970)

In the first text, there are nine introductory and which are rendered and, when, then, thus, while in the New American. This provides "a flow of narration with the analytic, reasoned subordination that characterizes writing" (Ong 1982:37).

4.5.1 Devices for idea unit integration

In the spoken discourse of those narrating "My Childhood" units are typically strung together in a chain with no overt connecting signal. The internal construction of each unit is complete and independent.

56 NP : SN e: (tch) ... and then in the end..the German had to go back
it was the end of the war..
we saw that bonfire celebration
the German had to go back to Germany
said goodbye to the boy
he went back to the house
he was very upset
and his brother told him that him and the
grandma would look after him

Or they may be linked by the coordinating conjunctions: and, but, or conjuncts like then, so.

(57) LD SN a:nd e... but the younger had a friend.
who was one of the German prisoners of wars..
and he used to work in the turnip fields
and he used to go out
a:nd ... see this bloke

It is rewarding to assume as Chafe (1980) has - that an idea unit contains all the information a speaker can handle "in a single focus of consciousness". According to the one-clause at a time hypothesis of Pawley and Syder (1983), in speaking people can only encode ahead of time one clause of about seven to ten words. This underlies the characteristic of adjoining and conjoining style of spontanous speech. For rather than going into the venture of constructing a syntactically complex sentence not knowing exactly how they will finish it, speakers choose a rather simple strategy, stringing idea units either by ∅ marker as in extract (56) above or by what has been characterised as pragmatic and often produced as [ɒn]. And, as I have demonstrated, contrary to previous studies, structural and is actually employed in writing more than speech. In writing, because of the increased amount of time available, one has the leisure to compress and integrate idea units into syntactically complex constructions. The principal devices for integration observed in the data include:

1) Dependent clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunctions, as, when, although, whereas, while, whereupon, whilst, which are also used to link units.

(58) MB : WN
In the final scene
see the boy
following the man to the man's house
whereupon, inside, the man is spoken to
by a woman,
whilst the boy shuffles his feet outside.

(59) JI : WN
There is a rather indistinct conversation
between them
which I interpreted
as being that the mother has kept
the man and a woman (a whore) apart
and it is interpreted
that the man is the younger boy's father.

2) Participal clauses: -ing and -ed clauses used as postponed modifiers is another frequently used integrative device.

(60) NF : WN
As the youngest is digging through
the slag heap for lumps of coal
the siren in the mine goes off
denoting the end of the day shift
and so the young boy picks up his
pieces of coal,
wraps them in newspaper
and slides down the slag heap
dropping the package
as he went.

(VP) narrating this same episode uses a simpler structure, conjoining and adjoining units either by and or a Ø marker. The information expressed by a participial clause (denoting the end ...) above is expressed by an independent clause (it was the siren ...).

(61) VP : SN
and a little boy playing
on a: coal slag heap e: at the side of a mine
it looked like.
he was .. e:m rooting about in the coal for ...
he was rooting about in this . e:m slag heap ...
and he was finding bits of coal
and he was putting them in a newspaper
and then he heard the siren going ..
e:m. it was the siren for the mines to finish

But in her spoken version (NF) has used the integrative devices that typify writing:

(62) NF : SN
o:n the nearby slag heap.
there's a little boy.
abou:t ... eight years of age.
(tch) who's collecting coal.
when he sees the miners
coming out.
e:m (tch) he begins to run home.
and as a result he drops all of his coal.

which suggests that for some, speech and writing approximate each other.

3) Complement Clauses: Clauses introduced by that and to are frequently employed by narrators to combine units. Extract (60) above is a good example, as is also:

(63) CL : WN
He then went to talk to his friend
- a German P.O.W.
who was working in the village
under supervision
and it was not difficult to ascertain
that he supposedly filled
the 'father role'.

4) Relative Clauses: a feature characteristic of 'typographically based thought' is the use of relative clauses as opposed to independent clauses. In the episode where the German prisoner of war is introduced CL (extract 63), combined the clauses by the relative pronoun who. Whereas, LD (extract 57) in the spoken narrative used three ands to combine the clauses. Also in the episode where the little boy was watching the miners, VP (extract 61) used the simple conjunction and in speech. In the extract below, the speaker resorts to the more simple structure where a

'typographically based thought' participant would employ a more complex strategy.

(64) BN : SN a:nd ... there was a couple of
other boys as well
and they were stealing coal

vs.

(65) (constructed) there was a couple of other boys
who were stealing coal.

To summarise, units in spoken discourse are typically marked by Ø or the simple co-ordinator and. In other words, idea units with clause like syntactic realisation are typically independent, whereas writing is characterised by dependence at clause level.

4.5.2 Complex vs. Simple Structure

On the basis of the integrative devices outlined above, frequency of occurrences of each of the above devices has been counted for the 28 narratives and then grouped under two main headings: Complex Strategy containing the features that typify 'literate' production (relative clauses, that and to complements, participial clauses) and a simple strategy typical of 'oral' production (conjoined and adjoined clauses).

Table (5) sets out the relative frequency of Simple and Complex Strategies, for each of the 14 subjects.

4.5.2.1 Results of analysis and Discussion

NARRATOR	COMPLEX STRUCTURE		SIMPLE STRUCTURE	
	SPEECH	WRITING	SPEECH	WRITING
1. (JI)	50.0	62.3	50.0	37.7
2. (NF)	51.2	65.0	48.8	35.0
3. (BN)	34.2	33.0	65.8	67.0
4. (LD)	40.1	55.6	59.9	44.4
5. (VP)	29.6	52.9	70.4	47.1
6. (DN)	40.0	66.7	60.0	33.3
7. (NP)	31.8	42.6	68.2	57.4
8. (AA)	48.2	67.5	51.8	32.5
9. (JP)	39.8	62.5	60.2	37.5
10.(MB)	50.4	86.9	49.6	13.1
11.(CL)	48.8	60.4	51.2	39.6
12.(RC)	53.5	55.9	46.5	44.1
13.(CH)	34.6	54.2	65.4	45.8
14.(TB)	47.7	60.0	52.3	40.0

Table 5: Complex and Simple Structure in Spoken and Written Narratives (in terms of percentage)

$W < 0.01$

	Speech	Writing
mean =	42.85	58.96
S.D. =	7.98	12.40

The figures in Table (5) mainly show two things:

1) That there is a significant difference between the spoken and written narratives. The Wilcoxon test yielded a significant difference ($W < 0.01$).

2) That there is a large inter-speaker and inter-writer variation, the standard deviation (SD) values showing greater variability in the written delivery.

The above results confirm what has been discussed earlier, that although there is an overall tendency to use simple rather than complex structure in speech with this tendency reversed in writing, it is misleading to associate complexity and simplicity with writing and speech respectively, for people differ in their strategies. The spoken version of (JI, NF, AA, MB, CL, RC, TB) for example, contain complex structure as often as simple structure. Whereas, (BN, LD, VP, NP, CH) resort to employing a rather simple structure when linking units in speech.

Examining the written version shows that those who fell into the range of 40 to 50% in the use of a complex strategy in speech have scored between 55% and 65% with the exception of (MB) who employed a complex strategy of 87% when delivering the written version.

On the other hand, those who in general terms employ a simple strategy more than a complex one use similar strategies when delivering the written version (BN, NP). Similar results have been reported by Tannen (1982). Using the concept of 'idea units' she

compared the spoken and written narratives delivered by the same participant and found that written narratives often make use of certain features of spoken language such as informal register, direct quotations, and may be much longer than the spoken version. Although our subjects did not specifically transfer the features mentioned by Tannen (1982) in her study, i.e. direct quotes or informal expressions, the written and spoken versions of (BN) are much simpler than for example the narratives of (JI, NF, MB).

The observation that written discourse can exhibit strategies generally associated with speech or vice-versa, can be traced back to what Bernstein (1971) called restricted and elaborated codes. The restricted code supposedly belonged to the working class whose expressions have a formula-like quality and string thoughts together not in careful subordination but "like beads on a frame" (1971:124). The elaborated code was supposedly formed with the aid of schooling. (Bernstein now no longer uses the terms).

Bernstein did not discuss speech and writing as such and did not associate the restricted and elaborate codes with orality and literacy. But a number of studies has suggested that Bernstein's codes parallel the distinction between speech and writing (Greenfield 1972; Poole and Field 1976; Collins and Michaels 1980 and 1984).

In the present study, it would be a gross and an unforgivable mistake to associate those who employed a simple strategy as belonging to the "restricted code" and those whose narratives have been characterised as complex to the "elaborate

code". For, apart from age, sex and educational background, the study has not investigated the socioeconomic status of the participants. It is highly likely though, that the participants' educational background might have contributed to the structures of the spoken and written deliveries. Applied psychology majors, for example, being involved in experimentation, are used to taking part in empirical research themselves, approached the task as if performing a memory task (subjects BN and LD). The "requirement" of the "experiment" which is "recall", has taken precedence. There is also evidence to suggest that syntactical complexity increases with age (subject JI). Had a population been selected with much lower socioeconomic status, the relative "distance" between spoken and written performance would have been different - perhaps closer.

In the section that follows I shall cite some of the features that typify the spoken discourse of the subjects narrating "My Childhood".

4.6 Features of Spontaneity

4.6.1 Syntactic Reformulations

4.6.1.1 Left dislocation (4) : It is very common for a speaker to say the most important thing in his mind first, adding the rest of the clause as an afterthought. This type of construction allows the noun phrase to be moved to the left of a clause leaving in its place a coreferential pronoun.

(66) VP : SN the older boy's father he was called Walter

(67) TB : SN the youngest kid he spends most of his time sort of day-dreaming in a way

(68) CL : SN one of the kids he ran off up to the mine

The left-dislocated noun phrases are (the boy's father), (kid) and (kids) respectively. This construction clearly gives the speaker time to plan his utterances. If the speaker knows the topic but has not fully planned the utterance beforehand, he may begin by naming the topic then pausing for a while before continuing.

Buying encoding time underlies a somewhat similar construction where the speaker inserts a self-referential pronoun after the noun phrase in head position.

(69) JI : SN e:m... the father ... I think he came into the picture on one occasion.

(70) BN : SN the older boy ... I don't know what happened to him

Almost everyone who has reported on the syntax of spontaneous speech has noted the frequent occurrence of the above constructions (Ochs 1977; Chafe 1982; Syder and Pawley 1983).

Although this type of construction is largely limited to spoken discourse (DN) has employed it in the written version.

(71) DN : WN An aged woman, waiting outside she sent in word for an older boy

Also a speaker who has been characterised as being 'complex' said

(72) JI : SN the:.. film that I saw it was amazingly poor quality.film

But, it is noted that whereas the construction used by (VP), (CL), and (TB) above, the noun phrase and the coreferential pronoun both occurred in the same clause, in the written version of (DN) and the spoken of (JI) the coreferential pronoun is placed in a separate unit.

4.6.2 Relative Clauses in Speech

In the spoken narratives of "My Childhood" and in speech in general there are relative clauses that do not occur in writing.

(73) BN : SN a. the little boy we've seen
b. the little boy was on top of the slag heap
came along
the scene before that
we saw this man over the road

(74) LD : SN a. the grandmother threw him out.
b. the man who brought the canary

(75) NP : SN a. he was just playing and watching the other kids greeting their dads coming out of the mines

(76) TB : SN a. and points to this house in the village
b. where this bloke lives
c. that's given him some money

In (a) and (b) extract (73) above the speaker omitted the relative pronoun (the little boy whom we've seen); (the little boy who was on top of the slag heap). But while (a) can be acceptable in speech and writing, (b) is ungrammatical. Grammarians insist that Ø cannot replace the subject in a relative clause and examples like (b) above are always asterisked in grammar books. But there is mounting evidence that these types of relative clause constructions are

increasingly used in spontaneous speech (Prince 1981; Kroch and Hindle 1982; Pawley and Syder 1983).

The relative clause construction employed by (LD) extract (74) is rather interesting. The speaker instead of 'integrating' both clauses into one complex structure resulting in:

(77) the grandmother threw the man who brought the canary out

chopped the sentence into two independent clauses. This structure is similar to one that has been discussed by Keenan (1972) and Ioup and Kruse (1977) who found that students employ pronominal reflexes to help them produce complex relative clause structures. They claimed that non-subject relative clauses are inherently more complex. For example in the sentences that follow (1) is more difficult than (2).

(1) My mother brought the dress which I saw yesterday

(2) The girl who is playing hide and seek is my daughter

Thus students sometimes insert a pronominal reflex to (1) and the resultant sentence would be:

*My mother brought the dress which I saw <u>it</u> yesterday.

Keenan (1972) who tested Arab, Japanese and Chinese students gave a developmental rather than a transference explanation to the above construction. In other words it is the inherent complexities of relative clauses in English rather than the students' mother tongue that is responsible for the above asterisked structure.

Similar results have been obtained by Farag (1978) who conducted an experimental study in order to examine the types of errors made by Egyptian students in the process of acquiring relative clauses in English. The results of the study indicated that it is structural complexities that most account for students' errors. This seems to be a plausible explanation for the above construction. That is, structural complexities of certain features of the English language can be responsible for constructions that surface in the speech of those whose discourse has not been planned and edited before production.

Another construction that typifies speech is the RC of (TB) above where the clause is delayed instead of immediately following the noun.

4.6.3 Parenthetical Remarks

It is almost inevitable that a speaker who has not planned his discourse beforehand will interject remarks elaborating, reformulating, hedging, digressing and the like. In writing these usually appear between brackets, dashes or commas.

(78) MB : WN he rushes up onto the bridge
(the same one on which his brother stood
earlier)

(79) CL : WN The film portrayed part of a young boy's
(Jamie) childhood
although his "brother" - not necessarily of
the blood - and his "grandmother" also played
important roles.

In speech these 'afterthoughts' are expressed in a separate tone unit (Quirk et al 1972, Ch. 14) and sometimes with an increase in

loudness. They vary in length from the you know, I guess, type to a whole clause. Speakers who attempt to insert a long parenthetical remark are in the danger of losing track by the time the rest of the pattern is reached.

(80) LD : SN when it was the older boy's birthday ..
because you assume they were brothers
you know ..
having the same grandmother sort of thing
and ... also a man came on a push bike

(81) MB : SN the grandmother can't believe the state
I suppose it is her daughter is in

This type of remark places a burden on the speaker's memory in encoding the sentence. But a speaker who scored high in complex structures (Table (5) above) found no problem in producing a construction that is more typical of written discourse.

(82) JI SN a:nd ... a rather indistinct conversation that
was overheard between the mother and the son
who's .. not a young son
but quite old . a middle-aged man
e:m ... seem to indicate that this man had a
relationship with the boy's mother at sometime

This speaker seems to have planned each unit during the pauses (...). There is evidence to suggest that these pauses give the speaker time to formulate the next move (See Butterworth 1975:157 for a further discussion of this point) and hence contribute to the "integration" of idea units rather than to their "fragmentation". It is noted for example that (JI) whose spoken delivery contains relatively more pausing phrases, produced complex structures (Table (5) above). Whereas (VP) who narrated the film in a 'memorisation' mode - as if performing a memory task - with pauses being minimum,

has produced structures characterised by their simplicity. Her units followed one another "like beads in a frame". Studies of pauses and hesitations support the suggestion put forward in the current study mainly that pauses facilitate the production of well-formed complex structures.

Levin and Silverman (1965) observed that "high exhibitionist" subjects paused for longer periods of time than "low exhibitionist" speakers. Beattie & Bradbury have, however, reported a study by Ramsay (1966, 1968) who found the opposite, namely that introverts used longer pauses in speech than extroverts concluding that the introvert is the thoughtful type, he thinks before acting, and weighs his words more than the extrovert.

A construction that is frequently employed by speakers and causes no encoding problems is the so-called pragmatic particles (Ostman 1981): I guess, I think, you know, I suppose.

(83) LD : SN the younger boy was smiling at his grandmother
you know
as if there is a conspiracy between them

(84) BN : SN he told him he loved him
I think at one point earlier on

4.6.4 Indefinite this

In Chapter V referential strategies are fully investigated. In the present section, a further construction that appears repeatedly in speech but is totally absent from the written versions is discussed.

(85) VP : SN and she went into the: rows of children
and spoke to this e. tallish boy

(86) BN : SN and that focused on this old woman looking at the school

(87) CL : SN and then this young one ran away

Instead of employing the indefinite article "a" to introduce entities into the discourse, speakers use this. Examining occurrences of the indefinite this shows that (7.28%) of the initial referents are introduced by this rather than a (total first mentions 714). Although it has been heavily employed by some speakers (BN employed it 9.76% and VP 11.50% of the time) others seem not to favour it (speakers NF, LD, DN, AA employed it only once and speaker JI twice).

Examining the written versions shows that this is never used to refer either to new or non-new entities.

4.6.5 Fuzzy expressions

Another type of reformulation that characterises speech is found in what researchers have often referred to as hedges, softeners or fuzzy expressions. Speakers pressed for time are not very much concerned with finding the exact word or expression, thus they often hedge their utterances by expressions like sort of. Also the use of like which might be seen as the informal version of as if.

(88) TB : SN the bloke treats him like in a fatherly manner

(89) LD : SN a:nd e.. they went back to that sort of little home home which is a sort of small terraced thing

These constructions indicate a lack of concern with precise informational content

In summary, the above constructions are totally unacceptable in some form of writing and some are considered ungrammatical (Relative Clauses). So, the question is whether we can go as far as saying that the language is changing, as did Chafe (1985) who listed a number of constructions claiming that "if spoken English were left to its own development grammatical constructions that are specific to speech might sooner or later become an institutionalised part of its grammar" (1985:115). More research is needed before coming to any firm conclusions.

Having pointed to some of the syntactic constructions that typified the speech of those narrating "My Childhood" I shall move to lexis.

4.7 Lexical innovation and conservatism

As we have seen, "innovations" in syntax are finding their ways into the speech of students (oral-style relative clauses, dislocations and so on). Structures that require planning (a series of subordinate clauses inserted as a parenthetical remark for example) are commonly reserved to written discourse.

When it comes to the choice of lexical items subjects are more "conservative", although there are some attempts to "innovate" in writing; that is, using expressions that are generally

permissible in speech but not in writing because of their colloquialism.

(90) BN : WN The British soldier left his gun on the truck while he went for a pee in the field.

(91) VP : WN She then goes into lines of children and says something to a tallish boy

But generally speaking, writing is free from colloquial expressions and the all-purpose noun everything or thing as in the following:

(92) VP : SN cos e:m.. he was only a little boy in short pants and everything

(93) SN and jumped in their arms and things.

Narrators who do employ colloquial expressions in speech are cautious not to include them in the written version.

(94) TB SN and the gran doesn't like the idea of this and tells him to sod off

(95) TB WN Gran doesn't like the man and tells him to go.

(96) TB SN So presumably it's VE day at the end of the war because the next scene's of e: the German prisoner of war best togs in the field

(97) TB WN and there is a scene with Helmut, smartly dressed

4.7.1 Historical origin of nominalisation

Writing has been reputedly known to include more words that have their origin in Latin or Greek. Drawing on experience only Akinnaso (1982) has noted that spoken and written language differ in the usage of borrowed, classical and technical vocabularies. This

view is shared by a number of researchers. De Vito (1966, 1967) found that spoken language contains significantly fewer nouns of abstraction and less "difficult words". In a series of experiments, Levin, Long and Schaffer (1981) found that "under explicit instructions to be formal" subjects favoured words whose etymology is Latin or Greek over synonymous Anglo-Saxon words which suggests that Latin words are more frequently used in writing than in speech.

To investigate this tendency, the historical origin[5] of nominalisations has been examined in the (28) spoken and written narratives of "My Childhood". By nominalisation is meant the use of communication instead of communicate, the use of the abstract noun poverty instead of the adjective poor and the use of love, fight, close and start as nouns rather than verbs. By studying the historical origin of nominalisations in speech and writing I have deliberately combined two aspects that could readily be studied separately: nominalisation as being an integrative device characteristic of writing (Chafe 1982) and the study of the origin of lexical items in speech and writing. Conducting a study of lexical items with the purpose of obtaining a frequency count of Latin/Greek vs. Anglo-Saxon words would have required the data to be fed into a computer and obtaining accurate frequencies manually would have been impossible. Thus it was decided to take a definable group of words as the base for the investigations. Hence the choice of nominalisation.

4.7.1.1 Results of investigation

Nominalisation

In Chafe's written texts there are 11.5 times as many nominalisations as in his oral sample (writing 55.5 and speech 4.8 occurrence per 1000 words). In the current study, using Chafe's method of analysis it is found that the difference between speech and writing is not as striking as that reported by Chafe (1982).

Speech	Writing
104 (6.04)	90 (10.59)

Table 6: Nominalisation in the narrative of "My Childhood" (figures in brackets are occurrences per 1000 words)

This is mainly due to the type of texts used. Chafe has compared informal dinner-table conversation to informal written prose. When topic and degree of formality are under control, a different picture emerges. But that there is this difference even with topic control shows that nominalisation requires a certain amount of preplanning.

(98) JI : SN two boys were obviously very fond of each other and gave each other a lot of support

(99) MB : SN e:m ... we then go back to the young son who pays the German prisoner of war a visit

(100) CH : WN The father and mother are conspicuous by their absence.

In the above extracts narrators have probably planned the whole chunk, once embarked on the unit, which can be a difficult task for the less literate. This is in agreement with Shaughnessy (1977) who in her study of basic, intermediate and advanced 'writing' students points out that the basic writing student has difficulty predicting which derivational suffix is appropriate for a specific word and therefore resorts to the more simple form avoiding derivationals whether in speech or writing. But what is striking is the variation between participants (although not totally unexpected given the results of Table (5) above) in the use of nominalisations.

Narrator	Speech	Writing
1 (JI)	13 (12.6)	15 (29.2)
2 (NF)	5 (4.5)	8 (8.4)
3 (BN)	6 (3.4)	1 (0.9)
4 (LD)	4 (2.9)	3 (4.1)
5 (VP)	3 (1.0)	5 (8.9)
6 (DN)	10 (10.3)	2 (5.3)
7 (NP)	4 (6.0)	3 (6.1)
8 (AA)	1 (1.9)	4 (11.7)
9 (JP)	3 (4.0)	2 (4.6)
10 (MB)	16 (12.1)	10 (10.68)
11 (CL)	2 (2.6)	9 (17.6)
12 (RC)	8 (7.5)	2 (5.8)
13 (CH)	8 (6.9)	18 (37.0)
14 (TB)	21 (12.5)	8 (10.56)

Table 7: Nominalisation in speech and writing (Figure in brackets is occurrence per 1000 words

$W > 0.05$

	Speech	Writing
mean =	6.3	11.49
S.D. =	4.11	10.13

Two conclusions can be drawn from the statistical results:

1) that there is no significant difference between spoken and written deliveries in the use of nominalisation.

2) that there is a significant variability in the written narratives. That is to say some participants employ nominalisations much more frequently than others.

These results are consistent with those in Table (5) in that it shows that some participants are more literate (JI, DN, MB, TB) and are more conscious of channel differences (JI, NF, VP, AA, CL, CH) than others.

4.7.2 Latinate words

An examination of the historical origin of nominalisation shows that of the (104) nominalisations in spoken discourse (71) have their origin in Latin. Of the (90) in the written version (67) are of Latinate origin.

	Narrator	Speech	Writing
1	JI	9 (8.7)	10 (19.5)
2	NF	3 (2.7)	5 (5.2)
3	BN	3 (1.7)	- -
4	LD	3 (2.2)	3 (4.1)
5	VP	2 (0.6)	3 (5.3)
6	DN	7 (7.2)	1 (2.7)
7	NP	3 (4.5)	2 (4.1)
8	AA	- -	3 (8.7)
9	JP	1 (1.3)	2 (4.7)
10	MB	11 (8.3)	9 (9.6)
11	CL	2 (2.6)	8 (15.7)
12	RC	5 (4.7)	- -
13	CH	8 (7.0)	15 (30.7)
14	TB	14 (8.3)	6 (7.9)

Table 8: Latinate nominalisation (Figure in brackets is occurrence per 1000 words)

$W > 0.01$

The statistical results in Table 8 show that there is no significant difference between speech and writing in the employment of Latinate (or Greek) words. This is in agreement with Corson (1982) who found that whether in oral or written discourse there is a significant difference between argumentative and descriptive texts in the use of Graeco-Latin words. This finding suggests that when discourse type is controlled across both modes of delivery the difference is not statistically significant. The results of Table 8 also emphasise inter-narrator variability.

4.8 Summary

The notion of idea unit has been used in this Chapter to investigate linking signals in speech and writing. The results of the investigation have shown that coordination is more prevalent than subordination whether in spoken or written discourse, but the *and* used to link two adjacent units - characterised as structural - is used in writing more than speech. In the category of subordinate structure the study revealed that although there is an overall majority of subordinate structures in writing, a typology of structures used showed that wh-interrogative clauses are employed more in speech with relative clauses occurring slightly more frequently in writing.

An important conclusion to be drawn is that relying on quantitative methods only - as was the practice in early linguistic studies - may lead to wrong conclusions. In the category of *adjoined* structure for example, the frequency results have shown

that there is no difference between speech and writing. However, an investigation of the units linked with no overt signal showed that it is very unusual that more than two units are connected with Ø in writing, whereas in speech there are many cases in which four or five units follow one another with no overt linking signal.

The behaviour of causals (because, so) was also shown to be different in both modalities. It is noted that while in speech there is no restriction as to the number of clauses linked by so or because, in writing this tendency is limited to two adjacent clauses. These constructions are largely due to the unplanned nature of speech which has also given rise to a construction that hardly occurs in writing: a Result followed by two Causes (R + C + C).

The investigation has also revealed that it is misleading to associate speech with simplicity and writing with complexity. Rather, people have at their disposal a combination of strategies which they are inclined to use whether in their spoken or written deliveries. The study has also shown that the degree of 'literacy' does vary across the participants with some resorting to more simple structures than others, whether in speech or writing.

Footnotes

(1) Restricted to those markers that occurred at unit boundary, for example that in (the film that I saw) is not included.

(2)
Does not include phrasal coordination. For example (the boy and his grandmother).

(3)
Classified as fragment (Table (1)).

(4)
This term is used by Ross (1967).

(5)
The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology ed. C.T. Onions, Oxford Press 1966 is consulted for the etymological origin of nominalisation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Referential Expressions in Speech and Writing

5.1 Introduction

Most studies by linguists investigating the differences between speech and writing have focused more or less on the same linguistic measures whether lexical or grammatical: sentence length/clause type/T-unit; vocabulary items, Type-Token-Ratio (TTR) - the ratio of the number of different words to the total number of words; (Drieman 1962; Blankenship 1962; De Vito 1965, 1967). Subordination, complex nominal construction (non-finites, relative clauses etc) (Drieman 1962; De Vito 1967; O'Donnell 1974; Ochs 1979; Chafe 1982) have also been studied. Chafe (1982) has introduced other dimensions along which speech and writing are differentiated - "involvement" and "fragmentation" vs. "detachment" and "integration".

A linguistic measure that has been largely ignored is referential expressions. Apart from the study by Prince (1981) and Yule (1981) and also by Chafe (1982) who have discussed participant pronouns as being a symptom of speaker's "involvement", the study of reference has not been included among the linguistic measures that are repeatedly studied by those interested in differentiating between speech and writing. It will be shown in this chapter that a number of grammatical differences between speech and writing are largely attributable to differences in Referential Strategies. Relative clauses and non-finites for example, have reputedly

occurred more in written discourse - a claim that has not been refuted in Chapter IV - and these structures relate to the complex vs. simple structures of participants. But as I have already mentioned, I have only considered a small subset of relative clauses in Chapter Four.

In this chapter, referential expressions in the spoken and written narratives of "My Childhood" are investigated. The first part discusses the different functions of participant pronouns I, we, you and the demonstrative this/that. The second part is a discussion of Referential Strategies where speakers/writers' options of employing a nominal, pronominal or zero reference is investigated. Central to this investigation is the question of whether a noun phrase is new or non-new. This last question is discussed within a taxonomy of information structure put forward by Prince (1981). Directly related to the discussion of new and non-new entities is the type of qualificatory material employed by speakers vs. writers. This is discussed in the last part of this chapter.

We cannot talk of Reference without having to mention a number of concepts that have been discussed in the linguistic literature in relation to Reference: deixis, anaphora, exophora, textual relation and discourse relation. There have been numerous studies with various points of departure and it would be impracticable to try and outline them all. Instead, my discussion is limited to those studies that have direct bearing on the relation between speech and writing.

5.2 Background

It was Bühler, as early as 1934 [1], who recognised and discussed the importance of deixis, led by the insight that the meaning of deictical expressions depends on when, where and by whom they are used. Bühler draws a distinction between the "deictic aids" used for demonstratio ad oculos and those used ad phantasma. In the former the hearer is aided by the speaker's arm and pointed finger to find something there, and in the latter the narrator takes the listener into "the realm of memorable absent". Demonstratio ad oculos embraces the I, the here and the now of the discourse while in deixis at phantasma "the index finger that is used to point to the physical situation" is replaced by other "deictic aids" to point to places in the organisation of discourse. Bühler gives examples from German: in the perceptual field da (there) is a "positional deictic". It becomes anaphoric in darum (therefore) and in danach (thereafter) pointing to places in the flow of discourse. This classification underlies the more recent categorisation of person, place, time and discourse deixis discussed by Lyons (1977) and Levinson (1983). A fifth category is then added: social deixis. The categorisation of deictic expressions delineated by Levinson, 1983 can be summarised as follows.

