

NONSTANDARD ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION:
DIRECT QUOTATION IN THE NEWS

By

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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Analysis of the phenomenon of speech representation has historically taken place in the field of narrative fiction. However, the forms and functions of direct quotation in narrative fiction cannot appropriately be applied to direct quotation in other genres, namely, the news. Direct quotations in the news merit more specific analysis.

This study examines the nonstandard written representations of speech found in the direct quotations of various news sources. The data were collected using three different methods to ensure a representative sample, and analysis resulted in a categorical distinction of seven types of nonstandard orthographic representation.

The contributions of the study are three-fold: (1) it offers a large corpus of examples of nonstandard orthographic representation in direct quotations, (2) it provides an analysis of the types of nonstandard orthographic representation that goes far beyond previous analyses, and (3) it motivates a number of new theoretical stances toward nonstandard written representations of speech, discussed below.

This study suggests that the meaning of the term “nonstandard orthography” should be broadened. Currently the term evokes only the types of respellings used to represent casual or dialectical pronunciations (“gonna,” “cain’t,” “helluva”). However, spelling conventions are not the only violable constraints of written language. Many other conventions of writing (its lack of discourse markers, its formality, its rules for encoding number, its lack of word repetition, its syntactic restraints, etc.) are all violated in direct quotations.

This study also suggests, through a discussion on the transition from speech to writing, that direct quotation is not as objectively representative as has been suggested by previous literature.

Finally, whereas previous studies take nonstandard speech as a starting point and examine its subsequent nonstandard written representation, this study emphasizes that even standard speech is susceptible to nonstandard written representation.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Analysis of the phenomenon of speech representation has historically taken place in the field of narrative fiction (Baynham & Slembrouck 1999). It was supposed that the forms and functions of speech representation in narrative fiction could accurately apply to speech representation in other genres as well, including direct quotation in journalistic discourse. That, however, is not the case. Direct quotations in news media are a case in point. They are instances of reported speech that have a very different function than the reported speech of fiction, namely, in news discourse, direct quotations claim to represent an actually existing utterance (Waugh 1995).

Current Study

The current study examines the written representation of spoken language by analyzing a corpus of direct quotations from various media sources, specifically, direct quotations that include instances of nonstandard orthographic representation (for an explanation of what counts as nonstandard, see “The Writing of Speaking” below).

This study offers two contributions in the way of data: (1) a large corpus of nonstandard orthographic representations of speech from various media sources (see Appendices A-G), and (2) an analysis of previously uncategorized types of nonstandard orthography (see Chapter 3). It also offers three contributions in the way of theoretical stances toward nonstandard usage: (1) a move toward broadening what is meant by the phrase “nonstandard orthography” (this chapter), (2) the suggestion that direct quotations are not as self-representative as has been suggested by previous literature (see Chapter 2),

and (3) an emphasis on how even standard speech can be represented in nonstandard fashion, which has been under-represented in previous literature (see Chapter 3).

In the introduction that follows, I discuss the issue of whether written language is a viable genre for linguistic analysis, followed by a discussion of the methodology used to collect and analyze data.

The Writing of Speaking

This study attempts to examine a specific instance of what Preston has called “the writing of speaking” (1985:328). The object of examination is written language which purports to represent an actual spoken utterance. The phrase “written language” will be used throughout with that meaning, thus excluding any instance of writing that does not claim to be representing an actual spoken utterance (i.e., paraphrases, works of literature, personal letters, etc.).

Writing as a Viable Object of Analysis

The place of written language in the field of linguistics is somewhat controversial. It has been claimed that the study of written language in fact has no place in linguistics, asserting that writing is merely a representation of spoken language (Saussure 1959). Written language is, in that sense, not to be counted as “real” language. Transcriptions of spoken language are viewed as useful only to the extent that they are tools to discover something about the spoken version.

In the face of such a claim, the case needs to be made for studying the written representation of speech as a system in its own right. In order to do so, it is necessary to examine how written language differs from spoken language, which is not an easy task, considering that spoken language and written language are so conflated in the minds of literate speakers that they are practically “incapable of distinguishing between them”

(Lippi-Green 1997:18). Nevertheless, speech and writing are opposed to each other in a number of ways. In addition to the difference in mediums, speech is fleeting and temporary while writing has more permanence, speech relies on a temporal and interpersonal context that writing does not, spoken language is the manifestation of an innate human ability, writing is not, etc. (Lippi-Green 1997, Coulmas 2003).

A less well-documented characteristic of writing is its ability to create new impressions not evinced by spoken language.

What Writing Creates

Perhaps the most interesting difference between spoken language and written language lies in the transition from the former to the latter. Writing can be a representation of speech, or as Mishler more accurately puts it, a “re-presentation” of speech (1991:261).