5.3 Levinson's (1983) categories of deixis

5.3.1. Person Deixis: The grammatical category of person is defined with respect to participant roles in discourse; first person is used by the speaker to refer to himself. Second person refers to addressee. But Levinson (1983), draws attention to further

distinctions that need to be made in person deixis: between overhearers, who may be or unratified vs. ratified participants. Another distinction is speaker as opposed to source as in extract (1) said by the air-hostess.

(1) You are to fasten your seat-belts now

She is the speaker but not the source of the instructions. It will also be shown that there are differences in the function of the person pronoun we where it either denotes speaker + addressee, or speaker-addressee.

5.3.2. Time Deixis: Time adverbs such as now, then, and so on as well as time phrases like last week, or next year fall into this category.

Levinson distinguishes between the moment of utterances or coding time (CT) from the moment of reception or receiving time (RT). And he also discusses 'the pragmatically given span including CT'.

The guide touring the West End uses now with different time spans.

(2) ST1 there's a great deal to see at the Tower of London. as you probably know, and if you haven't heard already. I'll tell you right now.

(3) now if you want to have a look at the tomb of William Blythe. the commander of the Bounty. of Mutiny on the Bounty fame. It has the representation of a ball of flame on the top.

(4) we turn left here, the old Vic theatre on the right, being renovated now opening later this year.

(5) the part of London we're in now is called the West End.

(6) on the right. El Vino's Wine Bar. only up to last year they admitted women in that bar for the first time in two hundred years - - -
so they took them to court and now they have to admit women.

It is apparent that the time span for (2) is different from (4). In extract (2) the guide is referring to the moment of delivery, while in (4) now extends beyond the time of delivery or moment of delivery. now in (3) above is what Levinson calls discourse deictic and it is noticeable that this function of now is limited to chunk boundaries. One of the important differences between time and discourse deictic now is that the discourse deictic is positioned initially at the chunk boundary.

5.3.3 Place Deixis: While now establishes the time of delivery here and other spatial deictic terms establish the position of the speaker. An utterance like

(7) the church in front of you is St Bride's Church

establishes the position of the Church relative to the addressee. And

(8) the red brick building to the left of the church tower ..
is Lambeth Palace itself

establishes the position of one thing relative to another. Other pure place deictic terms are the adverbials here/there and the demonstrative pronouns this/that. The different functions of the demonstrative this/that is discussed in detail below.

5.3.4 Discourse Deixis: Bühler also discussed deictic terms or aids as he calls them used intratextually:

> "... on the one hand, an ordering in space with places in it; on the other, an ordering in the flow of discourse with places in it, or discourse parts, to which reference is made to find what was meant; and the reference is performed by and large by the same apparatus of deictic aids." (p.21).

Under the rubric discourse deixis, Levinson (1983), places a number of terms: anyway, in the next chapter, then, but and so on. These expressions according to Levinson "indicate how the utterance that contains them is a response to, or a continuation of, some portion of the prior discourse" (p.88). This seems to indicate that their function is mainly organisational, connecting one portion or chunk of discourse to another.

5.4 Deixis and Anaphora in Speech and Writing

That there are differences in the use of deixis between speech and writing has been pointed out by Bühler (1934), whose distinction between the "two modes of pointing", ad oculos and ad phantasma, reflects an awareness that the absence of a visual display in a written text changes the situation. He draws a comparison between a situation where a guide leads a group of people around the city or a museum "pointing, reaching and gazing", and a written guide where the narrator takes the narratee 'into the realm of memorable absent'. Bühler points out that

> "the situation must become different ... because the preverbal deictic aids which are indispensable for demonstratio ad oculos are absent in deixis at phantasma ... yet a rich variety of deictic words are offered ..." (p.23)

5.4.1 Lyons (1977) anaphora, deixis and universe of discourse

The visibility requirement also embraces Lyons' distinction between anaphora and pure deixis where in the latter "there will usually be some concomitant paralinguistic feature (a nod of the head, a gesture with the hand, etc.) which draws the attention of the addressee to the referent in the situation-of-utterance" (1977:661). Lyons gives the following example to explain the difference: John looked up when he came in. In the case of anaphora he in the above sentence refers to John. Whereas he bearing heavy stress in the same sentence denotes that the referent is someone other than John. This is deixis. But the issue is far from solved and the distinction between anaphora and deixis is not as straightforward as the last example seems to indicate. Lyons goes on to explain that textual co-occurrence is not a must for a pronoun to be anaphoric and introduces the concept of universe-of-discourse. For example her in "I was terribly upset to hear the news. I only saw her last week" is anaphoric "even though it is not present in the situation-of-utterance and has not been mentioned previously by either the speaker or the addressee" (1977:672). Lyons' use of anaphoric reference is thus not totally in agreement with that of Halliday and Hasan (1976) (Section 5.4.2 .) who use anaphora for textual reference only. Lyons' use of this type of anaphora has much in common with what Yule (1979) terms 'pragmatically controlled anaphora' in which a pronominal is used by a speaker with no linguistic antecedent. As in the following example by Yule (1979) [A large dog approaches (A) and (B). (A) says to (B):]

I hope it's friendly.
(original emphasis)

5.4.2 Halliday and Hasan's (1976) Anaphora and Exophora:

For Halliday and Hasan the distinction is between textual and extra-textual reference. In their study of cohesion they discuss relations that hold between items in the text by means of the cohesive devices: reference, substitution, ellipsis, reiteration, collocation and conjunction. In the following example (wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fire-proof dish) them is anaphoric to the six cooking apples in the first sentence. When reference is made not to a textual item but to the context-of-situation which "refers to all those extra-linguistic factors which have some bearing on the text itself" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:21) we are talking of another type of reference: Exophora. Halliday and Hasan exclude exophoric reference from their book length study of cohesive devices as "it does not contribute directly to cohesion".

5.4.3 Prince's (1981) Textual Relations and Discourse Model

In another vein, researchers interested in developing a theory of reference (especially Stenning 1978, Hawkins 1978; Weber 1979) offer some interesting insights into what they call textual relations and discoursal relations. According to this theory, reference is a relation between an element of the text and an entity in the discourse model. This view is contrasted to the more traditional view that reference is a relation between one element of the text (anaphor) and another element of the text (the antecedent).

Stenning (1978) argues that all reference relationships must be related to the entities in the discourse model. This view is somewhat similar to that held by Lyons (1977), who suggests that "an anaphoric pronoun refers to what its antecedent refers to" (1977:660). Here Lyons relates anaphora and deixis, regarding deixis as the ultimate or basic source of reference.

Prince (1981) also discusses the relation between text and discourse model in her study. She differentiates between what is new in the text and what is new in the discourse model.

According to Prince's 1981 model, the new status of an entity is considered from two perspectives: new to text and new to discourse. If the referring noun phrase is new to discourse it must be new to text. These are Brand new entities. If on the other hand the noun phrase is not "new" in the text it must be "old" in the discourse. These are what Prince calls Evoked. Evoked entities are of two types, textually evoked and situationally evoked. The third type is the Inferrables. A discourse entity is inferrable if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer it. An example of the last type would be her in (5.4.1) above.

By way of summing up, I shall give examples from my own data to show how they are handled by the above studies.

First: the class of demonstratives:

(9) SN and the two brothers ran up the fields to her ...
and grabbed the newspaper it was a dead bird
I don't know what the relevance of that was

In the above example that refers to all that has gone before in the episode which includes a sequence of events: first the running of the brothers and then the grabbing of the newspaper. Lyons refers to this usage as impure textual deixis. Halliday and Hasan classify it as extended reference. While, according to Prince's model that is of the inferrable type.

(10) ST3 the oldest building in London is the
White Tower,
and that's the building we concentrate on - - -

According to the traditional view of reference that is anaphoric as it refers to the White Tower. This is the one type of reference that is not controversial. But it is important to introduce here Lyons' (1977) concept of deixis. In the above example that is anaphoric and deictic at the same time as it refers to what the White Tower stands for. Another uncontroversial type of reference is that in the following:

(11) ST3 there where I'm pointing to.
with a ball of flame on the top..
that's the tomb of William Blythe.

It is exophoric according to Halliday and Hasan (1976) and a pure spatial deictic to Lyons (1977). Prince (1981) classifies this type as "situationally evoked".

Secondly the class of third person pronominal reference.

(12) BN : SN e:m ... what happened next
Oh yes there was a large bonfire
then I think it was the end of the war
and they were singing it was a long
way to Tipperary.

they above does not refer to a textual referent.

Lyons' (1977) concept of universe-of-discourse, Prince's (1981) discourse-model and Yule's (1979) pragmatically controlled anaphora come into perspective here. Interestingly in the written version of (BN) a crowd of people is used instead of they.

(13) BN : WN Next scene there was a bonfire,
and a crowd of people were singing
"it's a long way to Tipperary".

which suggests that there is a tendency to reduce inferrable pronouns in the written mode, a point that is considered in detail in section (5.8.3).

From the above discussion, we see that some of the distinctions between the different theories of Reference are mainly terminological. For example, deixis is related to Prince's Brand New Entities, but also covers Inferrables. Also, anaphora is related to that of Textually Evoked, while exophora covers Situationally Evoked.

For the purposes of the present study, the different roles ascribed to participant pronouns as well as the uses of demonstratives are investigated within the broad categorisation of deixis delineated in Levinson (1983). For although Halliday & Hasan's (1976) classification is interesting, it is felt to be not comprehensive enough to handle the different functions of personal pronouns and demonstratives. In addition, the distinction between Brand New, Evoked and Inferrable Entities investigated by Prince (1981) has been considered relevant in a study of referentials in spoken and written discourse. This is discussed in section (5.7).

5.5 Participant Pronoun

In addition to the distinction between I (+ speaker), you (+ addressee) and we (speaker + addressee), there is a need to investigate other possible "roles" which, as Levinson (1983) points out, need an independent pragmatic framework. In this section I shall investigate the different roles ascribed to the I, the you and the we. I should hasten to add that these roles are determined by the speaker/writer assumptions of his role for example as an authority thus using I; as a member of a group and hence using we, or merely as a reporter excluding himself from the group and using they.

Functions of we.

1. Solidarity: refers to the addresser + addressee

(14) ST1 well now I want to take you to see
some of the rooms
where the gentry would live..
and the first one we visit. the great dining
room...
we'll go through here
if you don't mind.

In a guided tour where one person - the guide - takes a group of people - the tourists - on a tour we which includes those that are present is largely employed by all the guides.

2. Membership: we in this category refers to the (addresser + they) where they are not necessarily present. The membership category is of two types: narrow as in the following example:

(15) ST1 and on the floor something very
very curious indeed.
in seventeen fifty the
period that we have tried to imitate
with our redecoration of this room.
we know that on the floor there was a
piece of oil cloth in a checkered design.

(16) ST4 very briefly. we have some beautiful
cast iron gates carved by a French man
Jean Tijon

Here the speaker associates himself with those concerned. In (1) he associates himself with those that are employed at the Hall, while in (4) the association is with St Paul's Cathedral. In both examples the addressees are excluded.

The association could be with a larger group: a community, a city, or even the nation as a whole. This will be called wide membership.

(17) ST3 anybody comes from Australia.
down under as we call it

(18) ST4 lots of people wondered why the Royal
wedding took place here and not
Westminster. we've never been told
any official reason.

The guide in (T4) - which is a tour of St Paul's Cathedral - is either referring to himself and those employed in the Cathedral (narrow membership) or associating himself with the British Community as a whole (wide membership).

The functional areas of you and I are not as wide as we. You is used by speakers to address the audience (+ addressee).

(19) ST2 now if you look across there you probably noticed as you were coming in that there's a large monumental building stuck on the Hill Tower.

Using you is one of the features of spontaneity that clearly "involves" the addressees and in this use it is contrasted to the impersonal one typical of written delivery.

You is also used in expressions of the following types: you see, you know.

(20) ST6 in other words my memory can go back forty years and in all that time I think it's been in the papers about once or twice you know something like that.

The two uses of you are clearly set apart prosodically with you (+ addressee) stressed. This difference is also clear when you is followed by know where both utterances are stressed.

(21) ST1 for it is not dirt as you would know it you know that it's smoke staining caused by using candles to light the room.

5.6 Uses of the demonstrative this and that:

The deictic this/that have been studied by grammarians, logicians and recently within the framework of discourse analysis.

Quirk et al (1972) discuss the pure deicitic use of the demonstrative this/that, where this implies nearness to and that remoteness from. They also discuss what they call the Emotive use of this; for example in the following sentence: (Then I saw this

girl) this implies presupposition. A somewhat different view is held by Fillmore (1982), who distinguishes between shared and unshared knowledge in the use of that and this as demonstrative determiners. In this use the demonstratives are used to identify individuals introduced in discourse rather than individuals pointed out in space. Fillmore gives the following example to show the difference between shared and unshared knowledge in the use of this/that:

(22) I was visiting this friend of mine last night.
That man is an absolute idiot.

That is used when the referent is assumed to be known to both speaker and hearer, while the speaker uses this when the referent is known to the speaker only.

A number of other uses are cited in literature, some of which are conflicting. This is cited as being employed by speakers/writers to achieve closeness, vividness or emotional involvement all of which stem from the spatio-temporal use of this (+ proximate).

On the other hand that which is related to remoteness, whether spatial or mental, is cited as being used to convey a sense of immediacy and solidarity with the hearer (see for example Lakoff 1974; Halliday and Hasan 1976).(3) Lakoff gives some interesting insights into the uses of the discourse deictic this and that. But most of the asterisked examples that are given to explain the differences in uses between the discourse and emotional deictic this and that are intepretable given the right context. For example

Lakoff claims that that has a more colloquial tone (with which I am inclined to agree) and shows that in extract (23) this is not permissible while that is:

(23) A: John likes to kick puppies

B: That) man's gonna get his one of these days!
This)

Whereas in (24) both are permissible:

(24) A: John likes to kick puppies

B: That) man has been under surveillance by the RSPCA
This) for five years now

In this section I shall discuss the uses of the so-called demonstratives in speech and writing. For it is only through investigating their uses in naturally occurring discourse - as with all deictic expressions - that we are able to fully understand their functions.

5.6.1 Contextual deictic this/that:

When reference is made to the physical setting, the distinction between this and that is rather straightforward: this (+ proximate) that (- proximate).

(25) ST3 there we are
there where I'm pointing to
with a ball of flame on the top
that's the tomb of William Blythe

(26) ST2 and in those days the workmen were
not very good at all

(27) ST3 now this morning many of us went
to Westminster Abbey

(28) this area we are in now is South London
this is called Lambeth

In (Tour 3) the 'figures' are at some distance from the "origo" which is - in this case - the coach. Thus that is almost always used to point. This is contrasted to using this when the "figure" is nearer.

The principle behind contextual reference is that there is an entity (2) in the physical setting to which the speaker points by means of the "referential expressions" - deictic and anaphoric. When no physical referents are present the same tools are used to refer to entities that are "unshared" which in this case are in the speaker's mind only.

(29) the next scene was this little boy
on top of what's it called.

This use of this is fully discussed in Chapter Four Section (4.6.4), where it is employed in the spoken version to refer to entities introduced into the discourse for the first time.

5.6.2 Textual deictic this/that:

The use of demonstratives to point to the co-text rather than the physical setting is generally related to the speakers' emotional involvement with the subject-matter of the utterance. Here this is used to achieve mental closeness while that distances the referent.

(30) ST3 it comes from Egypt.
Heliopolis where Cleopatra lived
I only say that word once on a tour

Textually speaking, Heliopolis is 'near the speaker', but it seems that because it is a foreign word and somewhat difficult to say, the speaker is distanced emotionally from 'the word'. This attitude seems also to underlie the following:

(referring to the Sun newspaper)

(31) ST3 anybody who reads that paper
look down there and you'll see the
sign of that newspaper down there.

Whereas, when the referent is the 'Houses of Parliament' or 'the pineapple', this is employed:

(32) you'll see on top of a column a pineapple
the pineapple this type of tropical fruit ...

(33) look to your left as we go across the bridge
and you have this amazing view of the Houses
of Parliament

Contrasted to the use of this before 'new' noun phrases is the use of that before 'non-new':

(34) ST2 she was confined to her house by Mary Tudor
because it was thought that she was involved
in the Thomas Wyatt uprising but when they put that
poor unfortunate gentleman on the rack and
almost tortured him to death not once did he
mention her name

Here, textual as well as cultural knowledge of participants help in the identification and interpretation of that poor unfortunate gentleman. Textually, the referent has been mentioned in the preceding unit. Contextually, the addressees have to relate between

that poor ... and the person involved in the Thomas Wyatt uprising who happens to be Thomas Wyatt,

Thus cultural as well as textual knowledge is important in tracing referents.

The last type of demonstratives discussed, is when that/this refers not to characters or objects as such, but to portions of the text which can be a series of events, proposition or chunk.

(35) ST1 (the stairs are carved to the garret storey)
but it's beautifully carved all the way
and that's something most unusual

(36) ST1 (jars that are filled with potpourri)
and they were much needed in the days
when we didn't bath as often as we do
today. I think that's the nicest way
I can put it.

(37) ST2 (filling the moat with shells)
and being the very good soldier that
he was that became an exercise for his
soldiers

There is one occurrence only of this to point to preceding events:

(38) ST4 (Thomas à Beckett's ghost was going around
at night time)
now to get over this the king said we
will name it St Thomas' Tower and we
will also build a small chapel

This suggests that there is a tendency to use that rather than this to point to chunks in the co-text in spoken discourse (see section 5.8.3).

Pointing forward in the text by means of the demonstratives is said to be restricted to this rather than that (Lakoff 1974; Halliday and Hasan 1976) However, in the current study that is also used by the guide in T3.

(39) ST3 well that's a nice way of starting the tour, isn't it this afternoon plenty of sites to see all the way through to the City of London.

(40) the bells can ring that historic London tune "oranges and lemons"

That is also used to point contextually to the physical setting and simultaneously textually to the co-text.

(41) ST4 isn't that a glorious view
looking towards the High Altar
so those that saw it
just to remind yourself
what it was like it was
a very sunny Wednesday on
that day on the 29th July 1981

Having discussed some of the functions of speech role and demonstratives in the speech of guided tours, I shall move on to investigate their functions in the controlled study. This is carried out within the framework of the study of Referential Expressions in Spoken and Written narratives.

5.7 Referential Options:

The basis for this work is Prince (1981), who develops a taxonomy that goes beyond the simplistic dichotomy of textual and extratextual relations (Section 5.4.3 above). The reason for adopting Prince's approach is that initial analysis on a sample of

the data showed that referential relationships play an important role in the syntactic differentiation of speech and writing. Also, in her study Prince reported some significant differences between the two texts analysed: an oral narrative surreptitiously recorded and the beginning of a chapter in Hymes (1974).

	Evoked	Inferrable	New
Speech	77.31	15.12	7.56
Writing	28.57	53.57	17.85

Prince (1981) Frequency of Evoked, inferrable and new entities in spoken and written texts (in terms of percentage) (4)

According to Prince the high frequency of Inferrables reflects the complexities of the written text. Entities used in writing it is claimed are of a highly complex and abstract nature. But it is apparent that these differences arise from the nature of the communicative task (narrative vs. expository prose) rather than the mode of delivery (speech vs. writing). And as Rader (1978) wisely suggests "we got nowhere by comparing "The Critique of Pure Reason" to a coffee Klatsch". (Quoted in Gumperz et al 1984).

Kroch and Hindle (1982) have also found evidence in their study of more entities of the Inferrable type in writing.

	Spoken	Written
Inferrable Entities	74 (2%)	91 (4%)
Total	3621	2368

Kroch and Hindle (1982): Frequency of inferrable entities in spoken and written texts

But when they separated nominals from pronominals a different picture emerged:

	Spoken	Written
Inferrable Pronoun	59 (20%)	13 (6%)

Kroch and Hindle (1982): Inferrable pronouns

In the category of co-referentials or evoked entities - to use Prince's term - studies of speech have shown the tendency of using pronominals rather than nominals to refer to entities already introduced into the discourse.

Clancy (1980), in the investigation of referential options in the speech of English and Japanese, has found considerably more pronominals and ellipsis reference to refer to non-new entities.

Nominal	Pronominal	Ellipsis
15.7	63.8	20.5

Clancy (1980) Referential options (in terms of percentage) used for reference in spoken English narratives

Yule (1981) added a further distinction to the category of non-new entities and that is: current non-new which is the most recent new entity; and displaced non-new are those entities that have been established previously in the discourse.

Types of non-new entities	Nominal	Pronominal	Zero
current	36	30	28
displaced	92	0	8

Yule (1981) Referential options in spoken texts (in terms of percentage) used for coreference(5)

Using Prince's (1981) categorisation of new and non-new entities (section 5.4.3 above) (Brown (1983) reports similar results to those of Yule (1981). The main finding is that the majority of forms used to refer to currently evoked entities are lexically "attenuated" (pronoun and zero).

5.7.1 Referential Options in the narrative of "My Childhood"

When narrating a story involving a number of "subjects" and "objects" a speaker/writer has to decide - among other things - whether to refer to a particular 'figure' by a full noun phrase or some less explicit form of reference: pronominals or zero.(6) (See section 5.8 below for a list of NPs excluded from the study).

Nominal:

(42) JI : SN a:nd there were. two boys. living with their old grandmother the:.. two boys were either brothers or. half brothers...

(43) CH : SN so so the lad runs out. I think Tom his name's Tommy. Tommy goes out to get Jimmy's father and e:m. Jimmy runs off.

Pronominal:

(44) VP : SN and went up to the head teacher and told her something and she

went into the: rows of children
and spoke to this e:.tallish boy.
says something to him
he promptly left the room..

Zero:

(45) LD : SN the older boy went to visit a grave.
Ø took some flowers from the grave ..
a:nd Ø took them back to the house ...
and Ø seemed to sort of throw them away.

5.7.2 Results of Analysis and Discussion:

The results of Table (9) show that there is a significant difference at the 0.001 level between spoken and written narratives in the three classes of referential options.

Since narrators are telling the same story, they are essentially dealing with the same entities. So it is somewhat surprising to find that co-referentials in the spoken versions are double those in the written ones. This, in fact, appears to be due to the repetitiveness of speech. Speakers, as opposed to writers tend to reformulate and repeat which, is apparently avoided when writing down. Writers have time to revise, refine and polish their material, an advantage not available to those "thinking on their feet". The following construction, for example, hardly ever occurs in writing:

(46) RC : SN he runs after his father
but his father's gone.

	Nominal	Pronominal	ø	Total
Speech	1055	995	203	2253
Writing	656	388	171	1215

Table 9 Frequency of co-referentials in spoken and written narratives

	Nominal	Pronominal	ø	Total
Speech	46.82%	44.16%	9.0%	100%
Writing	53.99%	31.93%	14.07%	100%

Table 10 Frequency in percentage of co-referentials

A chi square test yields $X^2 = 56.6$ with 2df, $P < 0.001$.

When considering the proportion of nominals to pronominals and zero reference (Table 10) it is found that nominals are more frequently used in both channels and are used in writing more than speech. Pronominals on the other hand, are significantly more in speech. A number of possible explanations are given below.

5.7.2.1 Environments for nominal and pronominal reference:

Examining the conditions under which a nominal rather than a pronominal is used in the spoken narratives, it is found that in episodes where both male characters are present, a full noun phrase is used together with an identificatory expression to differentiate between the boys, whereas a pronominal is employed when one of the boys dominates the episode (see below the discussion of chains of pronominals). In the following employing a pronominal in place of the younger boy would have misreferred:

(47) DN : SN e:m ... one scene was the whole family in an air-raid shelter ... and there was another man there and a younger child the younger child was sleeping.

(48) BN : SN then e: the next scene. they're all lying in bed asleep. the little boy was lying beside the grandmother.
and the older boy was lying in a bunk beside them. and the little boy asked where is mother and father

Episodes dominated by one of the characters employing a pronominal or zero in place of a nominal does not result in misreference.

(49) NF : SN so the big boy picks up the cat.. and he either strangles it or Ø beats it to death. and Ø then throws it out of the house. e:h ... (tch) and he then runs off to .. the railway line. and Ø stands on top of

the bridge. e:m as the train ... the
steam train goes underneath him.

5.7.2.2 Environments for Zero Reference

Table 10 above shows that writers employ zero reference more than speakers (14.07%, 9.01%). Zero reference occurred in both deliveries within the immediately following clause or within the same clause.

(50) RC : SN and so he runs onto the top
of this bridge
and Ø jumps onto it

(51) LD : SN and she sort of smiled
and Ø went out to the door
and Ø left him with his mother

(52) TB : SN and the nan stands there
and Ø sobs and Ø cries and Ø wails
to herself.

(53) NF : WN and so the young boy picks up
his pieces of coal
Ø wraps them in newspaper
and Ø slides down the slag heap.

Because writers can always go back and check whether they are keeping track of referents, zero is more frequently used.

Speakers on the other hand keep track by pronominals.

(54) VP : SN and there was this bustling nurse
trying to drag the sheets off this patient
who had them over her head.
and then e: she said "come on that's no way
to act when you've got visitors".
and... then she finally got the sheet down
and she said "that's a good girl"
and she treats this person in bed
as if she were a little kid - - -
and she said "I'll just comb your hair - - -
and she was brushing her hair ..

In the above episode there are six co-referential pronouns referring back to the nurse.

5.7.2.3 Speakers' strategies in assigning referential forms

The alternation between nominals and pronominals, however, is not as straightforward as it appears to be, and speakers vary greatly in their strategies of assigning one form of reference or the other, as the raw figures in Table (11) show.

Although the tendency is to employ a pronominal or zero reference to refer to an entity already introduced in the scene and when no other entity of the same sex and gender intervenes, some speakers prefer to repeat the nominal.

(55) JI : SN a:nd there were. two boys.
living with their old grandmother.
e: the two boys were either brothers
or. half brothers.
in fact they.the: younger boy was seen going..
scrapping around for coal
trying to bring a bit back with him - - -
a:nd the only other relation the younger boy
made was with e: a German prisoner-of-war
who was working the fields - - -
e: the boy was teaching him English

(56) BN : SN then the father came along
... presumably it was the father anyway.
and the father e: had a cage and
a canary.. - -
and he ran up onto the bridge.
and climbed over the bridge.

Speaker	Nominal	Pronominal	ø	Total
1 (JI)	48	47	9	104
2 (NF)	71	67	10	148
3 (BN)	134	109	44	287
4 (LD)	91	87	17	195
5 (VP)	205	188	39	432
6 (DN)	56	44	19	119
7 (NP)	28	52	11	91
8 (AA)	34	23	2	59
9 (JP	47	48	12	107
10 (MP)	82	69	18	169
11 (CL)	20	39	2	61
12 (RC)	69	58	3	130
13 (CH)	57	61	3	121
14 (TB)	113	103	14	230

Table 11 Speakers' Strategies

A chi square test yields X^2 = 66.2 with 26df P < 0.001

In the above episodes the deployment of a pronominal would not have misreferred even with the intervention of another character.

On the other hand, other speakers use pronominal and zero reference even when a listener may find difficulty deciphering the entity being referred to.

(57) VP : SN e:m the little boy was in bed with granny
and the older boy was in another bed
and he was.. asking about his mother.
and the other boy the elder boy said
that she was dead..

(58) and the Helmut came over
and Ø lifted the little boy over the fence
and he was you know messing with him
and he put him on his shoulders

The principle of current and displaced entities advocated by Yule (1981) as well as Brown (1983) and also the recency strategy by Marslen-Wilson (1982) does not hold for naturally occurring discourse of the type under investigation.

According to Yule (1981) and Brown (1983) pronominals do not refer to displaced evoked entities. Using a pronominal to refer to the most recent entity is termed a "recency strategy" by Marslen-Wilson (1982) who also rightly points out that a strictly lexically based selection strategy would run into problems and that what is needed for a successful identification of antecedent is inference on the part of the listener.

In (57) above he refers not to the current entity: the older boy but to the displaced one which is the little boy. Also the

Helmut and the little boy (58) are both successful candidates for he. But in either, listeners are probably able to decipher the right entity and the key lies in the predication assigned to the pronoun: it is Helmut who must have carried the boy, and the boy that answered the question is not the same one that asked the question (and he was asking about this mother).

5.7.2.4 Writer's strategies in assigning referential forms

While the proportion of pronominals and nominals in spoken narratives does not show that one dominates over the other (nominals occur slightly more often - 46.82% and pronominals 44.16%), in the written narratives participants tend to use nominals more to refer to non-new entities. (54% nominals and 32% pronominals). The X^2 results show that in their written deliveries participants do not vary significantly in assigning one form of reference or the other ($P > 0.10$). In speech on the other hand, there is significant variation ($P < 0.001$) which shows the cognitive constraints imposed on following referents in spoken discourse, especially when more than one character of the same sex needs to be referred to.

Writers	Nominal	Pronominal	∅	Total
1 (JI)	37	19	7	63
2 (NF)	83	43	11	137
3 (BN)	98	65	29	192
4 (LD)	58	36	17	111
5 (VP)	46	29	18	93
6 (DN)	27	5	3	35
7 (NP)	38	31	10	79
8 (AA)	23	19	7	49
9 (JP)	37	17	7	61
10 (MB)	69	32	12	113
11 (CL)	31	20	8	59
12 (RC)	30	18	10	58
13 (CH)	19	11	11	41
14 (TB)	60	43	21	124

Table 12 Writers' Strategies

$X^2 = 30.6$ 26 df $P > 0.10$

5.7.3 Chains of co referential pronouns (7)

In the speech of the fourteen narrators there are chains as long as eight in length. This tendency is very limited in the written versions of the narrative. In fact there is one occurrence only of chains of five, six and seven pronouns. Figures (1) and (2) show the distribution of pronoun chains.