Writing certainly does not encode every meaningful segment of speech (Coulmas 2003), and Olson argues convincingly that the connection between speech and writing is far more tenuous than most literate speakers believe (1994). Major characteristics of speech that typically disappear in writing include intonation, pitch, length, tone of voice, etc. It is not the case, however, that the transitional relationship from speech to writing is simply one of erosion. It is also one of creation. The written representation of speech (as opposed to the actual spoken utterance) creates exceptional effects in our perception of the speaker, specifically, effects that are not present in the spoken utterance alone. Olson says as much, characterizing writing as an invitation “to see what was said ... in a new way” (1994:xv). In other words, the spoken utterance and its written representation, though in some senses the “same,” often connote very different things.

By way of example, compare the two transcriptions¹ below (Wears 2004):

- (1a) M5: I mean you have to suspect that she could have fallen, right?
 M2: she could have
 M3: I'm just telling him, you can do the IV
 M5: okay bottom line
 M3: so she had seizure
 M2: could have
 M5: could have, we don't know
- (1b) M5: I mean ya hafta suspect that she coulda fallen, right?
 M2: she could've
 M3: I'm jus' tellin' 'em, you can do the eye-vee
 M5: 'kay, bottom line =
 M3: = so she had seizure
 M2: coulda
 M5: coulda, we dunno

The conversation represented by these transcriptions took place between emergency room physicians during a change of shift. The physicians were speaking standard, unaccented, American English in neutral dialects (no regional identification of the speakers was possible).

The first transcription succeeds in accurately transmitting as much. The second transcription not only fails to transmit the sense that the participants were speaking “normally,” but actually creates the visual impression that the speakers were using a strikingly nonstandard dialect of English. This is due to the use of spellings characterized as “allegro forms,” nonstandard spellings designed to reflect casual speech. This phenomenon has been dubbed the “Li'l Abner syndrome” (Preston 1985:328).

Though the second transcription is perhaps more accurate in representing exact pronunciations, it represents precisely those pronunciations that listeners in the original

¹ M represents a male voice, and the number represents the order in which the speakers began talking. So M1 is the first male voice on the tape, M2 is the second male voice on the tape, etc. These examples are excerpted from a larger transcript, which is why they do not start with M1.

oral setting tend to filter out (the omission of word-endings, for instance). In that way, written representations have the ability to over-represent, in visual form, features of speech that are not perceived as salient (or not perceived at all) in the spoken medium. The visual medium calls attention to aspects of the utterance hearers usually gloss over, thus a listener who judges a stream of speech as standard may judge the written version of it as decidedly nonstandard (Preston 1985). Putting speech into writing creates the impression “nonstandard.” This contradicts the claim made by Jaffe and Walton that “people interpret variation in the graphic representation of language in the same way they interpret spoken variation” (2000:562).

The Meaning of “Nonstandard Orthography”

The phrase “nonstandard orthography” usually evokes the kind of “respellings” highlighted in Preston’s widely cited 1985 article. A word must be said here about how the phrase “nonstandard orthographic representation” is to be interpreted in this study. It certainly includes examples like (1b) above, in which traditional conventions of spelling are flouted in favor of representing exact pronunciations. However, it should also include instances in which the traditional conventions of written English are flouted in favor of directly quoting a source, writing down what a speaker says. The issue that arises here is that almost anything that is considered “normal” in speech looks abnormal in writing.

Speech and writing are two different things, though written language has a much greater effect on our speech than many people believe: we use spelling as a guide to pronunciation, and spoken language is judged by how well it meets the criteria for written language (Coulmas 2003). Though standard written English is in actuality a collection of arbitrary conventions of representation, it is mistakenly thought to represent “what actually comes out of people’s mouths” (Balhorn 1998:57). The idea that people speak in

things called “sentences” comes from writing. In actuality, the units of spoken language coincide more with intonational phrasing or semantic closure rather than considerations of a syntactic nature (Schiffrin 1994).

In an ultra-literate society, people tend to co-opt the criteria for written language for use in spoken language as well. When a spoken utterance does not meet the criteria for written language, listeners are forgiving (and probably unaware). But when that spoken utterance is represented in writing, we are reminded of how much we value the conventions of written language, and thus subject written representations of spoken language to much greater scrutiny than we would the utterances they purport to represent. The process is largely unconscious, and in spite of bold statements like Olson’s “writing is not a transcription of speech” (1994:258), readers are alarmingly unaware of their equivocation. Preston (1985) is a study of nonlinguist consultants’ affective response to written representation to several utterances, some of which contain allegro forms, nonstandard grammatical forms, or a combination of both. Preston’s incredulity is clear as he baffles at his participants “[seeming] to believe that [they] had a clear insight into speech from the written representation of it” (1985:335). Mishler calls this belief “naïve realism” (1991:259). “The connection between image and reality,” he says, “is not simply “there,” even when we might naively expect it to be ...” (1991:255). Completing Mishler’s photography/transcription analogy, we can say that the connection between a written representation and the actual spoken utterance is not simply “there,” rather, it is constructed.

Far from having clear insight, readers prone to naïve realism are oblivious to the creative abilities of written language discussed above. Preston notes that “NO

respondents were apparently ever troubled by the fact that speech was being evaluated from writing” (1985:335). Preston says speech was being evaluated *from* writing. It may be more accurate here to say that speech was being (and continues to be) evaluated *as* writing. All of this happens to the detriment of those whose speech is quoted in print media.