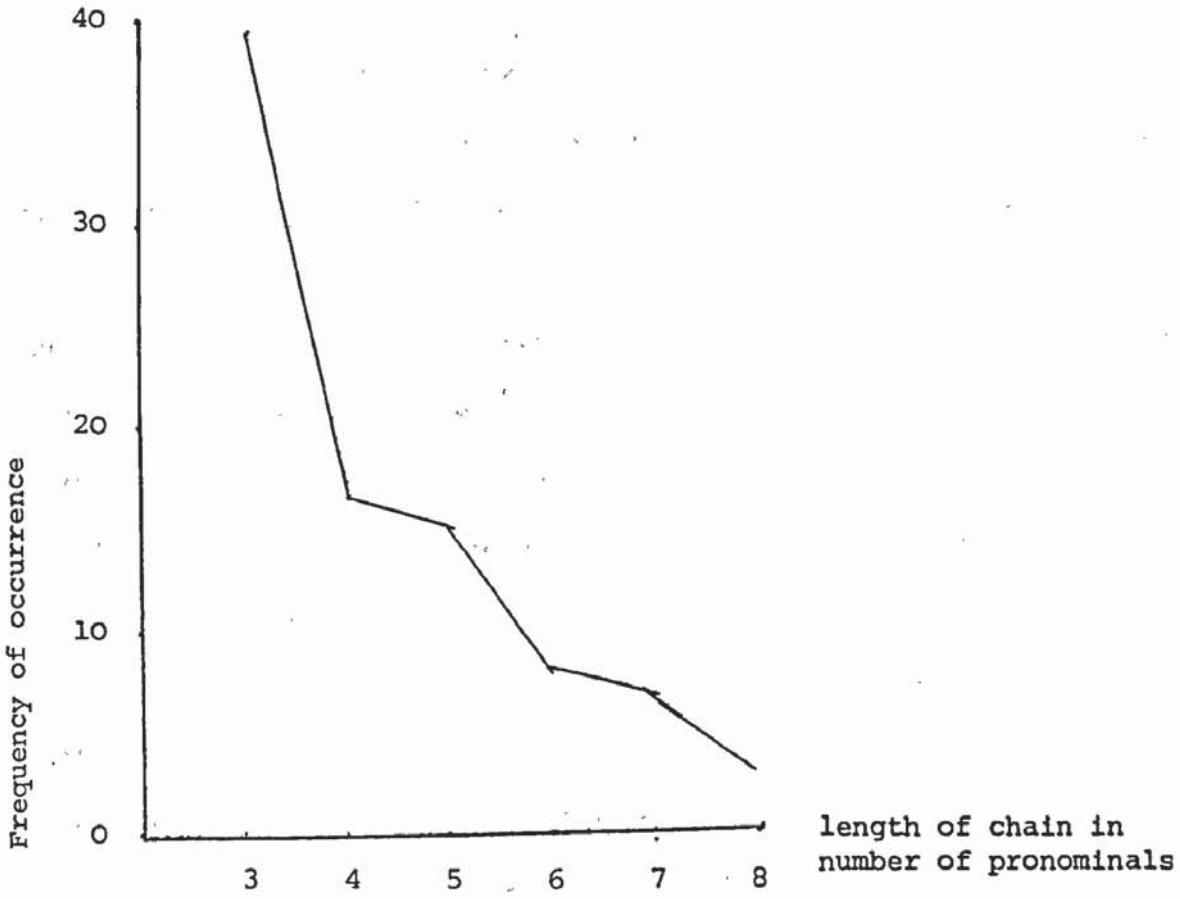


Figure 1: Pronominal chain length in spoken narratives

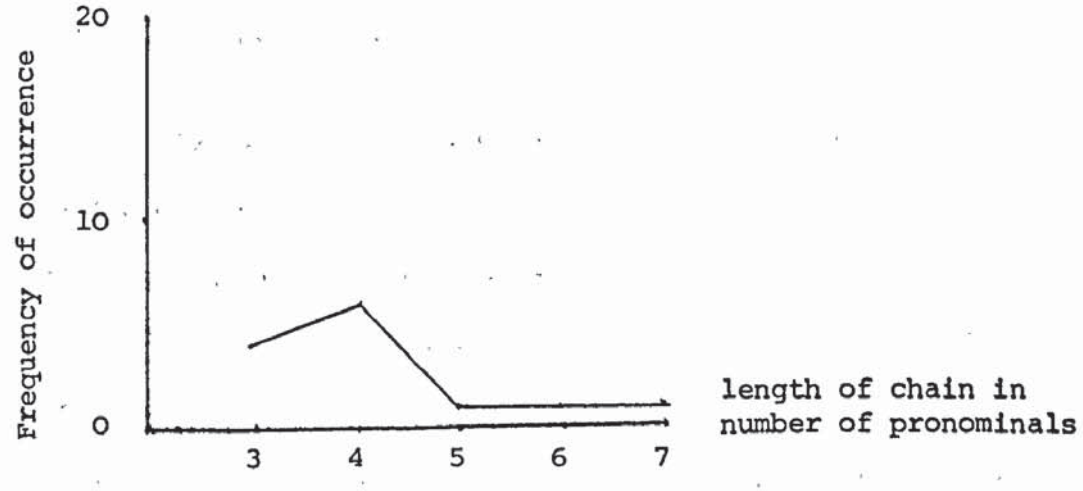


Figure 2: Pronominal chain length in written narratives

So far we have shown that, although there is an overall majority of nominals in the spoken and written narratives, in spoken more due to the repetitive nature of speech, the proportion of nominals to other options shows that the tendency in writing is to use fewer pronominals - that is, pronominals are not the most favoured option. Speakers on the other hand showed no real preference of one option over the other (46.82%) nominals and (44.16%) pronominals with zero reference being the least favoured. Calculating the chi square for the three classes of referential options, nominal, pronominal and zero in the two deliveries showed that there is a significant difference between speech and writing. It was also shown that chains of coreferential pronouns can be long in speech in a way not characteristic of writing.The results in Tables (11 and 12) also show that there is a significant difference within the spoken mode of the fourteen narrators, ie. speakers vary in assigning one option or the other; in the written version inter-individual variation is not significantly marked.

5.8 The organisation of information

The choice between nominal and pronominal referential forms has been discussed not only by a number of researchers in the field of cognitive psychology (for example Clancy 1980; Marslen-Wilson et al 1982) but also by those interested in discourse analysis (Chafe 1976; Yule, 1981; Prince, 1981; Brown and Yule, 1983). For the latter, the choice is related to what from the speaker's point of view is considered "new" and what is considered "non-new". It is with this view in mind that the study of referentials is approached.

In the following section I shall investigate the various relations that hold between entities in speech and writing. To do this I have isolated all the expressions that are used to refer to "characters" and "objects".

Excluded from the study are the following classes:

1. abstract NPs, those referred to by Lyons (1977) as entities of the second and third class.

(59) and the only other information
we are given

(60) there was very little in the
way of verbal communication

2. negative nominals and pronominals.

(61) they don't have any food
and they don't have any coal

(62) nobody has realised its his birthday.

3. nominals used for exemplification.

(63) alps for a's
and cats for c

4. NPs figuratively used.

(64) he appeared like a statue of sadness

5. time and place relators.

(at home, in the evening)

6. generalised NPs when no specific entity is being referred to.

(65) all the children went to meet them
and jumped in their arms and things

but thing in extract (66) is included in the study as it refers to a specific entity in this case 'the mother':

(66) and the little boy looked at this thing in bed
and it looked about sixty

7. NPs preceded by Wh-element

(67) I don't know whose house it was

8. NPs that describe relations

(68) he was lacking a father

9. In the class of pronominals direct quotes are excluded. Also existential it is not included in the study.

(69) and I presume the canary was dead
and it wasn't clear who killed it.

The discourse deictic it is included.

(70) the boy did it
and the grandmother did it about twice
(spitting on the doorstep)

10. possessive determiners are excluded

his grandmother

There is only one occurrence of a possessive pronoun which is included in the study.

(71) Finally Jamie decided his was a
bad lot.

The Referential Expressions investigated amounted to (3430) in spoken narratives and (1710) in written ones.

To be able to investigate whether there are differences in referential strategies between speakers and writers narrating the film of "My Childhood" referential expressions are differentiated according to whether they refer to first mentions or second or subsequent mentions. Using Prince's (1981) taxonomy (Section

5.4.3 above) entities are classified into Brand New, Inferrable and Evoked.

5.8.1 Brand New Entities (BNE)

Brand New Entities are those entities mentioned in the discourse for the first time. They are typically introduced by an indefinite expression.

(72) VP : SN and a cleaner.janitor walked in with
a bucket and mop
and put the bucket and mop down in the room

(73) BN : SN the next scene was e:m this little boy
on top of a: what's was it called

(74) and jumps onto it
and the train in fact it was a coal wagon

a cleaner, a bucket, a mop, this little boy and it are all entities introduced into the discourse for the first time. It is of interest here to note the forms used to introduce entities: a, ∅, this and pronominal it. This is in line with Chafe (1976) who notes that "definiteness is an aspect of language use independent of the relationship "new-non-new" which exists in discourse. Yule (1981) has also come to a similar conclusion when he rightly points out that a definite noun phrase is used when what is being referred to is "considered by the speaker to be identifiable by the hearer" (1981:48).

Examining the proportion of definite to indefinite Brand New Entities in speech and writing shows that out of the (466) BNE, (86) (18.45%) are preceded by the and this. In writing, on the other hand, this that preceded BNE never occur in any of the (14) written

narratives. But there are (28) nominals, which is just over 4%, that are preceded by the. These entities are often followed by a relative clause which gives the information otherwise provided by a first mention (see Hawkins (1978) for a discussion of this point).

(75) JI : WN She takes the apple the boy has brought his mother

(76) NF : WN I got the idea that the man who lived down the road was the father of the youngest boy.

(77) WN and when they return the cat is just finishing the canary.

The apple and the man have not been mentioned before and there is nothing in the discourse to suggest they are inferrable entities. Other entities are assigned a definite marker because they have probably been mentioned before in the spoken version. Hence, they are considered from the narrator's point of view non-new (e.g. cat in the extract above).

5.8.2 Evoked entities

Evoked entities are of two types, textually evoked and situationally evoked.

Textually Evoked Entities (TEE) refer to NPs that have already been introduced into the discourse.

(78) VP : SN and a cleaner. janitor walked in with a bucket and mop and put the bucket and mop down in the room

Situationally Evoked Entities (SEE) are those that are salient in the context and also refer to discourse participants. (the film in extract (79) is salient).

(79) CH : SN right ...
the film is in black and white

Participant pronouns (I, we, you) do not have the wide area of functions that they have in guided tours (5.4 above). We is used to refer to those taking part in the event (the experiment) and it is always used to denote (- addressee) and (+ speaker). Some speakers use you rather than we also to denote (- addressee) and (+ speaker). You here is very similar to impersonal one employed in writing.

(80) JI : SN and we saw a picture of the train coming towards the village

(81) VP : SN and.. you've first of all got a picture of an old lady. dressed all in black in a school yard..
e:m and inside you could hear children singing

which obviously "involves" the speaker with listeners, a feature that is absent from written discourse of the type under investigation. Writers typically employ the impersonal one in those places where speakers would use the you type. Passive construction is another typical technique in writing.

(82) MB : WN the first scene finds the cameras zooming in on the village to give one a pictorial perspective of the situation of the film.

(83) JI : WN The film starts with the elder brother being taken from school
some crisis has evidently occurred which is never explained

5.8.3 Inferrable Entities (IE)

These are entities which the speaker assumes the hearer can infer from a discourse entity already introduced and hence are preceded by a marker of 'definiteness'.

(84) VP : SN and the teacher there listening
to the children singing

(85) BN : SN the soldier that was looking
after the prisoners-of-war. (laughter) was
on the piss over the turnips.
a:nd the:n he left the gun on the van.

(86) LD : SN and they didn't tell you whose house it was

Having mentioned a school it becomes legitimate to introduce the teacher and the children. Also after mentioning at the beginning of the narrative that the film has taken place during World War II, speakers go on with the soldier then the gun and the van follow.

It is in the class of inferrable pronominals that the difference between speech and writing is most significant. For the presence of a pronominal usually signals the search for a coreferential noun phrase in the preceding text. He in extract (86) refers to the soldier. But this constraint is largely imposed on written material. In spoken discourse on the other hand, reference does not necessarily have to be intermediated by text-to-text connections. Hence the large number of pronominals with no textual antecedent.

	Speech	Writing
pronominals	140 (34.65%)	17 (10.12%)
Total (IE)	404	168

Table (13) Inferrable pronouns

The fact that none of the fourteen writers employed a third person pronominal when no textual antecedent is present (the seventeen occurrences are all demonstratives) shows that they are aware of the constraints of the written mode.

(87) BN : SN (tch) e:m... what happens next..
oh yes. there was. a large bonfire then.
I think it was the end of the war
and they were singing "it's
a long way to Tipperary

(88) WN Next scene there was a bonfire
and a crowd of people were
singing 'it's a long way to
Tipperary.

(89) CH : SN the war's ended
you see them celebrating

(90) WN The war is over
the village celebrates

(91) VP SN they were obviously taking
prisoners of war off the fields

(92) WN Helmut is then taken off in the lorry

(BN) uses the pronominal they in extract (87) above - which does not refer to a textual referent and has to be inferred from the situation. But when delivering the written version a crowd of people is employed. Also (CH) uses the nominal the village whereas the pronominal them is used in speech. It is obvious that in written discourse there is a preference for nominals or passive construction (as in 92 above) in order to avoid employing the non-specific they. But speakers rely on the fact that hearers can ask for the intended referent if and when they need to.

Other types of inferential pronouns are the class of demonstratives. In the narratives of "My Childhood", no

contextually physical entities are present, and demonstratives are mainly used to refer textually. In the discussion of the uses of this/that in guided tours, evidence was found to suggest that the tendency is to use that rather than this to point to portions of the preceding text. This tendency has been substantiated in the current investigation. For, while this is used to refer to events and portions in the preceding text in writing, speakers tend to employ that.

(93) NF : WN This is the only vaguely happy part of the film but even this is spoilt as by the end of the film the German goes back to Germany.

(94) LD : WN and they started fighting granny became very upset about this and tried to stop them.

(95) CL : WN He then forgets about this however as the miners began leaving work

(96) the elder boy returned to witness this

In (93) above the writer in employing this, is terminating a sequence of events that happened in the course of the episode under description: first that the little boy often sees his POW friend and second that he taught him to speak English. Also in (94) instead of having to repeat "the fighting" this is employed. In this sense it acts as a "terminator" usually for a sequence of events. The writer of (95) again employs this to point to two preceding events: that the boy was playing on a slag heap and collecting coal. When delivering the spoken version, the same strategy is used: terminating a sequence of events by employing a demonstrative. But that has been substituted for this.

(97) CL : SN but then he jumped on the back of this
train and shot off into the distance.
and that was the end of the film, really..

(98) LD : SN because the the older boy went
to visit the grave
took some flowers from the grave
and took them back to the house
and seem to sort of throw them
away. when he got back to the
house
e:m I found that quite hard to follow.

(99) NF : SN I don't know why he wasn't
at school in the first place
but that's what he was doing

In the above that is used in the same way as this has been used in the written version. But it seems that the span of that is wider than that of this. In (97) that does not merely point to events that occurred in the preceding episode but it refers to the whole of the narrative. The speaker in (98) is again referring to a sequence of events, visiting the grave, picking some flowers, taking them to the house, throwing them away. For one speaker however, this is the demonstrative that has been employed rather than that.

(100) MB : SN his brother isn't very pleased with him
attacks him
and the grandmother tries to end this

(101) SN the young boy goes into a graveyard
I can't understand why there's this

It can be argued that in both utterances, this is a determiner (this fight) and (this scene) and the noun is elided.

In summary, the fact that there are no occurrences of that to point to preceding events in the written version of the narratives leads

to the conclusion that <u>that</u> has a more colloquial tone. But with such limited data it is not possible to come to any firm conclusions as to the degree of colloquialism of <u>that</u>. Also, in another type of speech: news reporting, the following was heard on two different TV channels:

ITN: <u>this</u> has been the news at 5.45

BBC: and <u>that</u> was the 6 o'clock news

(both bearing heavy stress)

which suggests that the difference between <u>this</u> and <u>that</u> should not be over-emphasised.

Type of entity	Brand New	Inferrable	Textually Evoked	Situationally Evoked	Total No. of ref-erential expressions
Speech	466 (13.59%)	404 (11.77%)	2088 (60.87%)	472 (13.76%)	3430
Writing	395 (23.10%)	168 (9.82%)	1055 (61.78%)	92 (5.38%)	1710

Table (14) Types of Entities in Speech and Writing

5.8.4 Results of Analysis and Discussion

Having made these distinctions among the several types of referentials in the spoken and written discourse of "My Childhood", the study investigates the frequency of their occurrence.

A number of interesting conclusions can be drawn from Table (14).

First: Fewer new entities occur in speech. Apparently there is a limitation on the amount of new information presented in spoken discourse in general. This finding is in line with Prince (1981) who pointed out that there is a tendency to use an NP that is "as high on the Familiarity Scale as felicitously possible" in informal speech. The Familiarity Scale[8] runs as follows (see section (5.4.3) for notation).

E }
  } > I > BN
E }
 s

She adds that if a speaker chooses instead to say one lower on the scale (an inferred or a new entity) "he/she will be seen, if found out, to have been deviant in some way ..." (Prince 1981:245).

Second: In the category of textually evoked entities there is no difference between speech and writing (but see section (5.7.1) above for a discussion of nominal vs. pronominal options in both modes). For the category of situationally evoked entities there is a significant difference especially when considering pronominals only.

	Pronominal	Nominal	Total no of Referential Expression
Speech	393 (11.46)	79 (2.30)	3430
Writing	30 (1.76)	62 (3.63)	1709

Table (15) Situationally Evoked Entities (figures in brackets are percentages)

Third: More entities of the inferrable type occur in speech. In this domain speech is much more complex than writing, as the speaker can use pronouns with no textual antecedent, relying on the hearer to use inference to establish reference in a way the writer cannot. This is due to the hearer and speaker sharing the same spatio-temporal context. But obviously other types of speech situations, such as lectures and newscasts, may differ from the type under investigation in the use of inferrable entities. Prince (1981) for example reported more inferrables in the written text she analysed (a chapter from Hymes 1974).

5.9 Qualificatory clauses and phrases

It has often been claimed that speech is less explicit than writing. Gumperz et al (1984) and Michaels and Collins (1984) are of the view that writers explicitly mark informational relationships through lexis and syntax, whereas speakers mark these relationships through prosody and extralinguistic channels. Yule (1981) claims that speakers do not provide complete specifications when introducing new entities into the discourse.

In the narrative under investigation both speakers and writers added what we shall call "qualificatory" material to new entities: entities put on the counter for the first time and non-new entities: those that are referred to for the second and subsequent times.

The underlined utterances are the qualificatory types investigated:

(102) JI : SN a:nd ... a rather indistinct conversation that was overheard between the mother and the son who's .. not a young son but quite old a middle aged man e:m ...

(103) NF : SN the little boy spends most of his time teaching English to a German prisoner of war who works in the nearby fields chopping up turnips

(104) NF : SN so ... e:m I'm not quite sure what the link between the boys and this other man with the whippet is.

(105) BN : SN e:m... there were German prisoners of wars working in the fields. a:nd that focused on this old german. looking. at the school.

(106) MB : SN it's about a child of about five or six

(107) TB : SN and points to this house in the village where this bloke lives that's given him some money

In a narrative revolving around identity it becomes important to specify who and what reference is being made to, that for example it is "the man that's given him some money", not "the man who brought the canary" who lives in the village. (Subject TB).

5.9.1 Results of Investigation

Types of qualificatory material identified in the data are relative clauses, non-finite clauses and prepositional phrases. Table (16) presents the frequences of each type in both deliveries.

	Relative Clauses	Non-finites	Prepositionals	Total
Speech	103 (39.31%)	53 (20.23%)	106 (40.46%)	262
Writing	58 (38.93%)	39 (26.17%)	52 (34.90%)	149

Table 16 Qualificatory material in spoken and written narratives.

The first feature to note in the table is that spoken discourse is as explicit as written discourse and this is obvious from the frequency of relative clauses used to add further qualifications to entities. According to Quirk et al (1972:660) in saying for example: the younger boy made friends with a German prisoner who was working in the fields, the narrator is actually more explicit than in

(108) (constructed) the younger boy made friends with a German prisoner of war working in the fields

The relatively large proportion of non-finites in writing, (ing, ed) which may be regarded as reduced relative clauses, shows the tendency of 'packing more information' in written discourse (Chafe, 1982).

The behaviour of new and non-new entities shows that in fact the difference between spoken and written deliveries in the use of qualificatory material is not a difference in grammar as much as (it is one of) referential strategies, as is clear from Table 17 below.

	Relative clauses		Non-finites	
	new	non-new	new	non-new
Speech	25.19% (66)	14.12% (37)	14.12% (37)	6.11% (16)
Writing	28.19% (42)	10.74% (16)	24.16% (36)	2.01% (3)

	Prepositionals	
	new	non-new
Speech	29.39% (77)	11.07% (29)
Writing	32.21% (48)	2.68% (4)

Table (17) Qualificatory material added to <u>new</u> and <u>non-new</u> entities.

An interesting pattern emerges from these figures: writing shows more qualificatory material for new entities while speech shows this tendency for non-new entities. An entity introduced for the first time is followed by information needed in order to specify the nature of the new referent. This is achieved by mentioning a property of the referent, see (102) above. When, on the other hand, speaker/writer wants to make reference to an entity already introduced in the discourse, a description that is unique to the person/object in this context is attached to the entity. In (107) above, if the speaker had merely referred to the younger boy's father by "this bloke" ambiguity would be the result. The relative clause gives the information that serves to identify which particular person the speaker is referring to. This shows that speakers and writers give differential weight to qualificatory material attached to entities. Writers add relatively more information to new entities, which is generally related to the restriction on the amount of new entities introduced in the spoken texts (Table (17)). But the increase in the spoken texts in the amount of qualificatorary material needed to identify an entity already introduced into the discourse shows that speakers more than writers have to make sure that listeners are able to identify the person or object being referred to.

In addition to the use of the above-mentioned qualificatory material to add further information to entities, narrators, especially speakers, resort to another strategy. Instead of employing a relative clause the information is separated and expressed in the clause that follows, that is, in an independent

clause. (This feature has been referred to in Chapter IV as an adjoining relation)

(109) BN : SN and started combing the woman's hair
it was really long hair

(110) RC : SN the older lad I should say
his father turns up with a present for him
it's a bird in a cage

Speakers also add the qualifications as an afterthought in a separate unit (Fragments).

(111) LD : SN the guard that was with them.
the British soldier.
left his gun with the prisoner of war

(112) LD : SN so he runs up to the bridge.
and jumps off the bridge into the coal. wagons.
open coal wagons

These types of qualificatory material are expressed in the written texts in parenthesis and take the form of a sentence.

(113) MB : WN we then move onto the
sitting room (the same room as
the one in which the fight occurred)

5.10 Summary

In this chapter, using both statistical and discoursal methods, the investigation showed that in the domain of the noun phrase the difference between speech and writing is most profound.

First, the choice between different referential forms to refer to entities already introduced into the discourse (nominal, pronominal or zero Ø reference) was investigated in both deliveries. The statistical results show that there are significantly more co-

referential entities in the spoken narratives. This can be attributed to the repetitive nature of speech. A structure of the following type for example (he runs after his father, but his father's gone) hardly ever occurs in writing. But calculating the proportion of referential forms shows that whereas nominals are used more in the written delivery, pronominals are more frequently employed in speech. An examination of the conditions governing the choice of employing one form rather than the others shows that the tendency is to keep track of "characters" and "objects" by using a pronominal in speech and by a nominal or zero reference in writing. This phenomenon is reflected in, for example, the use of chains of co-referential pronouns, as long as eight in length in speech. This tendency is very limited in writing.

To investigate whether there is inter-narrator variation, a chi-square test was conducted. The results show that in writing there is no significant difference between narrators, whereas assigning one form of reference or the other varies significantly in the spoken delivery. It appears that when writing down people are more consistent because they have more time to plan and prepare their messages, an advantage not enjoyed by those "thinking on their feet".

Second, for the investigation of referential strategies, entities are differentiated according to whether they refer to first, or second and subsequent, mentions. The results show that compared to spoken narratives, there are almost twice as many Brand New entities in writing. Examining the forms used to introduce these entities shows that in fact a large proportion of new entities

in speech are introduced by a definite expression mainly the and this. This tendency is restricted in writing. None of the fourteen subjects use this to introduce "characters" or "objects" for the first time. In those cases where the is used in writing, usually a relative clause is attached (eg. she takes the apple, the boy has brought his mother). Other entities are assigned a definite marker because they have been mentioned before by the narrators in the spoken delivery and hence are treated as non-new.

In the category of Evoked entities, no significant difference is found between either delivery. But Situationally Evoked entities (I, you) are employed significantly more in speech (11.46% in speech and 1.76% in writing). This result is not totally unexpected. For although the speaker and listener are not engaged in a conversation, sharing the same spatio-temporal context leads to more reference to oneself as well as to the listener. Writers, on the other hand, would typically use the impersonal one.

Another interesting result concerns the category of Inferrables. In this domain speech has proved to be more complex than writing. This is reflected in the large number of pronominals with no textual antecedent. Speakers rely on the fact that hearers can ask for the intended referent if and when needed.

Third, the investigation has also revealed that contrary to what has been claimed in a number of studies, namely that speech is less explicit than writing, the current investigation demonstrates that speech is as explicit, if not more explicit than, as

writing. This is obvious from "qualificatory" clauses and phrases attached to entities. Three types are identified in the data: relative clauses, non-finite clauses and prepositional phrases. They all function to add further information about an entity. The only type that occurred more in writing is the non-finite clause. Separating "qualifications" attached to "new" entities from those attached to non-new entities shows that for the three types writing has more qualificatory material for new entities whereas speech shows this tendency for non-new entities. This leads to the conclusion that the proportional difference between speech and writing in relative clauses, non-finite clauses and prepositional phrases is not a difference in grammar as much as a difference in referential strategies.

The first part of this chapter has a discussion of the different "roles" ascribed to the I, the you and the we as they occurred in a guided tour situation. It was shown that in addition to the use of we to refer to (addressor + addressee) it can also be used to indicate (addressor + they) where they are not necessarily present. The different functions of the demonstratives this/that have also been discussed where a distinction was drawn between + physical proximity and + mental proximity. This is used to achieve physical as well as mental "closeness", whereas that distances the referent. It was also shown that there is a tendency to use that rather than this to refer to chunks in the co-text in spontaneous spoken discourse.

Footnotes

(1) Translated excerpt from German by Jarvella & Klein (1982).

(2) Something that exists and can be referred to (Lyons 1977:442).

(3) Lakoff (1974) does not mention the source of her data

(4) These figures are derived by the present analyst from the raw data of Tables (1) and (2) in Prince 1981.

(5) A modification of the table presented in Yule (1981) in which he differentiated between entities preceded by "the", "this", and "that", as well as those that contained what he terms "P" element, for example (the black square).

(6) The study is concerned with pre-verbal ellipsis only. Cases where, for example, the noun phrase is elided following a quantifier (the two) referring to (the two boys), or when an adverbial appeared with no nominal (the older, the younger) are not included in the investigation.

(7) A sequence of three or more coreferential pronouns with no intervening noun. This term was introduced by Thavenius (1982) who used it for a sequence of two or more pronouns.

(8) A modified version of Prince's (1981) scale which includes categories that are not relevant for the present study. For example entities that are in the hearer's model (Noam Chomsky) are termed Unused.

CHAPTER SIX

Overall Organisation of Narrative Discourse

6.1 Introduction

So far I have taken a rather micro-analytic approach, investigating specific features of spoken and written discourse. In this chapter a more global approach is taken: the investigation of the overall structure of narratives. Research work on narratives has been mainly undertaken by two groups: cognitive psychologists and sociolinguists.

6.1.1 Cognitive Psychology Studies

Within this tradition the main concern is with how the semantic content of texts is processed in comprehension, stored and then recalled (Rumelhart 1977; Thorndyke 1977; Mandler & Johnson 1977).

Using tools of computer science along with the methodology of cognitive psychology, a framework is developed for studying how people organise and produce narratives. Thorndyke (1977) proposes a set of hierarchical "rules" for stories containing the following components:

story ⟶ setting + theme + plot + resolution

setting ⟶ characters + location + time

The + symbol indicates the "combination of elements in sequential order", (Thorndyke 1977:80) with the "setting" appearing at the beginning and "resolution" at the end of a story. These

"structures" it is claimed are used during the comprehension and recall of stories. In a series of experiments it was found that components at the top of the hierarchy are better recalled.

Obviously, these sets of "rules" work perfectly well only for a very small class of stories, those beginning by "once upon a time" and ending by "they lived happily ever after", and many stories may have a different order. More importantly, this type of analysis, as with other models by psychologists, does not tell us the preferred realisation of linguistic items in terms of which component they realise. That actions higher in the hierarchy are better recalled than actions lower in the hierarchy is probably due to non-linguistic factors. In addition, in giving the label "grammar" to these sets of "rules", the story grammarians have equated their description with that of sentence grammar as they have themselves claimed "these schemata describe the syntax of narrative organization just as earlier phrase structure grammars describe the syntax of sentences" (Yekovich & Thorndyke 1980:29). But the term syntax implies that units with a specified meaning occur in a set order. The problem with their "components" is that they do not represent elements in a linear string, but components which are simultaneously representable in any order, and components which can be realised in a diffuse fashion throughout a text. These components are not then comparable to grammatical elements, the rules for whose realisation in linear order can be stated. They operate, rather, at the semantic, or even conceptual level.

A further problem is that Yekovich and Thorndyke do not attempt to account for inter-subject variability in narrative

production, an affect which is at least in part due to differences in background knowledge, and differences in the process of recall (See Morgan & Sellner 1980 for a critical review of this very rich field of research).

Many criticisms are directed to the story grammarians mainly from within the tradition. Brewer & Lichenstein (1982) and Stein (1982), for example, criticise their failure to differentiate between stories and non-stories or narratives and stories. Brewer & Lichenstein (1982) and Brewer (1985) lengthily discuss the differences between stories and narratives. For them, stories are seen mainly as a means of entertainment, and stories minus entertainment equal narratives. They propose three major discourse structures as being essential components of a large proportion of stories: surprise, suspense, curiosity. Stein (1982), however, strongly rejects Brewer and Lichenstein's proposals asserting that stories are told to create both pleasure and pain. Stein's (1982) and Stein & Glenn's (1979) studies are important because they have recognised the importance of investigating different versions of the same story in order "to highlight the role of the comprehender in terms of the attitudes, needs, beliefs and prior knowledge brought to the story understanding task" (1982:504).

The above studies are largely concerned with story comprehension. But story production has been relatively neglected because of the difficulties of studying spoken story telling. It is only recently that investigation has been directed to story production and mostly by psychologists who are interested in children's level of "skill" (Hidi & Hildyard, 1983, 1985, Stenning &

Mitchell 1985). These studies tend to be subjective and leave plenty of room for arbitrariness. Assigning value judgements as did Hidi & Hildyard who rated the narratives told by children as having evidence of skill, minimal evidence of skill, some measure of skill or no evidence of skill (1983:94), may be appropriate in a study which aims at investigating students' skills in placement tests Shaughnessy (1977), or to describe bad and good story-tellers (Stenning & Michell 1985). From a linguistic point of view, what is of interest is what linguistic expressions are used to express, for example, evaluative structure (Labov 1972), descriptive structure (Polanyi, 1979, 1982) or structures of expectations (Tannen 1979, 1985).

6.1.2 Sociolinguistic Studies

Another group that has shown interest in the study of narratives are (socio)-linguists who have studied the social functioning of telling stories (Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972; Polanyi 1979, 1981, 1982). Through the empirical examination of a great number of narratives known as the "fear of death monologues" by lower and middle class speakers, Labov (1972) has isolated recurrent patterns occurring at the clause level and also in the organisation of the narratives as a whole.

According to Labov's definition, before a unit can be considered a narrative, it must be temporally ordered. Example (1) is an instance of a minimal narrative (Labov 1972:360).

(1) This boy punched me
and I punched him
and the teacher came in
and stopped the fight

In addition to structuring their stories as narratives, in which the verbal sequence of clauses matches the sequence of events which actually occurred, speakers routinely evaluate some material in their stories. (See below for a comment on "evaluation"). Labov defines evaluation as

> the means used by the narrator to
> indicate the point of the narratives
>
> its raison d'etre: why it was told,
> and what the narrator is getting at ....
> (Labov 1972:366)

Other parts of the narratives are:

1. Abstract: Often speakers begin with a few clauses which summarise the entire story.

2. Orientation: Where characters, time and place of the story are outlined. It is quite common to find many progressive clauses in the orientation section.

3. Coda: Narratives are often concluded with a coda signalling that the narrative is finished. A very common coda is "that was it" or "and that was that".

These units are sequential, occurring at the beginning, middle and ending. The only component that has no fixed place in the sequence is the "evaluation" which may occur anywhere. There

are a number of devices that a speaker can use for indicating why a story is worth telling. These have also been extensively studied by Polanyi (1979) and Tannen (1980). Labov has noted that middle-class speakers use more "external evaluation", "stepping outside the narrative to lexicalize" for example (this was the best part of it). On the other hand "internal evaluation" is a characteristic feature of working class blacks. They typically evaluate through paralinguistic cues, for example a change in amplitude and/or loudness. Polanyi (1979, 1982) has isolated a number of devices that are used by Americans to indicate the point of their story and why they think it is worth telling. Among the devices listed is: repetition, hesitation, negative statement, redundancy, intensifier, lexical choice, cliche and many more others. A closer look at these devices shows that in fact the term "evaluation" whether external or internal is rather vague and can be misleading. The fact that the features listed above characterise Labov's (1972) narratives, Polyanyi's (1979) story telling, the spoken narratives of "My Childhood" as well as the spoken guided tours (see Chapter One and Section 4.6 of Chapter Four) strongly suggests that these features are of "spontaneity".

Related to Labov (1972) and Polanyi's (1979) evaluation is what Tannen (1979) has termed "structures of expectations" - a notion underlying the psychologist's concept of schemata (see below for a discussion) -but as a linguist she is mainly concerned with how "structures of expectations" affect language production and how they are represented in surface structure. In her studies Tannen (1979, 1980, 1982, 1985) focuses on culture-specific characteristics

of story-telling. She analysed narratives told by Greeks and Americans about the same events. Among her interesting findings, she found that Greeks tend to talk in terms of personal experience rather than in abstract or general terms. Americans, on the other hand, show a "stick to the facts strategy", a characteristic feature of highly-literate societies. This difference strongly suggests an oral versus literate strategy (see Chapter IV for a discussion).

The above studies represent the major investigations of stories by psychologists and (socio)linguists. Another group that has shown keen interest in the analysis of stories is the ethnomethodologist/conversation analysts who are mainly interested in the turn-taking machinery. Issues like the opening and closing of stories, the regulation of turns between participants and how turns are suspended or sustained have been the subject of numerous studies (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Shenkein (ed) 1978; Levinson 1983). These issues lie outside the scope of the present study.

6.2 Differences between "personal experience" and "recounted" narratives

From the above discussion of narrative and storytelling, it becomes obvious that the type of narrative under investigation here differs from "narratives of personal experience" and from narratives studied by story grammarians in a number of respects:

1. Creativity: the story of the spoken/written deliveries of 'My Childhood' is not created by the narrators.

2. There is no "punchline".

3. There is no protagonist and the "hero" does not have a specific "goal".

4. There is no formulaic "opening".

5. Temporal development does not constitute the backbone of the story, the story line being episodic, and consisting of events that are only connected in so far as the same characters (mostly) participate.

6.3 The Film of My Childhood

The film of "My Childhood" has been described as "an animated photograph album of images from childhood" (Wilson 1972:143). The director of the film - whose childhood is being portrayed - has mainly focused on "registering the event" which makes the temporal development of the events of the film not very clear across the film. This is echoed in the narrators' recounting of the film, especially in the spoken version where they express their discomfort as to the disjointedness of events. We also find that the order in which some of the episodes are recounted does not follow the order in which they are shown in the film. (See Appendix I). Signalling the episodes, and the process underlying their reordering is discussed in sections (6.4) and (6.5) respectively.

6.3.1 Episodic organisation

The existence of 'chunks' or paragraphs in written language is well documented in literature (Christensen 1965), and there are

numerous studies especially of written narrative discourse discussing structural markers of paragraphing (Grimes 1975; Hinds 1977; Longacre 1979). They all agree that a narrative paragraph is usually unified by a set of characters, location and time. There is also evidence to suggest that "topic changes" are the strongest signal for a need to paragraph (Hoey 1983:11). Evidence of the existence of "chunks" also occur in the deliveries of "My Childhood" where especially long hesitation occurs when there is a change of location, of time or arrival of a character. The different signals employed in speech and writing to mark "episode" are discussed below. The term "episode" is used here in the cinematographist sense of the word (Metz 1974) who define an episode as

> the sequence that strings together a number of very brief scenes, which are usually separated from each other by optical devices (dissolves, fades, wipes) and which succeed each other in chronological order.

To this characterisation I would like to add that an episode is usually unified by location, time or a character. A scene is defined as a single shot on which the camera is fixed, for example, a place, a moment in time or an action. It is important to note that what is labelled here as an episode is being referred to as scene by the subjects who were the narrators of the film.

6.3.2 Structural Signals

6.3.2.1 Scene organisers

Movement from one episode to the other is overtly signalled by expressions like (the following scene, the scene after that).

(2) TB : SN the opening scene starts off with e:m
the elder of the two sons
whose name's Tommy

(3) BN : SN next scene was the older
boy was coming back
to the house

(4) BN : WN Next scene, the younger boy went
to see the German soldier,
he was teaching him English from a book

Change of episode is not always overtly marked in the written deliveries. But usually those who employ scene organisers in their spoken version do so in the written version as well. (Subject BN).

6.3.2.2 Adverbial expression

In both deliveries narrators employ what Quirk et al (1972, 1985) term adjuncts, conjuncts and disjuncts to mark episode boundaries.

(5) JI : SN a:nd e:.. the e:. mother was. ill..
in some way. in a hospital. in e:.some.
more remote town village
e:m anyway.. something obviously
happened
because the older child was hauled
out of class. by. e:m their grandmother

(6) MB : SN the elder brother runs after his
father shouting 'don't go'.
meanwhile the younger brother e:
seems to have ... to be having ...
seems to bet to like one of the
prisoners-of-war.

Time markers are also employed at paragraph boundaries in written deliveries.

(7) NF : WN One day the boy's father arrives on
his bike and tells the eldest

he's brought him a canary for his birthday.

(8) NF : WN It is some time later when the boy returns from running after his father

6.3.2.3 Change in pitch and loudness

That there are overt phonological cues marking paragraph boundaries in speech has been discussed by Johns-Lewis (1986) who agrees with Lehiste (1975) that paragraph finality is signalled by pause, presence of laryngealisation and pre-boundary lengthening. Initiality is marked by pitch height. This is also suggested by Brazil (1975, 1979) who proposes the function of 'high key' to topic initiality. (discussed in Johns-Lewis 1986:xxi). Those who are interested in discourse analysis (Brown & Yule 1983) have also discussed pitch heightening and pitch lowering as being markers of opening and closing of "paratone" (spoken paragraph).

In the present study a change of time, place or character is clearly indicated phonologically by a number of prosodic cues. The most obvious is that of increased loudness on the first utterance, sometimes preceded by a pause filled or unfilled.

(9) JI : SN a:nd there were.two boys.living with their old grandmother.
e: the two boys were either brothers or half brothers ...
(tch) I should think one is abou:t... nine and the other pushing twelve...
e:m ... the father ... I think came into the picture on one occasion.

There is an obvious increase in loudness when (the father) is introduced. This same speaker has raised the pitch of

anyway something ... extract (5) above which clearly signals a change of topic. There is also an increase in loudness whenever there is a sudden activation of memory.

(10) NF : SN e:m god ... (tch) th:e the place where
they live is very very basic
e: they've got no comforts
a:h I remember. is . the older boy
is chopping wood
when the younger brother comes in.

The tempo of the first two clauses is very slow and the pitch is low before (ah) which is uttered with very high pitch together with the rest of the clause. An increase in loudness characterises also the introduction of conceptual terms such as love in extract (11).

(11) JI : SN e:m... but otherwise there was very
little ... love that he had from an
outsider...

6.3.2.4 Filled and unfilled Pause

The most consistent episodic signal employed by narrators is the pause. Whenever there is a change of time, place or character a period of "mental processing" occurs. In extract (12) below, the narrator has just completed the (home episode:5) where a fight took place between the two boys.

(12) LD : SN and they all sat round the fire sort of
really quiet as if . like there is
nothing else going on anyway ---
a:nd e:... but the younger boy had a
friend
who was one of the German prisoners-of-war

Narrators also employ what has been characterised as "transitions" (see Chapter 4): expressions like (Oh God, what else)

and these occur at episodic junctions together with an unfilled/filled pause.

(13) NP : S e:m ... what else .. the older boy's dad brought him a ... canary for his birthday

6.3.3 Paragraphing in Writing

Examining the written version of the narratives shows the existence of 'paragraphing'. Although the tendency is to paragraph whenever there is change, (time, place, character) participants are not very consistent and their divisions seem arbitrary. (MB) for example, has segmented the written version into twelve chunks or paragraphs. Whenever he decides to move from one location to the other, introduce a new character or push the narrative forward in time, he paragraphs. But while other narrators segment their narrative into (2) or (3) chunks with no obvious unification. (VP)'s written version is written in the form of a film script:

(14) VP : WN Situation: Scotland in 1945. POWs working on the fields.
Opening: Old woman in black ...

This is followed by one sentence paragraph (12 words) and then a long paragraph with no obvious pattern.

Paragraphing does not only coincide with a change of character, time and location. Introducing a "concept" is also paragraphed as in extracts (15,16) in which the participant introduced a new paragraph to discuss poverty and another for joy.

(15) JI : WN Poverty is extreme,

(16) JI : WN Continually exhibited is the joy the German prisoner and the younger boy have in each other's company.

From the above discussion, we can conclude that overtly signalling an episode is a feature occurring in spoken discourse more than in written discourse. In writing, dividing the narrative into 'paragraphs' - even though arbitrarily - is considered to be a sufficient signal. Keeping track of location or time by expressions like (next scene, next, the scene before this and so on) characterises speech but not writing.

6.4 Episodic Sequencing

As has been mentioned earlier, the ordering in which episodes are recounted does not necessarily follow the order in which they are sequenced in the film. It is important first to draw a distinction between story and plot as defined by cinamatogrophists. Bordwell & Thompson (1979:52) suggest that the story is "the mental reconstruction we make of the events in their chronological order and in their presumed duration and frequency". The plot on the other hand is "the way in which these events are actually presented". Thus the story is the narrator's construct which may or may not agree with the plot screened in the film. Studies of film recall believe that in watching a film in which the events are out of order, spectators mentally reorder the events into the order in which they would logically have to occur. Evidence of this reordering is demonstrated in the spoken and written narratives of "My Childhood". (See Appendix (I) for episodes of the film).

It is noted for example, that a number of narrators followed episode (3) by episode (5). Mentioning that the little boy is on a coal tip triggers the episode in which his brother fights with him because he did not bring enough coal.

(17) LD : SN a:nd e:(cough) then it showed the the younger brother
of the boy
who was taken out
e:m Jimmy I think his name was
e:m on a coal tip. pinching coal..
a:nd e:m apparently fell down the
sl .. the slack .. sort of stack
a:nd lost all the coal except the coal he had
in his pocket.
so when he got back..
e:m ... his brother started fighting
with him
because he hadn't brought enough coal
back

(CH) begins the episode by

(18) CH : WN The film moves onto the coal heaps

and ends it by

(19) He then turns and runs from the scene
he was beholding slides down a coal
heap, leaving his collection of coal
behind.

The following episode takes us to the house:

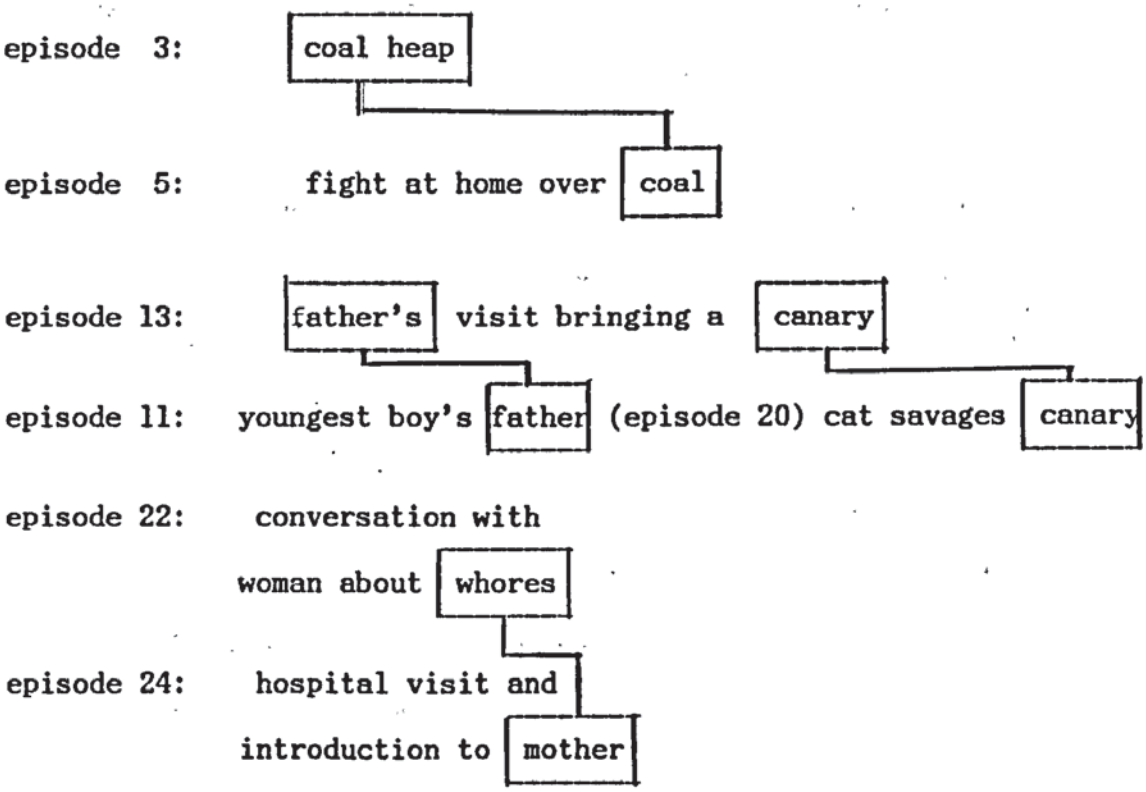
(20) We then see him entering the house.
He empties his remaining collection
of coal - four pieces.

And the POW episode is placed after it.

(21) In the following scene we first meet the German
to which the young boy becomes attached.

This triggering process operates in another sequence: the episode in which a man appears at the door with a canary (episode 13) triggers

the episode in which the "other man" is introduced (11, 16 or 22) together with the conversation with "the woman". The word 'whore' then triggers the hospital episode (24) in which the mother is introduced. The "canary episode" also triggers the episode in which the cat savages the canary (20). We can schematically represent this triggering process in the following way.



The episodes that are dropped by most narrators are those that do not fit into the logical development of the story. For example, the older boy dancing in the smoke of the train (21), the visit to a grave, or the flowers episode (10).

This pattern of sequencing, it is believed, typifies subjects who approach the narrative as if they are performing a memory task. Other subjects however, approached the film analytically.

6.5 Participants' strategies

In the current investigation, it is noted that in their recounting of events and description of characters, narrators approached the task differently - a conclusion which is difficult to come to unless one knows (the analyst) what the narrator is originally trying to say. It is noted for example, that some include as many details as possible and try to recount all the scenes of the film, while others outline the main themes of the story. These two strategies are discussed below under memorisation vs. analytic strategy. The difference between both strategies, I would like to suggest, lies in the style and extent of interpretation.

Interpretation is related here to the notion of schema advocated by psychologists who are of the view that an individual's prior experience will influence how he or she perceives, comprehends and remembers new information. Anderson et al (1977) suggest that "a text is never fully explicit, schemata provide the basis for filling gaps, the basis for inferential elaboration, the basis for positing states of affairs, not expressly mentioned, that must hold if a passage is to permit a coherent interpretation." (1977:370). Experiments carried out by psychologists (Rumelhart 1977, Mandler & Johnson 1977) have demonstrated that despite problems encountered in the comprehension of malformed stories, subjects attempt to apply schemata to insert missing elements and reorder the story in recall to conform to their ideal order.

Evidence of this is demonstrated in the current investigation where narrators tend to reorder episodes, omit and add their own interpretations (see Episodic Sequencing, Section (6.4). But participants did express their discomfort as to the disjointedness of the story of the film.

(22) AA : SN I mean usually a film has a ... you know ..
a beginning a middle and an end
and it was just seemingly unconnected
events all the way through it

(23) BN : SN Oh god .. what was the rest of it (laughter)
e:m ... another scene was ...
I don't know if I remember this in the
right order or not

The use of negative statement as Labov (1972) suggests "expressed the defeat of an expectation that something would happen" (1972:381). Examination of the written version of the narratives shows that they are completely free from any expression of defeat or discomfort. As mentioned above (Chapter Four) a direct window on a speaker's mental process (Oh God) is a characteristic feature of only spoken narratives - such windows are not available for written performance. Participants' expectations about film viewing is also evidenced in their criticism directed to the film.

(24) JP : SN I don't think it's well written

(25) DN : SN well it was .. it wasn't good quality
it looks poor quality film
it looked amateur actually

6.5.1 Analytic vs. Memorisation Strategy

That narrators are telling the same story is not to say that their verbalisation is identical. And as Tannen (1980) points out,

there is no such thing as identical content, since content is mediated by personal differences.

It is noted that in their recounting of events, some narrators include as many details as possible while others outline the main themes of the film (for example, love, poverty, depression). Compare the following extracts:

(26) BN : S the:n after that ... we saw these prisoners
of war in e:m in turnip (tch) fields.
collecting all the turnips. and the little boy.
we've seen the little boy was on top
of the slag heap. he'd come along.
and this German man ran over to the
gate where the little boy was..
and started carrying on with him.
e:m putting him on top of his
shoulders and walked around with him.
H: and took him..on when they went home

The detailed description of what went on between the German and the little boy does not feature in (CH)'s delivery who approaches the film analytically.

(27) CH : SN a:nd the little boy. Jimmy had. an
affection. for. one of the German prisoners
of war

(28) SN e:m so I mean you assume that
what Jimmy's doing with this
German prisoner-of-war is that his
father and mother aren't around
and the affection he feels and needs
this this German soldier is providing.

(29) WN Jimmy who appears to be the younger
of the two boys attempts to make
up for the missing parental love
by establishing a friendship with one of
a group of German prisoners of war
camped in the area.

In extract (26) the narrator seems to fail to use the vocabulary that leads to abstraction. Conceptual terms such as parental love, emotional disadvantage employed by (JI) suggest a literate rather than an oral strategy. (See Chapter 4 for a discussion of nominalisation).

Examining employment of conceptual terms such as the above in both deliveries shows that the tendency is to employ them in writing more than speech. This has contributed to the compactness of the written deliveries (a total number of 17217 words in spoken narratives vs. 8490 words in the written). This is in agreement with Hidi & Hildyard (1985) who point out that writers "institute on-the-spot revisions to the discourse which serve to economize in terms of lexicalization". (1985:293).

6.6 Summary

Two approaches to narratives have been discussed: that from cognitive psychology and that from sociolinguistics. Both are found to be inadequate to handle the type under investigation. The set of hierarchical rules proposed by the story grammarian appear to work only for a small class of stories. In addition, there is doubt as to whether their apparatus is capable of accounting for inter-speaker variability. "Evaluation" has featured in a number of studies by sociolinguists as being employed by narrators of "personal stories" in order to indicate why the story is worth telling. It is believed however, that, for both story grammarians and sociolinguists, the features identified and isolated as "evaluative" reflect mostly, and above all "spontaneity"

(repetition, hesitation, heightened stress, appeal to audience, redundancy) Linguists on the other hand, have studied structural markers of narrative paragraph. They agree that paragraphs in narratives, mostly in the written form, are usually unified by a set of characters, location and time.

Comparing the spoken and written narratives of "My Childhood" showed the existence of "chunks" in both deliveries. In speech the tendency is to mark the boundaries phonologically, syntactically or lexically. In the written deliveries on the other hand, by paragraph indentation.

Employing the cinematographists' characterisation of "episode", the study has shown that the organisation of both the spoken and written narratives has undergone mental reordering. Narrators have reordered some of the events into the order in which they would logically have to occur. Obviously, more work with accurate measurement is needed in this area as well as in the area of the signalling of speech paragraph boundaries.

Perhaps the most significant result of the global analysis of the data is the compactness of the written delivery (8,490 words, a mean of 606 per subject) as opposed to the spoken delivery (17,217 words, a mean of 1229 per subject). Spoken delivery requires more than twice the linguistic output of written delivery.

Finally, it has to be noted that there are considerable inter-subject differences in narrative strategy, some narrators preferring to recount detail, while others interpret underlying

meanings or themes; and some narrators chose to overtly signal episode boundaries with expressions like "the next scene", while others resorted to a different strategy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1 Summary and Conclusions

This thesis takes as its point of departure a small-scale investigation of the characteristics of spontaneous speech in guided tours. The pilot study points to a number of features of spontaneity:

1. left-dislocation
2. parallelism/repetition
3. participant pronoun
4. direct quotes
5. fuzzy expressions
6. empty language
7. frequency of coordination
8. parenthetical remarks

While the results of the small-scale, preliminary study are significant and indicative, there is a clear need for a more rigorous and tightly structured investigation, where text and external conditions are controlled, rather than simply sampled. Accordingly, a population of 14 subjects were selected, each subject providing spoken and written narratives in specific and near identical conditions. (See Chapter Three for discussion of elicitation techniques).

It must be very strongly emphasised that the analysis of the spoken and written narratives, while indicative of differences between speech and writing, (some of which are corroborated in other

studies) do not allow strong generalisations beyond the discourse type investigated, that is narrative. Comments about differences between speech and writing are intended to relate to the narrative data investigated, namely, elicited, topic controlled narratives (see Chapter 3).

The main conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of the spoken and written narratives can be summarised as follows:

1. The "blind" frequency count conducted of all signals that bound idea units shows that, whether in speech or writing, the preference is to link by coordination rather than subordination. (52% of units are linked by a coordinator in speech and 38% in writing).

2. Investigating the units linked by the coordinator and (which constituted 47% in speech and 38% in writing) shows that and which links two adjacent clauses, characterised as structural, occurs in written discourse significantly more than it occurs in spoken discourse (26% vs. 10%).

3. A large number of ands occurring in speech are found to have functions other than that of coordination. 40% of the idea units in speech are linked by what has been characterised as pragmatic and having the following functions:

i. when elongated (a:nd) it has a planning function similar to that of filled pauses (e:/e:m): planning the utterances that follow.

ii. it has a sequential function similar to then.

iii. it also has an additive function (also) where the speaker announces that he has got more to offer; and linkage in (ii) and (iii) can exceed two clauses.

iv. the and positioned at episode boundaries links larger chunks together.

4. Another multi-faceted linker is the conjunct so. In the spoken narratives, 3.66% of the idea units are linked by so, whereas 0.80% are in writing.

5. In addition to differences in frequency, the behaviour of so in speech and writing is different. It is noted that, whereas linkage is limited to two adjacent clauses in written discourse, in spoken discourse there is no such restriction. This, it is argued, is largely due to cognitive constraints imposed on planning and producing speech with no time gap. Unplannedness has also given rise to a construction whereby a series of causes follow a result, a construction that hardly occurs in writing.

6. In addition to introducing clauses of result, so also has a number of other functions: it is used as a continuative (to continue) as well as a summative recapitulating what was said before.

7. In the category of subordinatation, the frequency count shows that there is a tendency to employ complex structure in writing much more frequently than in speech (30% vs. 20%).

8. A typology of subordinate structures used shows that in fact wh-interrogative clauses are employed more frequently in speech (11.68% vs. 4.15% in writing).

9. Units that are not overtly signalled are not significantly more likely to occur in speech (12.36%) than in writing (12.46%). However, the investigation has revealed that it is very unusual for more than two clauses to be connected with Ø in the written deliveries. In the spoken narratives on the other hand, there are many cases in which four or five clauses follow one another with no overt linking signal, "like beads in a frame".

10. There is a significant difference between speech and writing in the employment of discourse markers, such as "well", "you know", "you see", "anyway". These are largely confined to speech (5% in speech vs 0% in writing) where they serve a variety of functions: self editing signals, initiating speech, or a signal of a turning point usually coinciding with an episode boundary.

11. Systematic examination of the 28 spoken and written narratives show that narrators, whether delivering speech or writing, have at their disposal two main strategies: a <u>complex</u> strategy achieved by "integrative" devices (that complements, non-finites, relative clauses) to combine idea units, and a <u>simple strategy</u> where ideas are typically connected by <u>and</u>, <u>but</u>, or <u>so</u>.

12. The statistical results of complexity and simplicity in speech and in writing show that there is a significant difference between both modes of deliveries. The Wilcoxon test yielded a

significant difference of ($W < 0.01$). However, it is suggested that it is in fact misleading to associate complexity and simplicity with writing and speech respectively, for individuals differ considerably in their strategies. The spoken version of (JI, NF, AA, MB, CL, RC, TB) for example, contains complex structure as often as simple structure. The significance of this finding is that grouped results which are treated statistically can obscure variability at the individual level.

13. In addition to the above-mentioned differences, the investigation has pointed to some of the syntactic constructions that typify speech but not writing, for example:

i. relative clauses in which the relative pronoun in subject position is deleted.

ii. relative clauses in which a pronominal reflex is inserted.

iii. indefinite this preceding entities introduced for the first time.

iv. hedging (sort of).

v. fuzzy expressions (thing, something)

14. In the category of referential expressions the study shows that there are more co-referential entities in the spoken narratives (1055 nominal and 995 pronominal in speech versus 656 and 308 in writing). A chi square test yields $X = 56.6$ with 2df, $p < 0.001$. In other words, writing is a great deal more economical in reference expressions than speech, and, conversely, spoken

discourse has more redundancy and repetitiveness than written discourse.

15. As regards the proportion of nominal, pronominal and zero reference forms, the investigation shows that nominals are more frequently used in both deliveries, in writing slightly more (46.82% in speech and 53.99% in writing). Pronominals on the other hand are employed significantly more in the spoken narratives.

16. An examination of the conditions governing the deployment of one form of reference rather than the other demonstrates that episodes dominated by more than one character trigger the employment of a nominal rather than a pronominal. In episodes that are dominated by one character, on the other hand, the tendency is to employ a pronominal in speech and zero in writing.

17. To investigate whether there is inter-narrator variation in reference, a chi-square test is conducted. The results show that, in their written deliveries, participants do not significantly vary in assigning one form of reference or the other (pronominal vs. nominal) ($p > 0.10$), whereas in speech there is highly significant variation ($p < 0.001$), which shows the cognitive constraints imposed on following referents in spoken discourse, especially when more than one character of the same sex needs to be referred to.

18. The investigation of referential strategies (Brand New, Inferred and Evoked) shows that, compared to spoken narratives, there are almost twice as many Brand New entities in writing (13.59% in speech vs. 23.10% in writing). This, it is argued, is due to the large proportion of entities in speech that are introduced by a definite expression, mainly the and this. This tendency is rare in writing. In addition, there seems to be a limitation on the amount of new information presented in speech.

19. Although there is no significant difference between speech and writing in the category of Evoked (60.87% in speech vs. 61.78% in writing), Situationally Evoked entities (I, you) are employed significantly more in speech (11.46% in the spoken narratives vs. 1.76% in the written ones). This is because participants are sharing the same spatio-temporal context.

20. In the category of Inferrables, contrary to previous studies, speech is found to be more complex than writing. This is reflected in the large number of pronominals with no antecedent. Of the 404 inferrable entities in speech, 140 (34.65%) are pronominals with no antecedent, that is, inferred from the narration; of the 168 in the written deliveries, 17, which is just over 10%, are inferrable (demonstrative) pronouns. The fact that none of the fourteen narrators employed a third person inferrable pronoun, shows that they are aware of the constraints of the written mode.

21. The claim that speech is less explicit than writing is refuted in the current investigation. Qualificatory clauses attached to

non-new entities, that is, those that function to give additional information, are found to occur more in speech. This finding shows that, in fact, the difference between speech and writing is not an absolute difference in grammar, but rather one of referential strategies.

22. The evidence obtained from investigating the overall organisation suggests that "chunks" semantically identified in terms of change of time, place, or character, are signalled by various prosodic, lexical and syntactic means. The demarcation of episodes is achieved by a selection from, or combination of, an abrupt acceleration of tempo; a sudden rise in pitch; a long pause; or an expression such as anyway, now, next or next scene. In writing, on the other hand, the tendency is to paragraph not with an overt linguistic signal, but by indentation.

23. Another significant result is the compactness of the written delivery (8490 words, X = 606 (where X = mean per narrator)) as opposed to the spoken delivery (17217 words, X = 1230). Spoken delivery requires more than twice the linguistic output of written delivery.

7.2 Implication for a Linguistic Theory

On the basis of the data examined, there is no doubt that unplanned spontaneous speech exhibits features that set it apart from planned, thought-about written language. When speaking, people often hesitate, pause, repeat and employ constructions that appear to defy the traditional standards of syntactic well-formedness or grammaticality as they have been defined for written discourse.

These findings do not imply that speakers' language is ungrammatical. However, they do imply that the structure of speech is significantly different from that of most formal written language. For example, traditional methods of syntactic analysis presuppose that texts can be neatly segmented into clauses and sentences. When segmentation of spontaneous speech in terms of sentences is attempted, problems are encountered. The idea unit used in the current study is believed to be a reliable method as it can be objectively identified in both spoken and written discourse. Expressions like you know, or you see which have been ignored in syntactic theories, have an important function in speech: they create interactivity. By using them, the speaker manages to "involve" the listener. Other constructions can be explicable with reference to a theory of cognitive processing: For example, left dislocation in which the speaker names the topic, pauses, then adds the rest of the clause, the function of this device probably being one of cognitive focusing. In texts in which interactants are engaged in a conversation, left-dislocation, it is suggested, is to be employed as a floor-holder (Pawley and Syder 1983). But in situations in which the speaker is not jeopardised by floor-loss, left-dislocation is believed to be used to draw attention to (by naming) the topic first, that is, to what is being discussed. For example:

GT1 these huge mandarine jars
they serve a particular purpose

but can also provide a convenient means for planning the utterances that follow.

BN: SN the older boy ... I don't know
what happened to him.

Causal relations, in which a series of causes follow the result (Result + Cause + Cause), as well as pauses and hesitation phases are also found to be necessary for cognitive processing.

In speech, thus, interactional and cognitive considerations are found to override syntactic ones.

In conclusion, the observations in the current study emphasise the importance of incorporating description of spoken discourse into standard descriptions of English language.

7.3 Suggestion for Future Research

There is evidence to suggest that there are occupational differences in story-telling (Rimmer, 1986). It would be of interest, thus, to investigate the speech and writing of those who do not spend their time immersed in books. Differences in written and spoken texts across class, education or occupation is recommended. Of paramount importance is the need for future research to investigate clearly defined discourse types, in spoken and written form, so that understanding of structure in spoken and written language can be extended, without premature overgeneralisation.

The comparison of speech and writing in other cultures can be fruitful. Steps have already been taken in this direction. Tannen (1980, 1985) has contrasted oral and literate strategies of Greeks and Americans, Clancy (1980) has compared spoken and written texts in Japanese; and Li & Thompson (1982) in Chinese.

Other aspects can also be investigated: what structures in writing parallel the functions of prosody in speech. For instance, topic development and topic maintenance have largely prosodic realisation in speech. How are they realised in writing?

Finally, it is recommended that the type of analysis carried out in the present study be extended to include other text types. It has been demonstrated (Fox, 1984) for example that anaphoric patterns of one text-type are different from other text-types (in narratives they are different from those in argumentative texts or conversation texts).

In addition, features of spontaneity identified across the six guided tours as well as in the spoken narratives of "My Childhood" call for extending the study of spontaneity to other instances of speech: telephone calls, lectures, broadcast interviews, as well as to written discourse which lies towards the informal, unplanned end of the spontaneous/non-spontaneous continuum (for example letters).

The observations obtained from such studies would undoubtedly contribute to the linguistic description of English which has for long been directed towards models and methods suited to the analysis of planned, and formal language.

APPENDIX I

Episodic Organisation of the Plot of "My Childhood"

Episode 1: panoramic view of a village with subtitles giving place and time of events.

Episode 2: school children singing "All things bright and beautiful" - boy leaves school (Jamie) - meets an old lady outside school - leaves with her.

Episode 3: younger boy (Tommy) scrapping for coal - miners coming out of mine - meet their children - young boy runs down tip.

Episode 4: P.O.W.s working in field - one of them talks to the little boy and then leaves with them on truck.

Episode 5: house scene - fight between the two boys - grandmother tries to stop them.

Episode 6: sitting by the fireside.

Episode 7: night time - young boy asks about his parents - grandmother weeping and wailing.

Episode 8: early morning - young boy leaves on truck with P.O.W. - teaches him English.

Episode 9: German man (Helmut) reading an English book.

Episode 10: Jamie picking flowers via grave yard.

Episode 11: a man living in the village walks his dog - grandmother spits on his doorstep.

Episode 12: Jamie gives his grandmother a cupful of hot water to warm her hands.

Episode 13: "man" arrives on a bike (Jamie's father) - gives him a canary as a birthday present - grandmother throws him out - boy runs after him.

Episode 14: grandmother tries to smash the cage with the canary - boy rescues it and hides it in cellar.

Episode 15: Tommy chases a cat and takes it as a pet.

Episode 16: the man living down the village calls the little boy and gives him some money.

Episode 17: German man playing with Tommy - teaches him German.

shows Tommy a house and tells him that his father lives there (Tommy's father) - Tommy knocks on door but nobody answers.

Episode 19: air raid shelter - old man singing - Tommy tries to steal an apple from a sleeping boy.

Episode 20: back at house - cage on floor - canary is savaged - older boy kills cat and throws it in road.

Episode 21: Jamie flinging his arms in smoke of train as it passes underneath bridge.

Episode 22: Tommy peeps through the window of "the man" living down the village - hears woman inside telling him that "she" was a whore.

Episode 23: boy on bus with grandmother - no money to pay tickets - figure in fields.

Episode 24: visit to hospital (mental hosptial) - nurse tidying up woman in bed (boy's mother) - grandmother weeps.

Episode 25: grandmother in field wailing - boys run towards her - take her back home.

Episode 26: fire celebration - a crowd of people singing "It's a long way to Tipperary".

Episode 27: German man and Tommy flying a kite in field - German leaves on a bus - boy runs after him shouting "Helmut".

Episode 28: Tommy upset - older boy comforts him.

Episode 29: boys preparing food - cutting a loaf of bread - granny is found dead - older boy leaves to fetch his dad.

Episode 30: young boy runs away - goes to railway line - listens to a train coming - jumps on top of it landing on one of the carriages - the train disappears in the distance.

(This is not a detailed outline of all the scenes and episodes in the film).

APPENDIX II

WRITTEN NARRATIVES

1. JJ The film is set in a Scottish mining village in 1945. The quality of the film is bad & many images are indistinct. On occasion it is difficult to hear what is said.

2 boys, one aged about 9 & the other 11 or so were being brought up by their proud old grandmother in some considerable poverty. The impression is that they were half brothers by different fathers, & that they were illegitimate.

The film starts with the elder brother being taken from school during assembly by the grandmother. Some crisis has evidently occurred which is never explained. The other brother is picked scrabbling about a slag heap collecting coal in a paper bag. He abandoned it & looks from the top towards the mine where miners are emerging from their shift & being greeted by their sons. It is apparent he lacks a father but he is next seen greeting a German prisoner of war who is working in the fields. Evidently there is a genuine affection between them & the German is looked upon as a father figure. On returning the younger boy is taken to task by the elder for only bringing 4 lumps of coal - they fight.

The older boy is given a birthday present of caged birds by "his" father. (the boys twig that they have different fathers who take no interest in them). The proud old grandmother kicks the man out. The younger boy is given money by another man. This man is not young & lives with his mother nearby. There is rather indistinct conversation between them which I interpreted as being that the mother has kept the man & a woman (a "whore") apart & it is interpreted that the man is the younger boy's father. The younger boy and grandmother go by bus to a town to visit his mother. She is bed bound in hospital & as the nurse tidies her up in readiness for visiting she takes the apple the boy has brought his mother. The mother does not speak, the grandmother sobs, & the mother, who looks very ill (either mentally or physically) draws the bedding over her face as though in shame.

Poverty is extreme, and on returning from an air raid shelter after an air raid warning, find the cat has been eating the bird. The older boy kills the cat which the younger loves.

Continually exhibited is the joy the German prisoner & the younger boy have in each others company. The boy teaches the German English.

The war ends, the German has to go home & the boy is devastated. His older brother (they are obviously very

supportive to each other in spite of quarrels) tries to comfort him.

The grandmother dies, the young boy dashes out to lay his head on the railway line. He appears to have second thoughts. A boy (? the elder) is seen dashing over the railway footbridge & climbing over its wire barrier to fall onto the line. The train passes; it is unknown whether one or both have killed themselves. One assumes not or the film would not be so entitled.

It is a very depressing and miserable film portraying the extremity and desperation of their poverty.

2.NF The film tells the story of two brothers who live in a Scottish mining town about 1945. Generally I found it a totally pointless work, showing nothing but misery and deprivation. The story line was also hard to follow if it existed at all.

The two brothers live with their grand mother because their mother is in hospital & relations with their father seem strained. The eldest of the two is about 14, the youngest about 10 & the first you see of them is the youngest collecting coal from a nearby slag-heap & the eldest being collected from school by his grandmother.

As the youngest is digging through the slag-heap for lumps of coal the siren in the mine goes off, denoting the end of the day shift & so the young boy picks up his pieces of coal, wraps them in newspaper & slides down the slag heap dropping the package as he went. As he's just about to disappear over the top of the heap, he looks back to see the children of the miners running to meet their fathers.

Whilst the boy is collecting coal his elder brother is at school, presumably at Assembly, singing "All things bright and beautiful". The janitor gives the teacher a message & the boy goes out to the playground where his grandmother is waiting to take him home.

On his way home the younger brother stops to see his German prisoner of war friend. They are chopping up turnips but he stops his work to speak to the boy.

At home his brother is trying to prepare a fire by chopping up wood & rolling bits of newspaper. When he sees that the little brother has only produced four bits of coal from his packet he begins to lay into him with the result that the grandmother (who up until now has simply sat in her rocking chair looking desperately unhappy) tries to break the fight

up without much success. Later in the evening, however, the three sit infront of the blazing fire the older brother puts his arm around his little brother which would seem to indicate they have made up.

Their home is small, bare & in poor repair, & they seem to live on the top floor of an old building. The little boy shares a bed with granny who cries at night about her daughter. Often the little brother went to see his POW friend & taught him to speak English. This is the only vaguely happy part of the film, but even this is spoilt as by the end of the film the German goes back to Germany. You see him & the boy flying a kite then suddenly the German goes, jumps on the bus & is gone foreover. The boy shouts after him. One day the boy's father arrives on his bike & tells the eldest he's brought him a canary for his birthday. Nobody else had realised it was his birthday. The grandmother becomes irate telling her son-in-law to clear off & takes his bird with him. He does go & his eldest son runs after him asking him to come back but he doesn't. Later the boys discuss "their father" & the eldest whispers something to the other.

It is some time later when the boy returns from running after his father & he is just in time to see his grandmother try to batter the bird & cage to death. He rescues both & keeps it by hiding it. Unfortunately, however one day they have to go into an air-raid shelter & when they return the cat is just finishing off the canary. A struggle ensues as the older boy tries to kill the cat & the little one to rescue it but the eldest finally wins, kills the cat & throws it from the front door down the stairs onto the road. He then goes & dances in the steam of a train whilst it goes under the railway bridge.

Although I don't think there was anything specific said to lead to my conclusion, I got the idea that the man who lived down the road was the father of the younger boy. At one point he gives the boy some money & at another the woman who lives with the man tells him to remember that she took him in when no one else would have him & that "she was just a whore". Could this mean the boy's mother as when he knocks on the door no one answers.

One day the grandmother & the youngest go on the bus to see his mother. On the bus they pretend not to have any money & the bus conductress lets them off. The boy pulls out an apple from his grandmother's bag. Apples keep popping up. Whilst in the air-raid shelter the little one wants to take the apple of a girl in the shelter who is asleep. At the hospital the boy puts the apple on his mother's bed & the nurse puts it in her pocket.

The nurse brushes his mother's hair & straightens the sheets but the woman in the bed just stares blankly. The nurse tells the boy to say hello to his mother but all he can do is

stare miserably at his mother & accuses the nurse of taking his apple. She says nothing. The grandmother starts to cry.

Finally, the boys wake up one morning to find granny dead in her chair. The eldest goes off to find one of their fathers & the little one runs down to the rail way line & jumps from the bridge onto the top of a coal truck as it goes by.

3.BN The film started with a scene showing a Scottish mining village, in 1945, German POW's working in the fields. An old woman was standing outside a school, and a caretaker went into the school & gave the teacher a message while the school was singing, "all things bright & beautiful". The teacher walked into the group and gave a boy of approx. 9-10 yrs old the message. The boy went out of the room and met the old woman. They both walked out of the school yard & he helped her home.

Next scene - a younger boy - approx 7 yrs old was stealing coal off a slag heap, a siren went and all the miners came up from the pit; a group of boys met the miners presumably their fathers, the younger boy stood watching at the top of the pit, he had no father. He ran off to a field where a group of german soldiers were gathering turnips; one older POWs went over to the gate and put the young boy on his shoulders they were leaving so the young boy got on the back of a truck with the rest of the men, wearing the POWs hat. The British soldier left his gun on the truck while he went for a pee in the field. None of the Germans attempted to go for the gun. They dropped the boy off before they went to the POW camp; the boy was cross because the soldier took his cap back.

The boy went back to his home; and gave the older boy & his gran a few pieces of coal (4), the older brother was very cross because he has not got any more & they started fighting, the gran broke the fight up, and they lit the fire and sat around it watching.

Next they were all lying in bed, the younger brother beside the gran and the older brother in a bed of his own. The younger brother asked where's my ma & pa, & the older brother said they're dead, they've gone to heaven. Followed by the younger brothers questions of what dead & heaven meant. The older brother explained and the younger brother went to sleep. The gran at the end of this scene, was left crying.

Next scene, the younger boy went to see the German soldier, he was teaching him English from a book when they let the boy off the truck, he let the German keep the book. He went home. Then their father came to see them, and brought a canary in a cage for their birthday. The boys said nothing. The gran shouted at the father to get out, while the younger

brother was smiling. The father left on his bike and the older brother ran after his Dad, but could not catch him. He walked slowly back to his house, and heard his gran cursing the bird, and heard her banging at the cage. He ran up the outer stairs, into the house and saw his gran, thumping at the cage with a brush. He grabbed the cage (dented) and ran out of the room, into their shed and locked himself in.

The younger brother saw a stray cat, grabbed it and met his gran in a field beside their house, they took the cat back, started feeding it and the cat stayed.

The older brother took his younger brother out and pointed to the house across the road, and said that was where his father lived. The younger knocked at the door and on the window, but no one answered.

Next scene he met the German in a field again, this time the German was teaching the kid his own language. They soon started carrying on and rolled around laughing. He went back to his house, and the man across the road, presumably his father gave him some money, the little boy ran into the house. Next, we see the gran and the little brother on a bus, they paid the conductor and went to see someone in a hospital, they went over to a bed. A nurse was tending to a patient, combing her hair, he left an apple on the bed, the nurse took it and said, say hello to your mother. The little boy said, you've stolen my apple, the nurse walked off and he went over to the patient, he stared and the woman pulled the sheet over herself again.

They went home and the next scene consisted of the gran wailing in a field, she was holding a package. The two boys ran towards her and threw down the package, it was a dead bird, they all went home.

The younger brother then went over to the man's house, as he just saw his father walk in with his dog, the boy stood staring in at the window. The wife went over to her husband, and said you should'nt have gone out with that whore, presumably she meant the boy's mother.

Next scene, they were in an air raid shelter, with some other people; the little boy was looking at an apple beside a sleeping girl; he was going to steal it, but the gran stopped him. The siren went and they all walked home, when they got home, the cage was on the floor, with a hole in it, and the cat was eating the canary. The older brother grabbed the cat, banged it against the wall, and then threw it out of the house.

Next scene, there was a bonfire, and a crowd of people were singing "its a long way to Tipperary". - the war was over. the little boy next day went to see his German friend, he taught him how to fly the kite, then left the little boy, he

was sad.

He went home and his gran was dead, he left the house and went to the railway track, and put his head on the line and fell asleep. He woke up and heard a train coming, he ran up onto a bridge, and when the train passed under he jumped onto a truck with coal in it. He stayed on the train, and the train disappeared in the distance.

4.LD The story of "My Childhood" centred around a young boy called Jamie, of about 6/7 years growing up in a Scottish mining village towards the end of the last war. It opened with an aerial view of German POW's working in the fields. Then the scene switched to a schoolyard where an old woman in black was standing. Inside the school an assembly was in progress and the children were singing "All Things bright and beautiful". The assembly was interrupted by one of the teachers telling a boy to go out. He did and was met by the old lady. They went back to an old house in a very depressed, poor area.

The film showed this boy's younger brother on a coal tip pinching coal, but he fell down the tip and lost the coal he had wrapped in a newspaper.

From here he watched, the shift end with the bell ringing and the miners leaving the pit to be met by their children. He returned home where his brother was chopping wood for a fire and Granny was sitting in a chair. The younger boy 'Jamie', emptied his pockets of the coal, to be told he was selfishh by his brother and they started to fight, granny became very upset at this & tried to stop them.

It emerged from the film that Jamie was friendly with Helmut, a German P.OW. who worked in the turnip fields and often visited him there. He taught Helmut English with the aid of a book and often travelled back into town with the POWs in an army truck. On one occasion it was noticeable that the British guard left his gun in the truck while he went to pee in the turnip field. Once Helmut wqas shown with the boy eating sandwiches and rolling around in the grass with him.

There was some confusion as to the parents of the boys, as the older visited a grave and removed some flowers from it. The younger boy was taken by Granny to visit his mother in a hospital, although she appeared mentally disturbed and did not recognise him. He was also given money by a man from the village on whose doorstep the granny and the older boy would spit when they passed. A scene inside his house showed the woman he lived with telling him that the other woman, like all women was a whore, this lead one to the impression that he may have been the younger boy's father. Although he was not the older boy's father, as he arrived with a birthday

present for the boy of a canary, and was subsequently turned out by Granny only to be chased down the road by the boy as he pedalled away. The canary was eaten by the younger boy's cat and the elder boy killed the cat. Later the granny died, and was found by the boys in the rocking chair. Prior to this there was an air raid with an old man singing in the shelter and a bonfire took place. This seemed to signify the end of the war, and the next scene showed Helmut in a civilian suit, playing with a kite with the young boy. He showed the boy how to use the kite and they talked about its colours. Then he handed the string to the boy and said he had to go. He seemed to dash off and the boy was left shouting for him while a bus drove off down a country lane.

The boy returned home crying to be told by his brother that he and granny would take care of him. Then they found the granny had died. The older boy ran away into streets, and saw a train coming he climbed the steps to the railway bridge and stood amidst the smoke from the train before returning home.

The younger boy after losing Helmut and granny, and his cat, went to the railway line, put his head on the line and listened for a train, when he heard one he ran to the top of the railway bridge and jumped into an open coal wagon. The final scene showed the train going off into the distance, with the boy on top the coal wagon, through the hills.

5.VP Situation: Scotland in 1945 P.O.W's working on the fields. Opening: Old woman in black waiting in school yard. Children inside singing "All things bright & Beautiful". Janitor enters school room puts a bucket on the floor & says something to teacher. She then goes into lines of children & says something to a tallish boy he then goes out side takes the old woman's arm & takes her home. Meanwhile younger boy on coal slag-heap foraging for small pieces of coal but as siren goes signifying changed shift for the miners he drops everything & runs to watch the miners come from the pit & greet their children. On the way home he runs through washing & scares a black cat. At home his older brother is chopping wood at the table for the fire. The younger boy slowly opens the door & enters the room placing the only coal placing the only coal he has left from his pockets on the table. The older boy, because of the younger boy's comment of "I'm hungry" knocks the coal from the table accusing him of being selfish & begins to fight with him. The old waman - their "granny" breaks the fight up. Later that night the younger boy Jamies asks of his mother he's told she's dead and asks what dead is etc. He is then seen with his german friend Helmut who we have seen him playing with already. He is teaching him to read. Helmut is then taken off in the lorry & is seen later learning his book. The younger boy goes home & at home the elder boy has a visit from his father

bringing a canary in a cage the granny tells him to go away which he does & Tommy runs after him the grannie tries to kill the bird & later after an air raid it is killed by a cat. Tommy kils the cat. The two boys discuss parentage & the younger boy finds his father is the man over the road who has given him a penny, whereas the older boy's father is Walter who brought the bird. The younger boy goes to see his father who is in the house with his wife who apprently took him in when no-one else wanted him. During an air-raid (when the canary was killed) Jamie tried to steal an apple.

Later we see Jamie with Helmut playing in a field, eating sandwiches.

Jamie goes with his grannie (travelling for free) on the bus to see his mother in the mental asylum. The nurse takes the apple he brought with him. Back at the house the older boy upset about his bird finds granny missing - she's found in the field with a dead bird & taken home. A bonfire then signifies D day & we see Jamie playing with a kite with his german friend who's in civilian clothes - he's obviously leaving. The boy is upset & at home sulks while Tommy makes break & milk - they find grannie dead in her chair. Tommy says I'll go and get your father & runs out - Jamie runs out to the railway; listens on the track for trains & runs up into the steam on the bridge where he'd played as a child & jumps onto the coal truck of the train. The film ends with Jamie riding on top of the train, hands tucked in his jumper into the distance.

6.DN The film was in black and white. It was set during WWII in a mining village in Scotland.

The main character seemed to be a boy aged about 10 yrs. The film opened with a village school singing "all things bright and beautiful". An aged woman; waiting outside she sent in word for an older boy, about 12 yrs old to come home with her. Meanwhile the younger boy was collecting scraps of coal from a slag heap. It seemed that the boys mother had died. The household then consisted of the two boys and their old grandmother who lived in a dingy spartan house. The boys clothes were in rags especially the youngest and the grandmother wore black. She was seen sitting infront of the fire for most of the film. The atmosphere was depressing; they were miserable and hungry and the older boy bullied the younger.

The young lad did have a friend in a german P.O.W. who worked on the land. The boy was teaching the German to read english and was very fond of him. The only real events in the film were morbid. Firstly the death of a pet canary by persons unknown. The canary was given to the elder boy by a man for his birthday. The man was said to be the boys father. The

other boys father lived in the village. Their mother was a prostitute. After emerging from an air raid shelter the canary cage was found empty on the floor. In a fit of peak the elder boy killed the younger boys cat.

The young lad and his grandmother went on a bus trip to a hospital where the boy saw his mother, very ill in bed. As with the rest of the film there was little or no dialogue and what was said was inaudible. The german eventually left for home after giving the boy a kite. This seemed to leave the boy completely alone. At the end of the film the grandmother died in her chair and whilst the elder boy went to fetch his brother's father, the youngest ran off and jumped on a freight train. The film was depressing; and unenjoyable although it clearly reflected the futility of their existence.

7.NP My Childhood - a film about 2 brothers who lived with their grandmother. The opening sequence of the film was the grandmother in the school yard. The elder boy took her home. The younger one was supposed to find coal but watched the other children greeting their dads as they came out the pit. He then went up the fields where the German POWs were working, he was befriended by one & went home in the truck with them. The older boy was given a caged bird by his father for his birthday, the grandmother got really angry and told the father to get out. The boy ran after his father who rode away on a bike and when he got back the grandma was smashing up one cage. He rescued it and rushed out. His younger brother gave the grandma a stray cat to have as a pet. His friendship with the POW continued, he taught the man English and the man tried to teach him German. Their mother was supposed to be dead but one day the grandma took the younger boy to the hospital to see his mother who was mentally ill & didn't speak but just lay there & then hid under the blankets again. It seemed a cruel thing to do to take a child that young to see his mother in that condition. She looked like a madwoman from a Victorian film. The older boy told the other one that the man who'd given him the bird wasn't his father too, they had different fathers. The younger boy's father was the man with the whippet who'd given him some money one day. The boy went & knocked at his house & got no answer. He went another day when he'd just seen the man go in & the man's mother pulled down the blinds. There was an air raid one night and when they got back to the house the cat had eaten the bird, so the older boy killed it.

The war ended, there was a celebration bonfire & the POWs had to go back to Germany. The man gave the boy a kite before going but he let the kite go to run after him. The boy was very upset when he got home, his brother said that he & the gran would look after him. Then the gran died & the younger boy went & put his head on the railway tracks, but he didn't

kill himself. Instead he jumped on to the train & rode out on it. That was how the film finished.

It was a very miserable sad film, presumably that's what their lives were. The two men in the film acknowledged that the children were theirs but did nothing for them. They were really disgusting, they could've at least alleviated the material poverty the children suffered.

8.AA The film tells of 2 young boys living with their grandmother in a mining village in Scotland in the later stages of World War 2. They are obviously very badly off. One of the boys takes coal from the mine to keep their small barely furnished house warm. The younger boy befriends a German prisoner of War who is working in the fields near the village. They teach each other their respective languages but there is relatively little spoken communication between them because of the language difficulty.

The two boys do not have a good relationship. The older one is visited by his father who brings him a birthday present of a canary. The grandmother wants him to leave - she dislikes or disapproves of the man - and later tries to kill the canary. The boy promises to get rid of it but keeps it without her knowing. Later the cat eats the canary & the two boys, struggling over the cat, kill it & throw it away.

The younger boy is made compassionate & is the more important character. He is considerate towards his grandmother & runs away by jumping from a bridge onto a moving coal train when she dies. Because the war had ended by that stage the prisoner has gone & with the death of his grandmother he has no one to turn to. The older boy has told him that his own father is not the younger boy's father as well & presumably he feels especially unwanted when the older boy runs to find him because the old woman has died & because his mother is in hospital some distance away. The grandmother had taken him to see her but the mother was not apparently interested in her son. The film is depressing, especially since it is in black & white. However it would have been so in colour because of the poverty of the characters & the natural surroundings as well as the fact that the town was dingey & dirty because of the mining work done there & the windy, dull weather throughout.

9.JP The film was set in a mining village in Scotland in 1945 during the war. It showed the poverty stricken life of two boys, the youngest Jamey and his brother Tommy who lived with their Granny. The opening scenes showed the older boy

collecting wood for the fire and the young boy collecting food of some bird. The boys proceed to have a fight because the younger boy has eaten some of the food he collected.

The father of the older boy appeared on the scene, much to the distress of the Grannie, to give him a canary for his birthday. After ordering the father to leave the Grannie tried to kill the bird with a spade but Tommy saved it and hid it in the cellar.

Jamey claimed that the visitor was his father as well but was told that his father lived in a house across the street. Jamey continually knocked on the door of this house and stood outside the window but the door was never answered. The film showed a woman and a man inside the house and from this one could assume that Jamey's mother was a whore and that was how Jamey was conceived.

Jamey was seen at various points throughout the film with a German man to whom he declared that he loved him. Jamey tried to teach him English and in return was taught a little German. This meant a lot to Jamey as it was almost all the love he was ever shown.

Jamey returned home one day with a cat but his brother savagely killed it and threw it out. Jamey was also taken by bus to see his mother who was in hospital, obviously very ill. He took her an apple but the nurse takes it and changes the subject when the little boy protests.

The Grannie was deeply affected by seeing her daughter in such a condition, as was Jamey. Jamey was mortified even more when his German friend said that he was leaving. It broke Jamey's heart.

Despite the care of the boys to keep her warm Grannie died and this was the last straw for Jamey.

Jamey went to his favourite railway bridge, where he used to stand in the steam of the train passing beneath, and jumped off onto a wagon below. The end of the film showed Jamey disappearing into the distance. The film is difficult to remember due to the short scenes and lack of dialogue to run the scenes together. The film was also very depressing.

10.MB The film is set in the years of the second world war, in a small Scottish mining village. (It is important to note at this stage that a prisoner of war camp was also situated by the village).

The story is centred on a little boy of about six years of age. He has an elder brother of about 11 or 12 years of age. Both live with their grandmother in a squated house.

The first scene finds the cameras zooming in on the village to give one a pictorial perspective of the situation of the film. It then moves onto a school classroom where a large group of school children are singing "All things bright and beautiful". We then see an old woman in black wearing a black shawl standing outside the school. The younger boy having been summoned out of the singing school children, joins her. Together they walk away. We next see them walking, step by step, up the stairs to the main entrance of their small house.

The film moves onto the coal heaps where the younger boy is stealing coal. At that moment the shift at the mine ends. The boy appears like a statue of sadness and he watches the men greet their wives and children. He then turns and runs from the scene he was beholding, slides down a coal heap, leaving his collection of coal behind.

We then see him entering the house. He empties his remaining collection of coal - four pieces. The elder borther is annoyed and attacks him. Their grandmother desperately tries to break the scuffle up. We then move onto the sitting room (the same room as the one in which the fight occurred) to find the three sitting, very somberly, looking at the fire.

In the following scene we first meet the German to which the young boy becomes attached. He works in a turnip field. No real interaction takes place. It is almost like an introduction for the viewer. The guard has a pee, before the truck carrying the boy, the german, and the P.O.Ws leaves.

Next we find out that it is the eldest's birthday. The boy's father arrives with a present, a canary in a cage. The grandmother controls herself from the anger she appears to be feeling. However, she can't hold it in for any longer and bursts into a fit of rage, shooting the poor man out of the house. The eldest is bitterly disappointed and vainly attempts to run after his father crying "Dad, Dad".

The next scene returns to the house. The eldest returns only to see the cage violently brought down from it's perch (so to speak) by the living room window by his grandmother. He rushes into the house to find his grandmother battering the cage with a yard brush. He manages to save both bird and cage. He rushes out, down the stairs, and into the house's cellar or basement. He then meets his younger borther. But it is unclear what form of interaction took place, save that it appeared to be associated with the bird or present.

He then meet the German again. The relationship between him and the young boy seem to be getting friendlier with each occasion they meet. In this case we find the boy teaching the German some English words. The boy is dropped off by the

P.O.W. vehicle again.

It was at this stage that the younger boy along with his grandmother go and visit his mother in a mental institution. They travel by bus. The fare, as far as I can remember, cost 1 shilling and 30. We first see a mansion like building. The children's mother has obviously had some sort of breakdown. She is in a ward when, as our group moves in, a nurse is in the motion of tidying her up for her "visitors". The boy's present of an apple is stolen by the nurse. the boy is confused by the situation he is experiencing. His G/mother then starts crying, after which his mother covers her face.

The story then returns to the village. (N.B. There are a no. of scenes which pass through the film relating to a man who lives just up from the family. In one scene he gives the young boy a tit-bit of a penny. In another we find the boy staring at him from behind the corner of the house. In the final scene we see the boy following the man to the man's house, whereupon, inside, the man is spoken to by a woman, whilst the boy shuffles his feet outside. The scene ends with a window, obviously to the living room being closed). We find (to continue) the boy with the German again. On this occasion it is the end of the war. The German is well dressed as he teaches the boy how to fly a kite. The German suddenly informs the boy that he has got to leave, he is to return 'home'. The German then leaves. The boy is left, shouting 'Helmut' continually as the truck disappears.

The final scene shows the boy making his way to the railway line. He waits and listens for a train. As one approaches he rushes up onto the bridge (the same one on which his brother stood earlier), lowers himself over the parapet or fence and falls into one of the coal carriages / containers. (The train appeared to be used to convey the coal produced by the village mine to a depot). This action signified the end of the film, as the train disappeared into the distance.

11.CL The film portrayed part of a young boy's (Jamie) childhood, although his "brother" - not necessarily of the blood - and his "grandmother" also played important roles. The film began with Jamie at school singing hymns and his grandmother stood outside; she called him out & he then ran to play on a slag heap by the mine collecting coal. He then forgot about this however as the miners began leaving work and he stood and watched his school mates greeting their fathers - the first suggestion that his was perhaps, not present. He then went to talk to his "favourite" friend - a German P.O.W. who was working in the village under supervision - and it was not difficult to ascertain that he supposedly filled the "father role". The boy spent a large part of his time with the P.O.W's, although a number of

apparently unimportant and vaguely important diversions were thrown in throughout.

The war did not appear to play a major role in the film - although perhaps it is responsible for their apparent extreme poverty - although Jamie was seen in an air raid shelter with "gran" & "brother". There were unconnected references to the whereabouts of both children's parents throughout the film. The elder boy's father came to visit and left a canary - but the grandmother threw him out. (the father 1st!) The young boy appeared unaware at this stage that he did not share the other's father, although his own father was then pointed out to him. He however wanted nothing to do with the boy and so he remained with the P.O.W. & continued to learn German - I presume! Although the exact order of much of the film escapes me, there was a somewhat disturbing scene in which the cat was seen to be eating the budgie. The elder boy returned to witness this and promptly killed the cat. When written this does not appear to portray a great deal which was also very much the impression I received from the film. The son was certainly attached to the bird - it has after all been a present from his father - but whether he would have killed the cat in the middle of the town in the middle of the day with such apparent relish was not really clear.

The final incident which stands up in my mind was Jamie's visit to his mother. He went with his grandmother on the bus to where his mother was staying in some form of sanatorium/hosptial. She was clearly very ill indeed - upsetting the grandmother rather than the son - & it was clear that she wouldn't be looking after Jamie in the near future.

The film ended with a number of possibly "exciting" suggestions; a bonfire suggested the end of the war & the friend/P.O.W. then left, the gran may well have died (although this may have been the case throughout!), & finally Jamie decided his was rather a bad lot - to which I am inclined to agree - perhaps contemplated suicide but decided instead to jump on a coal train & disappear into the glorious sunset. Not sure of moral - perhaps connected with suffering/death of war or pleasant behaviour of Germans.

12.RC Story begins in a school where a young boy is called out of class by his grandmother. She sends him to a coal face to pick up coal. The boy collects some coal, but when he sees the miners coming out of work to collect their children, he seems very upset and runs away.

He runs to a farm where there are some German P.O.W.'s working the land. He seems to be especially friendly with

one of the P.O.W.'s and they give him a lift home on a tractor cart.

The boy returns home, where there is his grandmother and another older boy. The other boy seems very angry when he finds that the younger boy has not brought much coal and they fight.

At night, the two boys are talking in bed about their parents. Neither live with their parents and both especially miss their father.

Next day, the father of the older boy arrives with a present - a bird in a cage. The grandmother does not like the father and shouts at him telling him to leave. But the boy runs after his father. The boy returns to the house to find his grandmother breaking the cage with a broom.

The young boy goes off to find the P.O.W. and he travels with him in the back of a van. The boy tries to teach the German to speak English, giving him an ABC book.

In another scene, the young boy meets a man, who could be his father, but is rejected by him. The boy returns home very upset. Another scene takes place in an air raid shelter where the two boys, the grandmother and another man are singing songs. When they come out, the boys fight over a cat and kill it.

In the final scene, the boys discover the grandmother dead. The young boy runs to a railway line and looks to be committing suicide. But he loses courage and instead jumps onto the train and is carried off into the distance.

13.CH The film "my childhood" is in black and white and is set in a mining village in Scotland as the last war is drawing to a close. It revolves around two main characters, two young boys Jimmy and Tommy who live with their old and fragile granny in abstract poverty.

The Father and Mother are conspicuous by their absence and it transpires later in the film that the mother was a prostitute who now is a resident in a mental hospital. It appeared that the boys were the unintended consequences of her occupation and had different fathers.

Both of the real fathers come onto the scene about halfway through the film and show a passing interest in their illegitimate sons but no real affection. But as an indication of how important their fathers mean to them Tommy

murders the cat that ate the canary that his father gave to him for his birthday and Jimmy waits patiently outside his father's house for some time once Tommy tells him who his father is and where he lives. Jimmy who appears to be the younger of the two boys attempts to make up for the missing parental love by establishing a friendship with one of a group of German prisoners of war camped in the area after watching enviously on at the other village boys eagerly meeting their fathers after the latter had finished a days work in the pit.

The war is over, the village celebrates and Jimjy's German friend is sent home. The Granni is becoming progressively more senile and finally dies. Tommy goes to get help but Jimmy having nothing left in the world runs away and heads for the railway track and listens to the rails for an approaching train seemingly for the purpose of committing suicide but when one does come he jumps off a nearby bridge into one of the coal wagons and the parting shots of the film shows the train steaming off into the horizon with the anticipation of a new and a more optimistic future for Jimmy.

In the film Jimmy has little concept of the reasons why his life is so empty and sees no threat in the kindly enemy who likewise is missing his own family and who fills the void left by the absence of Jimmy's own parents and whose company Jimmy actively seeks for the fatherly affection he has never had.

Tommy on the other hand has a greater understanding of their situation and appears to be the man of the house. he knows Jimmy's is not truly his brother and keeps him at arms length because of it.

As there is little dialogue in the film one is left to build up a composite picture of the story from the events that occur as you alone interpret them. There are few verbal cues as to whats going on and why from the participants themselves.

14.TB The film was set in 1945 in a Scottish Mining Village. The opening scene is of a boy, approx 14yrs. old singing at school. He's called out of the class to meet an old woman in the play-ground. We later find out that his name is Tommy & she is his gran. Next scene is of a younger boy, approx 9yrs, rummaging about on a coal-tip looking for pieces of coal. He's disturbed by the end of the work-shift & runs off. He takes a detour on the way home to the fields where Germans Prisoners of War (P.O.W) are working. He is obviously good friends with one particular P.O.W., Helmut, approx 35rs.old. He plays with him & gets a lift back to the village in their truck.

On returning home his brother hits him for not bringing enough coal home. They fight whilest their Gran unsuccessfully tries to stop them. She obviously has little control over them. Their existence is obviously very impoverished. They live alone with their Gran & think their mother is dead ("in heaven"). Their Gran merely means about her "ruined baby".

A man appears at the house, apparently Tommy's father, on Tommy's birthday. He gives him a canary. Jimmy seems to have little relationship with the man. Gran doesn't like the man & tells him to go and take his canary. Tommy chases after him upset & stays out all night. He returns to find his Gran trying to kill the canary so he hides it.

Jim's relationship with Helmut develops in a father-son manner. Jim starts to teach him English. A man in the village gives Jim some money one day, Jim is nervous of him.

One night, after a discussion about the man who gave Tom his canary, Tom tells Jim that the man is not his dad but takes him into the village & points out a house.

They spend one night in the Air Raid Shelter, emerging in the morning to find the cat has eaten the canary. Jim likes the cat & senses Tom will harm it so he tries to protect it. An argument ensues with Tom winning and killing the cat! The argument is soon forgotten as the next scene shows them all sitting around the fire-place.

One day Gran takes Jim on a trip. She has a letter from "Mary" but won't tell Jim who she is. They go to a mental hospital & see a patient. The patient is a female & looks very ill although only approx 35 yrs. Jim doesn't know who she is but the Gran looks on sobbing. I presume the woman is both Tom & Jim's mother. On returning to the village Jim is disturbed and stands gazing at the house Tom had pointed out. Inside is the man who gave him the money & a woman. The woman is saying that the man should ignore Jim, "the woman is a whore.." & "the kid can't know" she says. This suggests that the man is Jim's father.

The war ends & there is a scene with Helmut, smartly dressed, is flying a kite with Jim. He tells Jim that he is leaving & gets on a bus. Jim's very upset and chases the bus shouting his name. He returns to the house very depressed. Tom doesn't know why he's upset so he couldn't have known about Helmut. He tells him to cheer up & that he & Gran will look after him. Their Gran however has just died.

In despair Jim runs out of the house to the railway track. He hears a train & runs to the bridge. Possibly on impulse he jumps into a coal truck & sits hugging his knees watching the bridge slowly disappear. That's the closing scene.

APPENDIX III

SPOKEN NARRATIVES

1. JI [N] right well the:.. film that I saw it was amazingly poor quality film old film. and quite a lot of the:.. images were very indistinct. so: e:m... quite a lot of things I am very unclear about ... (tch) but in effect. the film was set in nineteen forty five in a mining village in. in scotland the : e: .. [I] what's the name of the film? [N] they they didn't say there was very little in the way of.. e. ...verbal communication. it was mostly e:m.. just e.. activities going on and it was very e: very poor environment a:nd there were two boys living with their their old grandmother..e: the two boys were either brothers or. half brothers ... (tch) I I should think one was abou:t ... nine and the other pushing twelve ... e:m ... the father ... I think came into the picture on one occasion e: when he came to give a present. of e: a.. caged bird to e: the older of the two boys ... e:m I had a feeling that the boys were actually probably illegitimate. a:nd e:..he e:.mother was ill in some way in a hospital.in e:. some. more remote town village e:m anyway.. something (tch) obviously happened because the older child was hauled out of class. by .. e:m their grandmother (tch) a:nd he went home with her and I had a feeling they after that they didn't go back to school e:m ... they lived in this very ... poor ... room I think it was no more than a room in which they all slept. they had .. a cat that made a lot of noise.. e:m an:d it was really a story of their physical and emotional disadvantages and the:comfort they got. where they could two boys were obviously very fond of each other and gave each other a lot of support although they quarrelled at times the grandmother was a very proud. old girl. were again they were all very tender with her ... a:nd but they were very poor they had very little to eat... they: had very little in the way of fuel in fact they. the: old the younger boy was seen going.. scrapping around looking for coal trying to bring a bit back with him .. from the tip.. a:nd the only other relationship they really made was the younger boy made was with a german prisoner of war who was working in the fields there was a whole crowd of them from the camp they e: the boy was teaching him english and used to go a:nd e: see him usually every day [I] how did he get to know him? [N] e: I don't know they didn't they didn't didn't say that but he was obviously a father figure to him ... (( )) e:m ... but otherwise there was very little... love that he that they had from an outsider ... there was . the only other relationship e:m the boy had. the younger boy had was .. with a man living with his mother down the road he used to give him money.. occasionally a:nd... a rather indistinct conversation that was overheard between the mother and the son who's .. not a young son but quite old. a middle aged man e:m... seemed to indicate that this man had a relationship with the boy's mother at sometime and might have even been...his father his real father em but it was very unclear ... e:m... they were very short of food and on one occasion... there was an air raid and they had to

go down into the shelter for a period of time a:nd em when they came back in the morning I think although again the picture is very unclear I think the cat had been at what food there was and the old boy killed the cat...e:m .... and I think. grandmother was also trying to find food in one way there was a scene where the boys met her on the road he she was carrying something in a. bit of newspaper...and it looked as though it could have been a bird or something that she caught...I wasn't sure I couldn't see quite what it it was. but it's obviously a sort of an emotionally charged scene but quite what it was you couldn't see because the picture was indistinct... they went to visit the mother on one occasion in this far off... (( )) they had to take a bus journey a:nd e... the boy took had taken with him an apple that he put on the end of the bed as the nurse was busy fluttering around trying to make the boy the the mother comfortable and respectable to be seen. and the nurse picked this apple off off the: bed and put it in her pocket mother didn't say anything the grandmother sobbed .. a:nd .... e:m then the mother sort of lifted up the bedding over her face as though in shame ...e:m... and feeling her past was rather disreputable in some way ... it's a very unclear story anyway in the end. em the grandmother died they were making some supper and when they went up to her she obviously died in her chair... and they went out... no hold on before then it's such a sort of a muddled story...e:m the war ended. the great.. the great bonfire war ended which meant of course that the prisoner of war.. went home. and including this: man the farewell scene was as if he was flying a kite.. with this boy and they're obviously seem very happy together and the em... man said I'm sorry I've got to go home now and sort of abandoned the kite playing and they were obviously very upset and choked about it and then it seems quite soon after that e:m the boy obviously was was desperately unhappy.. em very soon after that grandmother died a:nd em... the younger boy went out and put his head on the:...railway line ...a:nd e... seemed to be some element of indecision and we saw picture of the train coming towards.. the village. and then you saw another shot of him sort of beginning to sit up and then you saw another shot of e:..of a boy one of the boys clamber going over the e:m foot bridge across the railway and clambering over the top... but you never quite know what happened whether he fell over or whether he .. he y you know you don't know quite what happened in the end the end was just the train going off in the far distance it was and everybody found it amazingly glummy it was e: a very undetermined sort of e e sort of film (laughter) I am very sorry to h have bored you with it for the last ten minutes... yes a very depressing film.

2.NF [N] okay ... e:m ... the story was set (tch) in a mining village. in Scotland. in nineteen forty five. (tch). e:m the story begins. actually.at a mine. whe:re ... e: where the miners are beginning to come out from the day shift. (tch) .. (tch) o:n the nearby slag heap.x there's a little boy. abou:t e.. eight years of age. (tch) who's collecting coal. when he sees the miners coming out. e:m (tch) he begins to run home. and as a result he drops all of his coal. (tch) meanwhile e:.. some other little boys of his age. are (tch) running out to their fathers who're coming out of the mine, tch and they all go home. e:m about the same time the little boy's grandmother. is going to the school. (tch) e: to collect his holder brother. e: by the time his older brother is ... supposedly under matching at assembly. and they're singing all things bright and beautiful. (tch) e: .. at home ... whe:n .. the younger of the two boys goes home. his grandmother sitting in her rocking chair. where's she's frequently. a:nd ... his his other brother is there doing something that I can't remember. [I] why wasn't the younger at school? [N] he was collecting coal. [I] okay (laughter)
[N] I don't know why he wasn't at school in the first place. but that's what he was doing. e:m god .... (tch) th:e the place where they live is very .. very basic e: they've got no comforts. a:h I remember. is . the elder brother is chopping wood when the younger brother comes in. (tch) a:nd when. the elder brother finds that. the little one hasn't got em very much coal. he's only got. four chunks of coal. he gets very angry and they start fighting. and the grandmother tries to split them up but she doesn't manage very well an.. they continue rolling around the floor. (tch) however later on in the evening.. they. all seem a bit happier sitting around the a fire ... (tch) e: but they don't do very much talking .. the:y e:m they mostly just sit h h ... (tch) what happens next .... for some reason or another I haven't yet been able to work out ... neither of the brothers goes to school from their own end. (tch) e: teaching english to a german prisoner of war. who works in the: the near by fields. chopping up turnips. [I] is this during the war then? [N] I would pretty hope so. [I] is it forty-five or so? or it been after the war? [N] I didn't really think about it ... e:m.. yes I suppose it is after the war cos in the end he goes back to germany ... no wait a min... it must be during the war cos they then go t:o e:m.. I don't know it doesn't give it much. [I] well towards the end of the war then. [N] it must be ... [I] yeah [N] yes because after that. they all go into the air raid shelter. so it must still be during the war. and then towards the end of the film it's after the war that's right .. (tch) e:m why? is it significant if .. if it's during the war or (tch) hh it's also boring. you get it all mixed up. you wonder whether things happened before or afterwards (tch) e:m ... (tch)... the boy's mother. is in hospital. and looks as if she's insane. (tch) an:d one day the: the father. of (tch) the two turns up. with a canary because it's the:the bigger boy's birthday. (tch) the grandmother gets very angry and tells him to take his canary away. and to go away himself.

which he does. as he rides down the road on his bicycle. (tch) the elder brother runs after him.. but he doesn't come back. a:nd e: when the boy returns later on in the evening the grandmother was just about to beat the canary in the cage with the the broom. e: so he rescues the canary (tch) ... a:nd ... hides it. for. a few days or or a few weeks. but he keeps it for a while anyway ... e:h e:h the little boy and the grandmother take a bus trip one day. to see the mother. (tch) she simply lies in bed. not knowing who they are. or if she does she doesn't want to speak to them because she pulls the sheet up above her head ... e:m [I] does the father (( )) [N] no... (tch) e:mm there is something to do with a man who lives down the road. and who has a whippet. (tch) and he lives with this other woman. who I think might be his mother. I'm not sure ... e:h (tch) a:nd ... because of the scottish accent it was a bit difficult to tell what's going on and it crackled a lot when they were speaking (laughter) so ... e:m I'm not quite sure. what the link between the boys and this other man with the whippet is. but I think perhaps this other man might be the little boy's father ... e: [I] the one that came with the canary? [N] no. a different ... I think the one with the canary is the father of the eldest boy. a:nd the one with the whippet (laughter) is the one ... is the father of the little boy. [I] and neither of them live at home. [N] and neither of them live there. both boys live with their grandmother just e:... (tch) finally.. a:h yeah one day they have to disappear down an air raid shelter. in an air raid. a:nd ... when they come back. the cat.. I think it's there. although I can't understand why they keep a cat if they're so poor ... e: has eaten the canary. so the big boy picks up the cat and he either strangles it or beats it to death. and then throws it out of the house. e:h... (tch) and he then runs off to (tch) the railway line. and stands on top of the bridge. e:m as the train .. the steam train goes underneath him and. all the steam comes up and he stands in ... stands in this a. this steam and you sort of get the impression that it's a form of release for him e:h .... (tch) (tch) all the the time in in the background there's the fact that the grandmother and the boys don't have any money and they don't have food a:nd they don't have any coal to heat the fire and no no clothes and the little boy is sort of dressed in semi rags and very dirty all the time .. e:h one day the grandmother goes into the fields. and finds a dead e:m pigeon e:m...e:m and the boys find her in the fields and she's very upset and they take her home and very soon afterwards she dies ... they get up in the morning and she's sitting in her rocking chair and she's actually dead ...h h so the elder of the two goes off e: (tch) to find the father and the little boy goes to the railway line and jumps on top of the train... and I think that's just about it ... [I] OK

3.BN [N] Let me see what was the start of it. there was a scene an industrial scene at a scottish a little scottish mining town. e:m nineteen forty five. and. there was e:m sub script at the top of the film saying that e:m... there were german prisoners of wars working in the fields.. a:nd that focused on this old woman. looking. at the school. a:nd then there was a scene at the school choir singing all things bright and beautiful. a:nd e:m.. the caretaker came in and gave the teacher at the top of the class a message. and she walked on and gave to another boy. a message. and he walked out and met the presumably the grandmother I suppose. and then they walked home...
the next scene was e:m this little boy was on top of a: what do you call them? (laughter) a big coal pile anyway I don't know what it was [I] a slagheap [N] a slag heap that's what it is (tch) a:nd.. e:m there was a couple of other boys as well and they were stealing coal. and putting it in newspapers. em a:nd then... a siren went off and all the miners presumably were coming home. h a:nd all the little boys went to meet their fathers and he he was looking down on the hill and he looked as though he didn't. have a father he didn't go to meet anybody...
the:n after that... we saw all these prisoners of wars in e:m (tch) in turnip fields.. collecting all the turnips. and the little boy. we've seen the little boy was on top of the slag heap came along. and the german man. ran over to the gate where the little boy was. and started carrying on with him. e:m.. putting him on top of his shoulders and walked around with him. h and took him on.. when they went home they he took home on the ... van (laughter) the soldier that was looking after the prisoners of war. (laughter) was on the piss over the turnips I think (laughter) a:nd the:n he left the gun on the van. but none of the soldiers at attempt to grab it or anything. and he just walked casually back over to the van again and picked up his gun. went got on the back of the van. and they went off to. the prisoner of war camp. they let the boy off on the way a:nd em ... he had been wearing this soldier's cap. and the soldier took the cap back off him again and the boy looked very cross so. e:m the van went off again and left the little boy standing there.. oh god what was the rest of it (laughter) e: he went back to the house... a:nd he had he only had four pieces of coal he was supposed to have grabbed a whole lot of coal. he had four pieces he put them on the table. and his older brother was really cross with him and he said he'd been selfish. e:m he should have got more coal than that and started beating the little boy up. and the grandmother (laughter) old as she was tried to break the fight up.. e: she succeeds in the (( )) saw the three of them sitting watching the fire.. the fire place ... e:m
then e: the next scene.. they all lying in bed asleep the little boy was lying beside the grandmother. and the older boy was lying in a in a bunk beside them. and the little boy asked where his mother and father were.: and the older boy said they're dead. and the little boy wanted to know what dead meant and what heaven meant and everything and the older boy

was trying to explain hh o:h what happened next the next scene was:.. the little boy was in the graveyard and he was looking at a grave. and there was some dead flowers in the grave and he threw the flowers out. then he went back to the house. a:nd ... there were some dead flowers in the cup.. I poured he poured water into the cup and then he threw the flowers and the water out. poured hot water into the cup and threw the water out of the cup.. and gave it to the grandmother presumably to warm her hands. (tch) e:m what happened next then the father came along .... I presum:e it was the father anyway [I] and em where was the mother when all this was going on [N] Oh she was. hold on I haven't got to that bit yet (laughs), a:nd the father.. e: had a cage and a canary. and he put it on the table and said this is your birthday present. a:nd. the grandmother went wild told the father to get out and everything and the older boy the father got out and got on his bike and. rode off and the older boy ran after his father trying to call his father back the the younger boy was smiling at his grandmother. you know. as if there's a conspiracy between them. the:n... e:m... (tch) the older boy.. next scene was the older boy was coming back to the house. and he heard the grandmother. thumping away at the cage with a broomstick (laughter) and he came in and saw the grandmother (( )) thumping away at the cage with some sort of a brush or something and the canary was squeaking away. and he grabbed the cage and the canary and brought them down to the shed at the bottom... a:nd... locked himself in. then the little boy went along and made friends with this cat and brought it in and fed it and everything and the cat stayed with them. h h so there was... I think no that's the next scene. then. I think. after that. the little boy kept on going back to the e:m the fields to see his german friend. I think he saw him as his father figure. he wanted to teach him english. and e: he showed him pictures out of this book and teach him english and all the time the german was teaching the little boy german.. e:m... another scene was. I don't know if I remember this in the right order or not but anyway e:m the older boy... where were they .... oh no I think this is later on in the film but.. a:nd they paid the fare on the bus and everything a:nd and they ended up at this hospital. (tch) and there was a nurse beside this bed and a sheet was pulled over the body. it wasn't dead of course but because it was still moving under the sheet but. e:m ... the nurse pulled back the sheet and started combing the woman's hair it was really long hair. she looked really bedraggled. a:nd the nurse said say hello to your mother and the little boy put an apple down on the bed and just walked over and stood beside the mother staring at her the nurse picked up the apple and walked away. and the boy said. you stolen my apple and the nurse just went on walking. a:nd ... e:m he stood staring at his mother and the mother just pulled pulled the sheets back over her head again presumably she was mentally deranged or something I don't know what was wrong with her or why she was in the hospital... but em the scene before that was. we saw this man over the road and the his older brother said to him that's your father go

and knock on his door he went and knocked on the door. and nobody was in. a:nd.. after that he's he was over the road watching from his house he saw his father coming back with his dog. and he went into the house and his wife and he went over to the window and he looked into the window. a:nd e:m this wife's man said.. e:m I only wanted the best for you you shouldn't have. gone out with that whore. something like that I think it was presumably he you know he'd done something to the mother (laughter) we won't go into the fine details, e:m ... that was his father. and the older boy's father that was the father that gave him the the canary and e:m the cage. the:n what happened after that.... you k just kept seeing him between all these scenes. you just kept seeing him going back to the german and talking to the german and everything getting really friendly with him. e:m.. after the scene of the little boy and his mother in the hospital. e:m there was a scene of the moth grandmother in the middle of a field. and she was swaying round and round making weird noises. and she had in her hands e:m.. a parcel wrapped with newspaper. a:nd the two brothers ran up the field to her... a:nd e:m grabbed the newspaper and inside it was a dead bird.. I don't know what the relevance of that was perhaps it was the dinner or something I don't know (laughter) e:m then the went they went home. and when they got home the cat.. had got (laughter) it was busy crunch busily crunching on the bird's bones it was horrible (laughter) but then the little boy the older brother who who was reallly fond of the canary. got the cat and started. smashing against the wall it sounded that way anyway. and then he he got the cat and just threw it over the d the door. they were up a flight of stairs so it must have been dead by the time it hit the ground e:m... what happened next oh yeh there was a large bonfire then. I think it wa:s the end of the war and they were singing it was a long way to Tipperary. a:nd... after that. the little boy was seen playing with the soldier... a:nd the soldier had a kite. and he said oh I must go now he ran off and left the little boy with the kite. and the little boy was screaming after the after the german guy but he's already gone. (tch) he went back to the grandmother's. the house. a:nd e:h what did he do? he was making... I don't know what he but the grandmother was dead. he lifted her hand and dropped it again and then ran to out of the door. (tch) the older boy I don't know what happened to him. but the younger boy went to. the railway line.. and had his head on the railway line. and fell asleep. and then he saw a train coming along and he ran up onto the bridge. and climbed over the bridge and jumped onto the train. and that wa:s the end I think. (laughter) he went off into the distance. (laughter) I mean that's all I can remember.

4.LD [N] it started out showing e:m with an aerial view of prisoners. prisoner of wars / e:m working in the fields in scotland in nineteen forty five [mm][N] a:nd..... e:m then it flashed to a school where there's a mother an old lady in black standing in the school yard. and the:n e: (cough) it went inside the inside the school to an assembly where they were singing all things bright and beautiful h a:nd e:m ... the teacher. stopped the assembly and took out. a little boy out of this the assembly took him out where the grandmother was waiting we're told it's his grandmother she was waiting there afterwards [I] mm [N] e:m [I] did it have a title or what? [N] my childhood [I] oh ok yeh [N] a:nd e:m they went back to this sort of little home. home which is a sort of little tenement or small terraced thing in a little. scottish miners village [I] mm [N] a:nd we saw his brother we saw the little boy chopping up e:m ... wood for to make a fire because it really was sort of barren and it's like the middle towards the end of second world war so. you could tell you know that things were very poor a:nd e:m (cough) then it showed the younger brother of the boy who was taken out Jamie I think his name was e:m on a coal tip pinching coal. a:nd e:m apparently fell down the slack sort of stack a:nd lost all the coal except the coal he had in his pocket. so when he got back. e:m... his brother started fighting with him because he hadn't brought enough coal back with him and the grandmother got really upset and there was a big scene. a:nd they just they just made a fire and they all sat round the fire sort of really quiet as if like there is nothing else going on anyway and they were both about eight or ten or something like that a:nd e:m but the younger boy had a friend [I] mm [N] who was one of the german prisoner of wars and he he used to work in the turnip fields and he used to go out a:nd (tch) see this bloke when he was having his dinner break in this turnip fields because they put them all in the van and bring them back into the town centre in this van and it was quite surprising because the guard that was with them the british. soldier left his gun with the prisoner of wars [I] mm. [N] while he went and had a pee just down the field in the field a:nd e:m the little boy used to go back into the town in the van with them and he was teaching the: e:m the german prisoner of war english with a book [I] mm [N] and he sort of gave the bloke the book I think e:m ... a:nd there is a lot of confusion as to. who the mother was. of the children and who is the father because ... I I found it quite confusing because. the older boy went to visit a grave. and took some flowers from the grave [I] mm [N] a:nd. took them back. to the house ... and seemed to sort of throw them away when he got back to the house. e:m I find that quite hard to follow the:n e: [I] the flowers were dead? [N] pardon [I] the flowers were dead? [N] oh yeh they were dead from the grave [I] they must have been [N] they've been put on someone's grave [I] mm mm [N] as if it was the mother's grave that they put them on but unfortunately e:m what I couldn't follow was everytime they walked past a certain house in the area. e:m the they all spat on the door step. the grandmother did it sort of later on

in the film and the boy did it about twice [I] and they didn't tell you whose house it was? [N] no but it seems to come out that the younger boy. was. e:m the man who lived in the house was giving money. was giving money.. to the younger boy... a:nd ... e:m (cough) it sort of looked as if it was his father. but then. when it was the older boy's birthday. because y you assume they were brothers you know they having the same grandmother sort of thing [I] mm [N] e:m and also.. a man came on. on push bike a... he said he brought a present for the: the boy. the older boy's whose birthday it was. he brought him a canary which was later eaten by the cat (laughter) ... so he killed the cat when the canary was eaten by it a:nd but the grandmother threw him out the man who brought the canary because he she said that you know your father is no good sort of think and she never wanted to set eyes on him again or something like that a:nd... she threw him out... e:m... the grandmother threw him out and he sort of pedalled off down the road with the older boy sort of chasing after him and shouting dad dad come back e:m a:nd ... but he didn't catch him so we didn't see him again he only featured in the film once or twice a:nd e:m but the younger boy was taken to. a hospital. by the grandmother to see. the mother. supposedly who seems to be sort of e:m like in a psychiatric hospital and it was he took an apple for his mother. and the nurse took it off him and he said to the nurse you stole my apple and she sort of smiled and went out to the door and left him with his mother. and she seemed to stare into space like she had no recognition of them the grandmother started crying. at the state of this woman e:m so you co could you sort of figure it out that that was the mother of the younger boy [I] mm [N] whereas when it went to the house that everyone spat on the door you actually got inside the house and there was a man and a woman in there. and it was the same man that has given the younger boy the money... but ... (tch) e:m his wife or the woman that he was living with was sort of saying I took you in when no one else wanted you. she was a whore anyway and all this sort of thing. so you can't figure out if. you know. he was the father if both boys had the same mother but two different fathers [I] mm [I] a:nd e:m then there was .... they didn't show anything else in the school. it's very hard to remember ... e:m .... [I] how did it all end [N] mm [I] or did end or there some sort of conclusion or was it just like that in the end? [N] e:m well the younger boy it seems to be the story of the younger boy's childhood more than the older boy [I] mm [N] e:m... a:nd he's ... he used to go and see these this: this prisoner of war quite a lot he went and saw him I think it was three times he visited him in the course of the film and he spent an afternoon on the hillside with him. sort of eating sandwiches and playing things yeh and teaching each other english and he was teaching the little boy a bit of german [I] mm [N] a:nd e:m the:n... e:m... it did show an air raid it seemed very (( )) it seemed to jump from scene to scene but. e:m it showed an air raid and everyone sitting in the air raid shelter... a:nd an old man singing and then after that. it showed a: bonfire which which was probably

sort of VE Day or something e:m... and then.. straight after that the next scene from that was e:m the: the prisoner of war in an ordinary suit flying a kite with the little boy... [I] same little boy] [N] the youngg boy yeh in the field and sort of speaking about the colours of the kite and things like that and he said I have to go now he gave the little boy the kite and showed him how to use it and then he sort of ran off and he got on a bus. and then the little boy went running off down the road after this bus. but he didn't catch it eh. e:m so he came back sort of cried and cried. and went back to the house. sort of sat on his bed crying and his brother says you know don't worry gran and I will look after you. then grandma dies. I don't know they just they come back one day they come find when they e:m come yea they find her in the field and she sort of had a real funny turn just standing in the field with a dead bird in her hand [I] mm [N] its quite good [I] yeah [N] a:nd e:m after that they take her back to the house and (tch) I don't know they seem to turn her round and there is in the chair with her mouth and her eyes staring so she's dead so the little boys runs out and he goes up to the railway bridge ... e:m and when the train he puts his head on the railway line and you sort of think he's going to kill himself you know but e: then he goes he hears a train coming so he runs up to the bridge and jumps off the bridge into the coal wagons [I] oh [N] open coal wagons in the back (( )) and he sort of rides off into the sunset on this train you know [I] and that was the end? [N] and that was the end of it yeh.

5.VP [N] it started off with an aerial view. of a: Scottish mining town. nineteen forty five.. and it said. there's a caption saying that the prisoner-of-war.. e:m the German prisoner-of-war would be working on the land. and ..you've first of all got a picture of an old lady. dressed all in black. in a school-yard.. e:m and inside you could hear children singing all things bright and beautiful and it was inside the schoolroom. and there's teacher there em listening to the children singing.. and a cleaner. janitor walked in with a bucket and mop and put the bucket and mop down in the room.. and went up to the headteacher and told her something and she went into the rows of children and spoke to this e:. tallish boy.. says something to him, he promptly left the room.. and went outside to the old lady standing there. and took her arm and started walking off. out of the yard. stroking a dog on the way out. e:m.. (tch) they start off going home, next thing you know you saw. was e: another aerial view of the town and of a little boy playing on a: coal slag heap e: at the side of a mine it looked like. he was .. e:m rooting about in the coal for [I] am I allowed to stop on the way through or can do I ask questions at the end? [N] I've no idea what you do. we haven't been told. we were told just to come here and tell the story. [I] ok. carry on. [N] he was rooting about in this. e:m slag-heap obviously looking for pieces of coal.. cos e:m.. he was only a little boy in short pants and everything and he was finding bits of coal and he was putting them in a piece of newspaper and then he heard the siren going.. e:m. it was the siren for the mines to finish. and all the miners came out with their tin hats and everything on. you saw them coming out of the mine and they were laughing and joking and as they did all the children went to meet them and jumped in their arms and things. it flashed back to this little boy who was looking. standing there staring. he dropped his bag of paper of coal as he heard the siren and went to watch and from that you obviously gathered that he didn't really have a father or didn't know his father.(( )) and the next thing it flashed back to the older boy taking his granny. for I imagine it was his Granny. up the stairs to their house which was a one storey slum type thing h and they got inside an:d e:m the little boy. returned later. he ran through the washing. scared the cat to death and got back into the house. he opened the door a little bit and saw the other boy preparing food or something. no. chopping wood that's it. he was chopping wood for the fire. an:d the other boy came in and all he had left because he'd dropped his paper of coal was about three lumps out of his pockets. he put them on the table and the other boy looked at him and he said. e:m. the dialogue was very hard to understand. he said something about you're selfish. bashed the coal off the table and started fighting. and really thumping this little kid and he was fighting back and the granny came up to try and break them up and e:m.hh then it carried on and we saw. it was night time. e:m the little boy was in bed with granny and the older boy was in another bed and he was asking about e:m his mother.

and the other boy. the elder boy said that she was dead.. and he said what's dead? and he said you go to heaven. or something like that. and then e:m the next thing you knew you saw the clouds and it was night time it looked like. or early morning dawn and the little boy was standing looking up at the sky and e:m.. there were prisoners of war working in the field and he looked over at these prisoners of war but I think he obviously knew this one. he was called Helmut his name. and the Helmut came over and lifted the little boy over the fence and he was.. e:m you know messing about with him. and he put him on his shoulders and as he put him on his shoulders he heard somebody shout e: we're going and the man answered in German yeah I'm coming in a minute. and he put the little boy on his shoulders and ran across and got in the van with him. they were obviously taking prisoners of war off the fields and back to where they lived he took the little kid back with him. and he was really friendly with this german. he he .. told him he loved him I think at one point earlier on. if I heard him right. but they were often playing. e:m he often ate his lunch with him you saw him several times meeting these prisoner of war and going back with them. and e :m.. e::m a bit later on there was an air raid. I think they were in an air raid shelter and there was an old man singing. and there were all these kids with their mothers. but all these two little kids had was their granny. and ... e:m there was an apple there and this little kid went to nick the apple and his granny slapped his hand. anyway the e: air raid finished.. (tch) but before the air raid there was e: an episode where I think the older boy's father. what you gathered was the the boys had different fathers. the older boy's father he was called Walter. arrives at the house with a birthday present of a bird. a canary a white canary in a cage and erm the older boy obviously wanted to take it but the granny said. you know. she shouted curses and things at the man and he said what are you going to grow up to grow to be when you're older? aand the granny says something like .. e:m nothing like you if he can help it. and e: she told him to take his bird take his present and go back where he came from type of thing. and the little feller did he ran off but the older boy went running after him shouting dad to him down the road and he was really upset. he was hiding later on in like a corrugated iron hut thing. and e:m anyway back to the air raid. they came out of the shelter and e:m the granny had already once tried to kill the bird by bashing the cage and the little boy was really mad about that. they got back after the air raid and the cage was on the floor.. and the cat had eaten the canary. I think. and it's the same cat that the younger boy had scared earlier on in the film so I think it was the younger boy's cat. anyway this older boy got really mad and took the cat by the scruff of its tail and dragged it outside killing it he was thumping it h and then the next thing you see him throw it over the balcony by its tail. and it's all really quite nasty. and e:m [I] this is all sound effects no? [N] e:m no. there was dialect in it. we could hear the sound effects but the dialect was so strong ... in

Scottish. [I] and it's in Scottish? [N] very very strong accent.. Glaswegian. it was really a bad accent. a:nd e:m. he threw the cat over the side.. and then later on. the little boy was just standing.. apparently half way through or something the neighbours had been looking at the little kids. sort of ... e: sad as if to say .. you know poor little boys. e:m later on. the older boy told the younger boy. that. they didn't have the same fathers and he said my dad gave me a canary and the little boy said he's my dad too. and the other boy said no he's not and they they started whispering telling each other and he told him that his dad was a different dad.. you see.. and he said your dad lives over the road in this other house. and over the road this man had before given the little boy a penny I think it was. and the little boy had taken it and run off h a and em. the older boy told him later on that that was his father that that was his father and not (( )). and e:m... the little boy went over to look and there was no answer when he knocked on the door. and then a bit later on you see a man coming out with a whippet and he went in the house . and his wife's in the house .. and she's stroking his hair .. and he said (noises) e:.. yes the wife's stroking his hair and looking at him saying e:m I took you in when nobody else wanted you and something about she was a whore.. I think she was referring to the little boy's mother.. and he was the little boy's father so anyway (( )) he didn't seem to have much to do with his wife. this is all inference really. it's not what happened it's not what I saw but I think it's what was implied.. the:n [I] then so the film isn't really put. the film as you've seen is just a kind of you're not really making out. [N] yes well not a lot is said. there's very very few words.. and e:m later on. well there were bits inbetween like the granny wandered off into a field and they went and brought her back. (( )) h next thing you know you see the little boy.. oh inbetween all this lot the little boy is seen more and more with this german Helmut whatever and they're rolling about in the grass and playing round and things: h anyway next thing you see the littler of the boys I think he was Tommy. no he was Jamie. the little one was Jamie and the older boy was Tommy. you saw Jamie on the bus with his Granny driving along the fields driving driving along the road. he was looking out of the window and in the middle of this field there was this figure .. and e:m.. he saw the figure as he was in the bus moving along and then there was a load of trees that blocked the figure off from the bus. and then when he came out of the trees there was no figure in the field. but I did't know what that was supposed to be or anything. it was just it was a black figure. I don't know if it was the German in the fields but there was only one person there so I don't know what that was. anyway they were on the bus and the conductress came along and she said you know what are the tickets? and the little boy brought out a piece of paper and gave it to the conductress and she read it and said that'll be 1/3d then please. and e: he reached into his bag and brought out an apple and she went oh never mind we can afford it. and walked off. and the

granny turned to the little kid and winked as if to say you know that's how you get on the bus for free. and then the little kid was looking at this paper and he said who's Mary?.. and the granny didn't say anything. the next thing they were in this hospital. I think it was a mental hospital. it must have been. and there was this bustling nurse trying to drag the sheets off this patient who had them over her head. and then e: she said come on that's no way to act when you've got visitors. and ... then she finally got the sheet down and she said that's a good girl and she treats this person in the bed as if she were a little kid tucking the cover in and she said I'll just comb your hair and make you look pretty. and she was brushing her hair.. and the granny was standing there almost crying it looked like and the little boy was standing there because he hadn't a clue what was going on.. a:nd he was looking at the bed and he brought out the apple he had on the bus and he put it on the bed.. the nurse came bustling in picked the apple up and put it in her pocket. and she straightened everything up and she turned to one side and she said to the little boy are you glad to see your mother then? say hello to your mother or something like that. and he said you've nicked my apple. she she said oh that's e:m... and something about e:m... she ignored the statement about you've nicked my apple and carried on. and she bustled out of the room and granny started crying and the little boy looked at this thing in the bed and it looked about.. 60 and it probably wasn't but it had all dark rings around the eyes and straggly hair and obviously made to look bad. and didn't say a word and the little kid just stood and gazed at this thing and granny was crying. because earlier on in the film you flashed onto a picture on a mantlepiece and it was a gilt-framed old-fashioned thing. you know one of these old-fashioned Edwardian pictures of a woman with all crimped.. hair and I think that was the mother and that was the one that was in the bed.. sh... there was a slight resemblance. it had really big eyes.. and then they went back home. and then you saw granny in the field. again . because she kept wandering off into this field and e:... she was. had something in her arm and she was nursing it and she was sort of wailing a bit and she was really crackers by then. she used to have this thing in her hand it was a newspaper and we saw the boys running towards her and the elder boy. pulled the paper out and dropped it. but you never saw what was in it until a couple of seconds later when they looked on the floor and it looked like a dead starling or a dead blackbird.. or something. well it was this dead furry bird it looked like a bird a feathered animal and e:.. they took granny by the arm and took her back home and e:m.. in the house the elder boy I think was the one that did the cooking. they looked they both looked after their granny. but or the elder boy did the cooking.. and he was making like. he broke up some. you know like a french loaf and was pulling the insides out of a wider one of those and put it in a bowl. and putting a drop of milk on he can't have put more than a tablespoon on each and he gave one to the little boy and went over to give one to granny. by this time granny

was dead. and she [I] o:h (laughter) [N] yes.. well he went to give it. her and you saw the other little boy eating his bread and then you saw him sort of slow down a bit and slow down as he was watching his brother and then he stopped and went over to her and they both stood.. I mean they never said they hardly ever said two words but they just stood and you knew what they were looking at. and they lifted the little boy lifted granny's hand as if to take her pulse.. and then put her hand down and the older one said you'd better go and get your dad with the emphasis on your dad. and e:m. cos this little boy had looked after cos I mean one time e:m.. he was looking at the grave he'd been to the grave-yard as well he'd looked at the grave he obviously missed his parents more than the other one did. and e:.. [I] so the (( )) parents were dead. [N] well I think they both had the same mother but they had a different father and one father lived across the road. with the wife with his wife and the other father was the one who brought the canary in the cage.. but this little boy had had brought some flowers. off a grave. back to the house. I think. to his granny. and they were in a cup. and he tipped the flowers out onto the floor with the water and he filled the cup up with boiling water and then he put that on the the table. and given it to his granny to warm her hands . I think. he pushed pushed it into her hands. anyway back to the bit where she's died. and the little boy .. the elder boy ran out of the house after he'd said you'd better go get your dad. and the little one ran out after him. about a couple of minutes later. a:nd. e. you saw him running through all these like e :.. corrugated like hut things. it was a real slum area and across this sort of rubbish dump onto the railway and he put his head on the track listening for a train coming. so he heard a train coming. he ran up onto the bridge and e:m jumped into one of the coal wagons as the train went underneath. and he curled he was cold and he curled his legs up and pushed his hands up his jumper and that was the end of the film cos the train was driving off h miles away into the distance.

6.DN [N] e: it opened with. e: what looked like like a twelve year old boy being taken out of school by his aged grandmother. and brought home .. and we got the impression that he was.. taken home. because his mother's had just died. the house is occupied by the aged grandmother that boy and a much younger boy about nine or ten years old. e:m ... (tch) there wasn't much story to it. e:m during the course of the film we saw that the younger boy the ten year old had a .. a friendship with. a german. prisoner of war who is working on the land. at the time. and he'd go and spend sometime with him on the fields and was also .. the boy was teaching the german. prisoner to. speak english. so he took him a school book on one occasion ... there seems to be some confusion over who. the boys parents were .. was who the father was. and I got the impression that in fact the mother had been a prostitute and that they both had different fathers .. the boys did not get on at all the older bullied the younger .. the younger one was always hungry. and were very very poor ..a:nd ... on one occasion the: a man appeared at the door. and brought a canary in a cage. and said it was a birthday present to the older boy. and the grandmother wasn't very pleased about this and told him to get out. (tch) but the older boy. seemed to think that was his father and ran after him but the man didn't come back because the grandmother had upset him .. so: the boy kept the canary but the grandmother her didn't want it in the house so eventually he had to hide it. the younger boy had a cat. that he was very. fond of a black cat he used to cuddle and play with .... e:m.... one scene was was the whole family in an air raid shelter ... and there was another old man there and a woman and a younger child the younger child was sleeping and had an apple beside it that the young boy was trying to steal because he was hungry but the grandmother stopped him when they came out of the air raid shelter. they went back to the. house. to find that the canary cage is on the floor and I presume the canary was dead .. e:m and it wasn't clear who killed it but. the older took revenge out on the younger boy's cat.and broke it's neck and threw it down the street ...e:m a.one point the grandmother took the younger boy to visit.on a bus.to visit what turned out to be his mother..who was in hospital somewhere. and he brought an apple for her and the and the and the nursing sister. stole the apple ... there wasn't any dialogue between the mother and the boy at all .... then the german soldier left. went back home presumably the war had finished ..e:m the young boy is very upset and the older boy was a lot more sympathetic towards him and said that he and his grandmother would look after him he needn't worry..e:m (tch) but shortly afterwards the grandmother died sitting in her chair in front of the fire.. e:m and the older boy said that. the only thing they could do is fetch the younger boy's father who.. the older boy was saying was a man who lived d down the street .. but who wasn't recognised generally as being the younger boy's father ... so the older boy went off. and then the young lad. looked at this grandmother and took off down to the railway station.

went up on the bridge. and jumped. on a goods wagon. as it was passing. and sat on the coal. and that was it. he simply ran away.. and that was the end of the film. [I] oh (laughter). what struck you most about the film? [N] o:h it's so depressing (laughter) it was in black and white. [I] e:m how long ago was it made? [N] how long ago was it made I've no idea ... well it was.. it wasn't good quality it looks poor quality film. [I] no. [N] it looked amateur actually there was very little dialogue in it and the dialogue that was was difficult to understand because they spoke in broad. colloquial accent e:m but even as I say there wasn't much dialogue at all it was difficult to to work out what was going on for a lot of the time.. all you got was this feeling of despair. depression. hunger. and dirt ... [I] who who was the main character sort of (( )) guiding the plot. [N] I think the main character must have been the smaller boy e:m ten year old... e:m [I] yea [N] e:m h the only time we actually saw him smiling was when the german just before the german prisoner of war O.W. was about to leave and he got him a kite and they were flying a kite. in the fields. but then the german just said I've got to go home now good bye . and ran on to this coach and left the boy ... e:m ... the grandmother was ss was very sort of very depressed staring at things and sitting in front of the fire rocking. and (tch) at some point another bird got killed. she appeared on a field .. and the two boys ran out towards her and she was standing sort of swaying she was always dressed in black all the time and she had a paper parcel in her hand newspaper and the boy took it off her and it was a dead bird I'm not quite sure what the significance of that [I] e:m [N] was they were dropping like flies .... oh at one point this this man who's suppose to be: the younger boy's father. came out to him in the street called him. to him and gave him what looked like a six pence and just walked off ... I can't really say I enjoyed watching it at all (laughter) [I] how long was it? [N] e:m about thirty five minutes I suppose thirty five forty minutes very depressing .... [I] that's it.

7.NP [I] right [N] e:m (tch) well I think. it was basically the story of these two boys. who didn't have a father well at least they did have fathers but not living with them. and both have different fathers and it started off. when the: they were living with their grandmother she went to school to get one of them and he came home with her. the younger one was supposed to be out. getting coal. picking coal off the slag heap. e:m but he was just playing and watching the other kids greeting their dads coming out of the mines. and then he went to see the german. pows working in the fields. and he'd made friends with one of these men came on the truck with them.. e:r then he got in a fight with his brother because he hadn't brought enough coal and they didn't have a fire... when they were in bed he asked where mum was and his older brother said that their mum was dead but their granny just started crying ... e:m tch what else .... the older boy's dad brought him a .. canary for his birthday.. and the younger boy thought that was his dad as well. eventually the older boy told him it wasn't that it was... e:m tch someone else was his dad a man with a whippet who lived just down the corner... he went and knocked at the door but didn't get any answer... and he was at the same time he was also. continuing his friendship with this german pow who was an older man you know about fifty. easily old enough to be his father. a:nd ... he was teaching him english out of a child's book. and everything...
e:m and one night they had an air raid and went down to this shelter when they got back to their... house.. the cat had killed the bird. well it was just crunching it up. (laughs) and so the boy. the older one killed the cat and threw it over the steps. tch well the cat was. what the younger boy had it was a stray the younger boy had found and given it to the grandmother. e:m.. [I] where was the mother? [N] the mother. oh they the grandmother took the younger boy on the bus to see t the mother she was actually in.. I suppose a mental hospital. e:m... and she just looked. really. untidy and old ... e: e:m they jus:t went into the room and sit by her bed and she didn't really do anything. she just hid under the covers. the gran started crying again.. e:m tch.. and then in the end. the german. had to go back. it was the end of the war. we saw that bonfire celebration. the german had to go back to germany said goodbye to the boy he went back to the house he was very upset and his brother told him that. him and the grandma would look after him. but then she died so he went out. put his head on the railway. but then he didn't kill himself he jumped on the train instead. ran up to the bridge and jumped on the train. and the end of the film was him going off. on the train... [I] what do you think of the film as a whole]? [N] I thought it was a very miserable film I mean it was very gloomy and very sort of e:... negative an full of.. I suppose... if it's a true story. probably was like that. full of gloom and doom. and nothing in their life just absolute poverty materially and also. they didn't have. their mother. although I thought it was really bad that the two blokes knew that they were their kids and every thing and they

were living in that way and they didn't take any notice of them they just. turned up occasionally. gave them something. like a present or some money they could have probably. helped a lot. with their material poverty.

8.AA [I] can you tell me exactly what the story of the film was?. [N] e:m well it was a bit difficult to understand. actually [I] e:m [N] but. e:m. but e:m. it's about two young boys who lived during the war in Scotland and e:m they're living with their grandmother Em. it's a cold rainy town and one of them has a father and the other little boy thinks that this this same man is his father but it turns out it isn't. and he doesn't know who his father is. [I] mm [N] the little boy who doesn't have the father makes friends with. a german prisoner of war who's working in the fields round. [I] mm [N] the round the village.. em. and e:r they're teaching each other each other's languages. e:m... the boy who. the boy's father brings him a canary. for a. as a birthday present. for some reason the grandmother. doesn't want the boys to see the father and sends the father away [I] mm [N] and e:.. she trys to kill the canary. e:m. [I] why's that? [N] I don't know. I think because the father gave it to the boy and she doesn't like the father. she doesn't think he's responsible. [I] yeh. [N] so em.. the boy pretends to take the canary away but he hides it in the house. in the end. e:m.. it's a very small house so I don't really know how he did it. em, they're obviously very poor. [I] m:m. [N] they have been trying to steal coal from the mine. [I] Yes. and e: they've got very little food or anything em (tch)...h the one day when they're away in the air raid shelter. there's been an air-raid. e:m the cat eats the canary. [I] the cat eats the canary? (laughter) [N] so the two little boys kill the cat. [I] mm [N] and throw that away. I don't I don't ... [I] what exactly do you think is the point of it? do you know? was it just? ... [N] well that was the thing. I don't really understand what what it was. it was just an account of the events during the last last [I] no [N] couple of years of the war .[I] mm. [N] the war ends and ... the P.O.W. goes away . which upsets the little boy a [I] mm [N] a lot and and .... [I] do you ever find who his real father is? [N] no the elder boy tells tells him where he thinks the father lives. the his younger one's father but em I don't think he ever sees him. [I] no. [N] he never finds out and he's got no reason to believe this little boy anyway. I'm not even sure that that the boy that father of the elder boy isn't the father of the younger boy. but the elder one says that he isn't. yeh I don't know whether it's just jealousy or or what it is. anyway after the war is finished the prisoner of war goes away and em the grandmother dies em the older boy goes off to look for his father em to do something about. it and the younger boy jumps on to one of the coal trains and the film ends with him. going on this this coal wagon. just going off into the distance.

9.JP [I] go ahead.
[N] well it is set in nineteen forty five if I remember right. a:nd there was a mining village in Scotland. and it was about these two boys the younger called Jamie. the older called Tommy. who lived with their Granny. and e:.. the father had left the mother who was in hospital. and was apparently a prostitute. and e:m .. they they were obviously a poverty-stricken family. and it started off where the older boy was collecting wood for a fire. and the younger boy was digging something up out of the field now I haven't a clue what it was. but when he returned home he had eaten half of whatever it was and the elder boy. em said. em he was lazy good for nothing. and they had a fight about it. and the granny cried... and e the next bit I remember was the father visiting. the two boys. the father of the elder boy. and bringing him a canary. in a cage for his birthday. and the granny told him to get out and and said that the canary had got to go. and she picked up a spade and started to hit the. the canary with this. spade. [I] Yea (laughter [N] but nearly killed it and just succeeded in bashing the cage so the elder boy hid it. [I] hid the canary? [N] and e: hid the canary. yes. and kept it. a:nd e: (tch) then he took the younger boy outside and pointed to this house and said that's where your father lives. of course the little boy didn't understand and went to knock on the door to go and see his real father.. a:nd e:r the the real father didn't answer it. a:nd you you saw later. the father inside talking to some woman. and that's when it was apparaent that tch the boy's mother was a prostitute. [I] em. [N] and that's how it all happened.. he: the next bit I remember was the younger boy standing on the bridge. over the railway. [I] mm. [N] playing in in the smoke of the train as it went under it and you saw various scenes throughout the play of the younger boy. with a german. man who was teaching him how to speak german and he was teaching the german. how to speak english.. e: later on in the film the german.... [I] so sorry. I'm supposed to ask you questions as we go through it [N] I see (laughs) [I] carry on. yeah [N] and e:m.. the german eventually left. and the little boy said that he loved him and didn't want him to go he'd been like a father to him [I] who the german who is he?. [N] we don't actually know. [I] he wasn't actually the real boy's father? [N] no. he wasn't the boy's father he was just a german who was in in the area at the time working. and eventually he went back to germany. and the little boy was heart-broken about it. [I] mm [N] em... I remember a scene. I remember towards the end [I] how long was the film? [N] it must have been nearly one hour [I] good grief thought you'd seen it ten minutes ago or something [N] oh no it's about nearly one hour [I] yeh. [N] perhaps not quite that big. it seemed it because it was so depressing.. one scene you did see was the elder boy killing a cat. and the granny killing a bird obviously to eat it but one of the boys took it off her and led her home again [I] mm [N] e:m... the end at the end of the film towards it was the end of the film when the german left the little boy

when the little boy was heart-broken and e: the granny died. [I] mm. [N] and left the two boys on their own and we saw [I] what about the mother?] [N] the mother was in hospital she was very ill. [I] mm. [N] they did visit her at one part of the film the granny and the little boy took a bus to visit her. and e:r the little boy didn't talk to her. he just stood and looked at her and she couldn't talk either and brought her an apple he'd saved up and brought her an apple and he put it on the bed and the nurse came round and whipped it and put it in her pocket.. e:m. I think that's basically all I remember oh the end the little boy jumped off this railway bridge onto the train below and the end of the film was where he was going off into the distance on the back of this train [I] on the train? how old was the boy this time? still quite young? [N] I don't know. I'm not sure how old he was. the older looked about twelve I suppose and the younger boy could have been .. eight. [I] mm [N] eightish. [I] e:m [N] it's quite interesting really. [I] you remember the story very well though. [N] oh yes. I think that various bits of.. the thing was it's difficult to remember because all the scenes are very short and they jumped from one thing to another. I think there wasn't an awful lot of dialogue in it. that's what gave it the impression of being even more depressing. I think it was more emotion and very few words and of course they spoke in a scottish language which made it even more difficult. [I] good. was there music or just background music or was there just silence? [N] do you know. I can't remember. I think it was just silence. yeh. and I think that happened to make it depressing as well. [I] was it a well-known film? [N] well. I don't . I don't know. I really don't know. yea. it's unusual. I don't think it is well known.

10.MB my childhood.. all I can remember is.. that it's about a child of about five or six years of age. brought up. in a. his childhood about e: his interaction with. life itself in a small. scottish mining village. where. he lives with his elder brother and grandmother... the film begins with e:m.. the camera zooming in on the village and then and then moving to this. e:m school with the children singing .. and e: e: the grandmother arrives. and the elder son walks out of the classroom. e: whereupon the film moves on to the little boy who's on the coal heaps outside the mine where he's obviously trying to steal some coal. and he sees all the .. e.. miners coming out their shift obviously finished. and they walk out and he stares down. and after they have all left he turns. and runs down the coal heap. leaving behind his collection of coal. and he arrives home. whereupon his brother isn't very pleased with him. attacks him. the grandmother tries to. to end this. and and then it switches onto where they're sitting in the living room just staring at the fire and e:.. the elder brother is angry with his younger brother ... I think it then moves onto when the father comes to visit them remembering his older son's birthday e:m sorry e:m after e the... the young . the young boy goes into a graveyard I can't understand why there is this. whose grave it might be his grandfather and then they move into the scene. where e: the father comes and brings a budgie or a budgie canary in a cage to his older son for his birthday and the grandmother is very stoic. (laughs) and is quite annoyed that he should lose control of himself and .. tells him to leave and shouts at him. the elder brother runs after his father shouting don't go.. meanwhile the: younger e: brother seems to have. to be having.. seems to be getting to like one of the prisoner of wars because there is a prisoner of war camp obviously near the e: village and he seems to. love the bloke. he seems to get on very well with him and they get. this kind of they start trying to learn each other's languages. the little boy brings him. a book which obviously he used in his childhood e:m and says e:m a's for e:m the alps and c is for cats (( )) at the same time the grandmother seems whenever they go past a certain house down the road. the: grandmother spits on the doorstep. I have no idea why. obviously it's something to do with the mother (( )) anyway the grndmother doesn't like this budgie . this canary thing that was given to the son and e: she attacks this cage and e:m the (laughs) and the elder son manages to prevent the bird being killed by his grandmother and shouts at his grandmother and tells her to stop. so: e:m he takes it down into the cellar. the the younger brother obviously feels a bit annoyed by the fact that his older brother has got this present from his father and e: he brings a cat into the house. they go to ... I'm not entirely sure I think they go into this field and (( )) they're standing there. obviously talking and when they come back there is this cat. finishing off the remains of the . canary and e: the elder brother. goes e:m again this isn't very clear. he. he. goes beserk he he attacks the cat. and e: kills it and throws it outside the house and e: runs up to the place where the: railway track on

this bridge and stands there with his arms flung out and as the train goes past and all the steam goes up. e:m.. we then go back to the young son . the young brother who moves .. who pays the german. e: prisoner of war a visit. he seems to be paying lots of visits throughout the film but you can't really look at them by themselves there's obviously if he.. the director could have put them all in one group it would have been far simpler (( )) a:nd the relationship with this bloke who lives next door just down the road seems a bit .. I can't understand it. e::m occasionally giving the little boy titbits like a penny or or just smiling at him. a: a:nd e:m they ... I think ... they then go and pay the mother a visit a:nd e: she. she's obviously in a mental home of some sort. (( )) the boy takes her an apple gives it to her . give it to her and e: the nurse takes it. and the grandmother can't believe the state. I suppose it is her daughter. is in. I got the sort of impression that the daughter e:m .. was having . you know . is a whore although she was married she . she might have had some sort of relationship with e: another bloke and e:m.. they then leave and they go back home. and then get the: little boy paying the german a visit where you see him sitting on some rocks playing around him you know just like a father would to a son. a:nd e:.. we then move onto we go to back to the house where the mother the grandmother is sitting there and e:m.. the elder son is giving her food which is just bread and milk. he is just giving it to her and he he she's dead. so: the: e:m. the: elder brotehr goes off to obviously I think it's to this bloke down the road to say that the grandmother's died and so. or to the father. I'm not sure. they didn't exactly say whether the father had died which seems a bit odd. and this other bloke. who had given him titbits and e:m the little boy runs off just like his brother had done when he was going to the: railway track and he gets up on the bridge. and as the steam's coming out he climbs down the side drops onto one of these coal trains [I] mm [N] into one of the: carriages and he slowly disappears in the distance and that's the end of the film. [I] where about is it set do you know? [N] yes e:m. oh where? [I] during the war? [N] yes during the war in Scotland. [I] what do you think of it? [N] it's very obscure e: the. you can't. there's no . the words are very like when the boy is saying speaking to the german.. you know teaching him english you can hardly hear what's been said or when the. first when the eldest brother was you know talking to the younger brother you couldn't understand what's been said but it's very. tacky. a very e: sad picture (( )) [I] do you reckon it supposed to signify anthing? [N] well obviously this part of his childhood had a tremendous effect upon him if this is a true story from a man who's actually who's child childhood it is. e:m I.. I didn't actually have a chance to be actually get any deep meaning out of it because I was still trying to sort of understand each little scene.. so I woudld be able to remember it clearly. the story was very depressing. obviously it was depressing for them (( )) would probably be the main thing about it [I] and the mother and father were divorced then presumably? [N] yes

well either divorced or they just. because she'd gone into a mental home (( )) [I] do you think that affected the children at all? [N] well I would have thought so. I suppose you could say but e: the effect was there. I mean you could tell when the father came that the elder brother obviously e:m (( )) and that he was the one who comprehended more than the younger one did. the younger brother always seemed desperately wanted to have a father as such and the friendship with the german e:m (( )) the grandmother was. you know. seemed to be .... well. she was lost. obviously something that she had this e:m picture of the mother before (( )) alter this photograph. rather a beautiful and good-looking woman. the upper torso. and e:m when you saw the picture of the mother in the mental hospital she looked. you know. had deteriorated so much that was obviously why she pulled the sheet. but on the children I'd have thought that any break-up like that would have a tremendous effect (( )) and as it was during the war. went through the years to when the german leaves. the effect on the children must have been quite deep. you. it was just. you could tell that this boy looked very happy when he was with the german. e:m. the elder brother didn't know. didn't seem/ his only happiness really was the the bird. he didn't really show it as such. he e: it was obviously based on the young boy more than the elder brother. the concentration was more on the love of the youngest.

11.CL [N] right you want me to tell you what it was about.. [I] yea...[N] well for the story line it started off with two young boys who were in school and their grandmother outside the e: school playing field. they were singing and then they went out. and this was all set sort of. I suppose it was in Wales because they all had Welsh accents during the war and there were all the german prisoners about. and e: one of the kids he ran off up to. the mine and he was watch well he started off collecting coal. and then he was up at the mine watching all the miners come out and all the other kids were going over to their fathers and things like that it was all very friendly but then he didn't have one he so he sort of stood watching them for a while and then he saw all prisoners who were working in the field. and they obviously had a very close friend who was one of those. who he sort of associated with throughout the film. a:nd .. the:n it sort of pottered along like this in the same sort of way. and then there was a bit about killing the pets which was very strange which was thrown in the middle just to put a bit of violence in almost where the cat had eaten a budgie. and then it was sort of about the: elder brother killing the cat after that and the little brother boy didn't like him... a:nd the:n... what happens after that they didn't seem to go back to school I think it must have been the school holidays or the summer because they were wearing sort of.. I don't know what clothes but it could have been because they didn't have them and then there was (tch) when they went to the air raid shelter for a bit and they were both trying to find out who their fathers were the eldest one met his father.. an: the youngest one well his father didn't really want to meet him at all... and then well I'm not quite sure whether the war was meant to I think the war must have finished cos they were all celebrating round the bonfire (tch) a:nd e: the germans went said they were going afterwards which upset the youngest boy because this was like his only friend because his father didn't want anyuthing to do with him... a:nd e:r well then in the end the grandmother could have been dead she was sort of sitting there with her mouth open and then she was sitting there like that throughout nmost of the film anyway so I kept thinking she'd died whether she did in the end or not I don't know.. a:nd e:r this young one ran away I'm not sure what happens to the older one at all and he jumped on the back of the train although whether he was con considering suicide before or not I don't know because he was lying on the track for a while. but then he jumped on the back of this train and shot off into the distance and that was the end of the film. really. [I] you you said the two boys.. they were brothers. but they seem to have different fathers. [N] well no I suppose I'd s yea I'd say it was the same mother but with different fathers. because when they went to see the mother in .. she was in one of the homes. I don't know what was wrong with her. probably something nice like TB or something. it's just a total wild guess. they were living with this grandmother and they don't seem much good anyway.. they sort of pottered about.. they didn't have much

at all. [I] did you get anything out of it? you know... [N] I think. I don't think it was a very good film. I don't think it was well made at all I mean whether that's partly because it's an old film anyway plus we've seen it on a video but e:.. [I] you didn't get any sort of you know. big social meaning. [N] e:m not one that hasn't been said before no [I] mm. [N] I think maybe reiterating sort of the usual comment about sort of people being put in all the different positions and how there are people that they were left like this and how they were virtually shunned by sort of society and no-one was that interested. but e: I don't think it was putting across an original message or at least don't. OK?

12.RC it's the story about e:m ... a young lad. in a scottish. mining community. who's been brought up by his grandmother. with another boy as well. e:m .. he appears very emotionally much disturbed. for not having his father e:m.. the story begins in a .. school. and the grandmother calls out the boy .. during a class. and e: the boys. wanders about some coal field looking for coal. [I] the boys? [N] the boy. [I] there's two. [N] there's just the one boy to begin with .. a:nd e:.. and e:.. then he sees the rest of the children coming out of the school.. and the. fathers who've been working in the mines come to collect the .. children and he seems to be very upset about this. he runs off again. e: he runs off to a field where there are some men working in the field and the .. they're e:m german prisoners of war it said on the caption in the beginning of the film. and he seems to have latched onto one of these prisoners of war ... he he seems to be quite friendly with him and they give him a lift back home on the back of this tractor ... and when he gets back home. e:m.. to a little terraced house. with his grandmother. and another boy's there. and the two boys have a fight because the . the younger lad. [I] what's the ... what relation is he? [N] e: that's not not altogether clear actually. I think they might be brothers but it's not altogether clear. [I] yea. [N] e:m.. the two boys have a fight because .. e:m because the younger one who I've been describing never brought enough coal back to the fire and the grandmother tries to split them up but it's to. no avail. e:m the next scene is the two boys talking about. their. their fathers e: at night. obviously trying to sleep. in this bed and the grandmother is in this bed as well and they both seem to be upset about not having. parents.. who are around all the time. I'm not quite sure where the parents are .. and the next morning.. [I] it's not because they're orphans? [N] they could be orphans. there's very little. very little speech at all in the first in the twenty minutes at all. it's just sort of open to your own interpretations I think. e:.. the next day. I'm trying to recall all the events.. e:m the older brother. the older lad I should say e:m his father turns up with. a present for him. e:m.. it's a bird in a cage ../ and the grandmother is extremely annoyed about this present she doesn't seem to like the father. and she chases him out of the house. and e:m.. he he runs after his father. but his father's gone. he comes back into the house to find his grandmother trying to smash the cage. e:m.. and the two boys talk about this bird quite a bit and one of the lads (( )) locks himself in the. locks hismelf in the loo with this cage [I] why? [N] because the grandmother. doesn't want him to have this.. doesn't like the bird in the cage because it was bought by the father. I think. now then. what's next? e:m. oh yes. then the other boy who's sort of latched onto this german prisoner of war out in the fields and he goes out to e:m look for him the next day and they. travel on a.. I think it might be a van. and the. boy is trying to teach the german. how to speak english. [I] how come he travels around with a prisoner of war? [N] e:m. I don't know. he just seems to be trying to find some kind of identity. I suppose.. he's

only .. he doesn't seem to be doing anything in particular really. he just seems to be wandering really. [I] yea. were they shifting these german prisoenrs of war around? [N] yeah. the prisoners of war are working on the land. [I] oh yeah. I see. [N] he spends quite a lot of time with this prisoner of war. the other the other prisoners seem to think it's strange that this bloke's learning english... the next thing goes back to. an air-raid.. or at least that's one thing I can't understand about this film. it's basically so disjointed. so full of scenes. the next thing I can recall. there's an air=raid. and e:.. the two lads the grandmother and another bloke are in thsi air-raid shelter singing scotch songs. and e:.. they return to the house. after the air-raid's over and they have a big fight about this cat. in the house which. they throw out of it actually and.. they have a big row about it and the younger lad he runs off to. the railway line and there's this train coming underneath and he gets covered in this smoke from it. he seems to be acting the goat.... the final scene's where. the grandmother.. dies. and e: the lad looks as if he wants to go and commit suicide by sticking his head on the railway line. but he seems to lose. the courage and so he. runs onto the top of this bridge. and jumps onto it and e:.. the train.. in fact it was a coal wagon. the train just goes off in the distance and that's the end of the story.. e:m I suppose the interpretation is that it's a story about e:m.. a lad who's. brought up in a very unstable family background. and he's definitely lacking his parents and he's particularly lacking a father.. and towards the end you can see how. the depression has really set in. (( )) and he appears really in need of support. he seems to have no purpose in life and.. so suicide is the only way out (( )). [I] so this chap who came the other night with a bird in a cage definitely wasn't his father? [N] he was the father of the elder child. [I] yes. so who was it then? [N] e:m.. no there is there's another scene where the young lad seems to be praying that it is his father and the elder lad is saying. no. no. that's not your father. I think the the young lad's trying to. equate e:m his father. with the other's father because he obviously wants some kind of. father figure to live there.... I don't know if it makes any sense.... (( )) it's a very disjointed film. [I] yea. [N] and it's very difficult to recall. so many different. events because there's not much of a thread throughout it... [I] what happened to the other lad? [N] you just didn't see him at all actually. [I] so when did he fade out [N] e: he faded out in the scene where the grandmother died and you didn't see him in the attempted suicide scene at all.

13.CH [I] right tell me. about the film. [N] e:m. the film. is in black and white. and it's set in. 1945 nineteen forty five in a scottish mining village. and the scene is set. oh and the only other information we are given is that there. are german prisoners-of-war working in the fields. so the scene is set by this little boy.. e: sort of just wandering around. as the film carries on it is fairly obvious they obviously live in a fairly poor e:m state of affairs. and the first thing I saw was that there was no mother or father around. there was just the granny and two two what you assumed they were brothers. and the granny in this little shack in a Scottish mining village and there was no mention of the father or mother for a long time and the little boy Jimmy had an affection for one of the german prisoners-of-war and so they sort of became very very good friends and ...e .... so ... he becomes becomes friends with with german soldier and.. the father and mother have yet to be seen. e: .... [I] is is this the beginning? [N] well this is it it sort of progresses. there's. there's virtually no dialgoue in the film either. e:m. e:m they are living a very hard life. e:m granny is obviously fairly ill and she's she's getting towards the end of her days. e:m and about half-way through the film one of the fathers comes along and everything sort of reveals is revealed that as the film progresses one of the fathers came along. and that was it you sort of thought the father because he only he brings a present for one of the little boys and. not the other one so you think well he's the father of one but he's not the father of the other and. e: it it becomes clear that the mother is a prostitute. and that the two boys are the unfortunate consequences of her prostitution and here again it shows it shows her in the film later on in a mental hospital and you know she's just sort of sitting lying there and the nurse is doing her best to sort of maker her look presentable and e: the nurse introduces Jimmy it's Jimmy again e:m to to by sort of saying say hello to your mother and he just sort of looks at her and she just pulls the sheet over her face and so

so. e:m you know Jimmy's father lives in the same village. but he doesn't know where he lives and his his supposed.. brother. his half-brother shows him where his father lives but he won't have anything to do with him. and e:m so you assume that what Jimmy's doing with this german prisoner-of-war is that his father and mother aren't around and the affection he feels and needs e:m this german soldier is providing. e:m the gran dies eventually she she looks as though she's going a bit round the twist and she dies. e:m. and this this present this that the other little boy's father brings to him the canary in a cage and e: during an air-raid the cat gets at it. and has got it. and one of the graphic things is this this young lad strangling the cat and throwing it out into the street.. it's quite different. but the gran tends to wander off into the fields. she sort of starts talking to herself she's on her way out she's on her way out and eventually she just dies. a:nd Jimmy he's sort of. when the gran dies the two boys are there and they see her and she's obviously dead. a:nd the

other one brother says to Jimmy whose father's the one who's across the street he says you'd better go and get your da. so so the lad runs out. I think Tom his name's Tommy. Tommy goes out to get this. to get Jimmy's father and e:m. Jimmy runs off. and you think he's going to sort of be there and be dragged along by the engine because he's been through a lot and that's the end of Jimmy but he doesn't he hears a train coming. and he runs up onto a bridge and it's like a coal train and he jumps off it. a:nd into the e:m into one of the carriages.. I mean. it's not a carriage but it's got coal [I] laughs [N] kind of thing. and you just see him e:m like running away because there's obviously nothing left for him you know he hasn't got any you notice the absence of this german soldier the war's ended you see them celebrating. the german soldier is is going home he's been sent home and all you see is him and Jimmy with this kite in the field and he just says to him look I've got to go now and he just runs off and the soldier gets off onto the coach and just goes off and leaves him behind. so Jimmy just runs away after that. you just see him going off into the distance.. [I] I suppose the sort of germans just all the germans represent this affection of the mother [I] and father? [N] yea they don't play no other part in the film or anything? [N] yea. no no no they're just they're just working in the fields. there must be a camp near by. and their their work is in the fields. and Jimmy just sort of latches onto one of those. he doesn't know his father. he doesn't know his mother. I suppose (( )) [I] and you thing there's a point behind it? [N] oh I don't know. it's [I] you think .... [N] you sort of think about it to see whether to see what the point was. I mean if. you just watched it [I] I haven't seen it all [N] it wouldn't have any point at all. if you were just casually watching it. one of the points that comes out and hits you is the I mean you get little bits of information all the time and you sort of make up a picture of it... and e:m you know it was only sort of when the credits came up that I really realised that they were talking about two different fathers. these weren't brothers. I mean there was friction between the two brothers and you know just associated that with them being brothers anyway. the fact that the. elder brother knew. that his father. wasn't. the younger brother's father. and they sort of treated each other with a certain lack of respect because of it. they weren't really very brotherly. and the gran was the only person they had left in the world. and she was the one who sort of kept them together under the same roof. it's different [I] yea.

14.TB [N] e:m it's set in nineteen forty five in a scottish mining village. entitled my childhood. e:m. it's basically about these two kids who. e: live with their gran in a scottish village e: where they're obviously a bit impoverished very poor. the opening scene starts off with e:m the older of the two sons whose name's Tommy which is natural in school in the school choir in the hall. and there's a lesson going on. and em caretaker who sort of fetched him out came to fetch him out and there's his gran waiting outside in the school playground she's called him out for some reason or other. and after that it then goes to the next shot of the younger child who's on a e:m slag heap coal tip collecting burrowing around for coal e: he gets disturbed when the miners come out of the pit. so he runs off and loses half the stuff he's been collecting (( )) he runs off and on his way back. and he gets waylaid in a field he sort of gets detoured. and there's german prisoners of wars working in the fields (( )) and he gets waylaid waylaid watching these he's e: become friendly with one of the german prisoners of war an older gentleman who seems to be quite a nice bloke he seems quite friendly with him he plays around with this bloke for a bit the bloke treats him like a fatherly in a fatherly manner. he hangs about there for a bit and comes back in the truck with them. to the village and then he goes back to the house where his elder brother and gran and his gran are. and his elder brother gives him a bit of a going over for not bringing any coal back. and they have a tussle and the gran seems to have no control over them at all. she doesn't want she can't stop them fighting.. e:m so we just get the general impression from that that they are very impoverished. and they main mainly they seem to concentrate for the rest of the film. on on this kid on this youngest kid builds a sort of father like relationship with the german prisoner of war who they obviously haven't any parents. at all and the gran (( )) I think the kids are under the impression that she's dead. and they haven't got a father. the elder kid knows who his father is.. e:m so they were under the impression that the mother's dead. (( )) at some stage during the film about half-way through the film a bloke appears at the house he causes a bit of an argument between the gran and this bloke cos he comes on the eldest son's birthday that's Tommy. on his birthday. and gives him a canary. and the gran doesn't like the idea of this and tells him to sod off. and e: the older kid goes chasing after him and doesn't want him to go (( )) something to do with their mother or something in the past. so the gran doesn't like the older kid's father. but there doesn't seem to be any association between this bloke. and the youngest kid. there doesn't seem to be any relationship between them so I don't know whether it is his father or not. e:m he he gives the older kid a canary. his gran doesn't want him to keep it that causes arguments and she tells him to get rid of it. so he runs off. disappears for like the evening. and when he comes back the bloody. gran setting about the canary bashing the cage with the a broom [I] laughs [N] trying to savage the canary to death and this kid runs in and gets the canary off

her. and the cage and tells her to leave it (( )) the youngest kid. he spends his time sort of e:m day-dreaming in a way. he spends his time going to see this german in the field. he's teaching him how to speak english with the aid of a. big pile of school books he seems to have a very good relationship with the german he seems to look up to him because he hasn't got a father figure in his life. and the oldest and his older brother has got like his father's given him a canary (( )) there's another gentleman in the village who comes up to the younger kid and gives him money at one stage in the film. and he's caught watching him a couple of times. the: the film's not very clear because you can't understand the em dialogue at all or the actual voices at all. but the eldest son says to the youngest son about three quarters of the way through the film I know a secret. says something to him takes him outside and points to this house in the village where this bloke lives that's given him money [I] yea [N] if you can understand that. and says something to him about the house. I think he's saying that's his father. because he has said that the bloke who gave him the canary was not the younger son's father. that would mean that they both had different fathers. but presumably the same mother. presumably. so: that's another reason may be for the relation with the mother. e:m.. the young kid doesn't know much about that.. e:m the younger kid's got an association. we tend to associate with the cat in the family. he says to look after that (( )). he's got a sort of (( )) a they got a funny relation with the gran. they sort of don't like it very much but they go to her when they need to. e:m they. there's an air raid one night and they're in the air raid shelter some time and when they come back in the morning. this kid's cat has savaged the canary and eaten it. and you hear sounds of the crunching of the canary's bones. so the older kid a bit distraught gets hold of the cat then there's a fight between the two kids. about the cat. there's a fight over the cat and the cat's getting pulled between the two and the gran's again going stop it stop it. lack of control e:m and the elder kid kills the cat. nice and pleasant. throws the cat out the window and bounces off the steps [I] and that upsets him? [N] that seems to be blown over as a. minor dispute after a bit though it seems important at the time but they there's no reference. they don't refer back to it. the younger kid continues having this. seeing this bloody seeing this german bloke. then and not long after that oh after that the e:m younger kid is dragged by his nan on the bus somewhere. his nan's got a letter from somebody called Mary and the younger kid says who's Mary? and she wouldn't tell him. she ignored him.. and they went to e:m what was presumably an institution an institution a mental hospital to see someone and e:.. there was this woman in the bed there who looked pretty . who seemed to be a bit mentally deranged because she doesn't want to e: put down her bed clothes (( )) and so then the nurse pushes her hair forward and e: the young kid's been dragged to see her. and then nan stands there and sobs and cries and mutters wails to herself. very boring. and the em young kid just looks

at her and then the young kid just looks away. so I presume that's his mum. I presume. so I don't know if she's had problems during childhood or whether she's had a dose of syph at some stage. it seems like that. she's obviously had something happen to her in the past.. so he come they go back to the e:m village and the young kid. hangs about the house in the village that the elder kid's pointed out to him. hangs about and inside there's the bloke who's given him the money and the woman he's living with and she's saying to him em oh she was a whore. all women are whores but you deserved better than her and they don't know anyway. so presumably this bloke is the younger kid's father. he's had a relationship with his mum and that's over and done with and this younger kid I presume this bloke. presumably feels e:m put out that they're so impoverished and that's why he's give em him money. he probably felt he wanted to take him and father him. but e:m.. then it's the celebration.. in nineteen forty five in the in the in the middle of the village. so presumably it's VE day at the end of the war.. because the next scene's of e:. the german. prisoner of war. best togs in the field teaching the kid how to fly a kite.. and e: he says oh I'm leaving now and disappears off. onto the coach. while the kid drops the kite as soon as he goes and runs off after him chase the coach off down the road shouting bloody the german's name Helmut Helmut or something like that (( )) then they go back to the house this e: scene the young kid's really upset he he's withdrawn into himself so he feels very. lost very lost. and e:.. his elder brother says don't worry oh we'll look after you so his elder brother couldn't have known about the german at all. then he goes over to the nan and the nan's just kicked the bucket dead. and that's the end of the film. no. that's not the end of the film. no. she's kicked the bucket.. and the next thing is the kid bloody runs out of the house disappears off goes off onto the railway line. and he's lying on the railway line trying to listen. for the train to come. and when the train comes he runs up onto the bridge. and we thought he's gone up there just to wait for the steam to all collect in the bridge whatever he does but when the train goes underneath he jumps out onto the train.. and he's bloody sitting in the coal carriage of the train I thought he was committing suicide actually sitting there in the train with the hugging his knees together watching and presumably he's run off. and the only other scene I can remember. is just before the gran kicks the bucket they find her in a field. hugging a dead bird wrapped in a piece of newspaper. I haven't the foggiest what that was about.... [I] perhaps it was the canary? [N] it wasn't a canary it was a blackbird. blackbird. well the cat had eaten the canary and the cat was dead. and that's all I can remember.

Appendix IV

Interviewer Instructions

I. Complete the following:

Name:

Age: Sex:

Department:

Year of study (if undergraduate)

II. Would you please make sure that the tape recorder is ON

III. Push two buttons to record. (RECORD and PLAY)

IV. Switch the tape recorder ON once the "speaker" steps into the room.

V. It is very important for our experimental design that the situation be as normal and true to life as much as possible. Encourage the speaker to not only tell the story of the film, but to give their own interpretation of the events as well. Also, do not hesitate to ask the speaker any question.

VI. When the recording is over switch the tape recorder OFF.

VII. Do not forget to leave this paper in the room before leaving.

THANK YOU FOR COMING

NB. Write the name of 'the speaker'

Speaker:

APPENDIX V

Interviewee Instructions

Film: My Childhood
(Director: Bill Douglas)

I Complete your record card before watching the film.

II After having watched the film, please go to room ___ where you tell the story of the film, "My Childhood".

III Write down the story of the same film, (do not write a summary), and hand it to Salwa Farag in Room 743 by tomorrow morning.

Record Card

Name:

Department:

Subjects of Study:

Age:

Sex:

Appendix VI

Guided Tours

For the purpose of this pilot study the investigator joined and tape recorded a number of guided tours in Birmingham and London.

T1 Aston Hall in Birmingham

T2 Tower of London

T3 Coach Tour of the West End in London

T4 St Paul's Cathedral in London

T5 Tower of London

T6 Aston Hall in Birmingham

T7 Coach Tour of the West End in London

T8,9 Westminster Abbey in London

T10 The Natural History Museum in London.

The investigator joined as a tourist and permission to record was taken from the guide in T1,2 and 6. (In T10 the tape is a commercial one bought at the entrance of the museum).

All the guides were males, approximately 40-50 years of age. Tours 3, 4, and 5 are guided by the same guide.

Of the ten tours, seven were selected and carefully transcribed (T 1-6 and 10), (the recording quality of the remaining three being unsatisfactory). Filled/Unfilled pauses are omitted from the extracts cited in Chapter One.

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