Methodology

The data collection process is discussed first, followed by a discussion of the method of data analysis.

Data Collection

The data in this study are the result of three different methods of collection: (1) a time-delineated set of articles from *The New York Times* and *The Gainesville Sun*, (2) a historical sampling of articles from the same sources, and (3) examples of nonstandard orthography that happened to be present in my personal reading.

Method (1) ensures a large sample. It yields data from a 40-day period (August 8th-September 16th 2004). However, the data from forty consecutive days can be skewed by the major events taking place during those days. A corpus of data consisting of only examples yielded from method (1) runs the risk of over-representing particular kinds of nonstandard orthography. A more representative sample is ensured by method (2). Method (2) required analyzing twelve days of news from a one-year period. According to Bell (1991), that method yields a sufficiently representative sample of news for the year. In this study, twelve days of new from *The Gainesville Sun* were selected from the year 2003 (every thirtieth day of 2003, which included at least one sample from each day of the week). Six days of news from *The New York Times* were selected from the year 2003. Method (3) simply provides interesting supplementary examples.

Bell divides news articles into four categories: (1) hard news, which he describes as the “staple product” of the media (1991:14). Hard news is time-sensitive, and includes any events deemed worthy of reporting. (2) feature articles, which are not time-sensitive, and may include the writer’s personal opinion. (3) special-topic news, which can be recognized by the section of the news it falls under, i.e., “Financial,” “Entertainment,” or “Sports.” (4) a catch-all category including headlines, photo captions, bylines, etc. This study includes data from all but the fourth category, since direct quotations (the object of analysis here) are not usually to be found in headlines, photo captions, etc.

Data Analysis

Analysis was limited to writing which appeared between quotation marks, which is the conventional way of separating direct quotations from paraphrasing (Waugh 1995). Every example of nonstandard orthography was noted, yielding a corpus of 428 examples. The examples were then divided into types, resulting in a categorical distinction of seven types.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The first part of this literature review summarizes the findings of previous studies in relation to the stigmatizing effects of nonstandard written representations of speech. The second part summarizes approaches to media discourse. Finally, an explanation of how the current study complements and expands upon existing literature is provided.

Previous Studies

Many of the studies of nonstandard speech and its subsequent representation in nonstandard orthography have focused on the negative effects it produces in terms of the way readers perceive the speaker. Nearly all scholars agree that the overall effect of nonstandard orthography is stigmatizing. The various kinds of stigma are discussed in the second part of this section. First, though, it is necessary to examine exactly how nonstandard orthography goes about creating the negative effects it does. A body of literature suggests that it is the selective nature of orthography that makes nonstandard representation possible.

The Selective Nature of Orthography

All written language that purports to represent speech is selective in that representation. Almost all the works referenced in this study recognize that implicitly (notably Preston 1985, Mishler 1991, Waugh 1995, Jefferson 1996, Roberts 1997, Baynham and Slembrouck 1999); some address it explicitly (notably Clark and Gerrig 1990, Macaulay 1991, Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Olson 1994, Bucholtz 2000, Jaffe 2000, Jaffe & Walton 2000, Coulmas 2003). Each transcription of speech can “maliciously

include or benevolently exclude” the appearance of nonstandard speech (Isom et al. 1995:881). Both Isom et al. and Baynham and Slembrouck (1999) discuss selectivity in terms of journalistic and editorial decision making. But Green et al. (1997) and Jaffe (2000) discuss selectivity as a characteristic of orthography itself.

The most thorough discussion on the selectivity of orthography is provided by Coulmas (2003), Olson (1994), and Jaffe (2000). The complexity of spoken language overwhelms the resources of orthography. Orthography in general fails to represent many qualities of speech, while standardized orthographies fail to represent particular dialects of a language, and, some would argue, any language at all: “the written language does not ‘look like/sound like’ any particular kind of speaker” (2000:502). Any written representation of speech that attempts to encode every meaningful segment of speech would be hardly readable. The transcriber faces no shortage of speech nuances that could be transcribed, but is confronted with the difficult task of deciding which ones to transcribe.

Green et al. refer to that kind of decision as an “interpretive” decision (1997:172). Interpretive decisions involve not only whether to encode a casual pronunciation in writing (such as “gonna”), but also which stretches of speech to encode at all. Journalists constrained by spatial restrictions are often presented with long streams of speech from which they select only certain parts to encode in writing and put between quotation marks. Each possible choice presented to the journalist carries with it a different possible meaning (Caldas-Coulthard 1994). Interpretation is not just a job for the journalist however. Olson points out that the under-representation of certain qualities of speech require the reader to make interpretive assumptions as well (1994).

In addition to interpretive decisions, Green et al. discuss the “representational” decisions of transcription (1997:172). It is in selecting what segments of speech to encode in writing that the transcriber stipulates how the speaker will be represented.

The Resulting Stigma

One compelling reason to study written representations of speech is the inherent potential for speaker degradation. Nonstandard orthography acts as an index. Its goal is not necessarily to represent speech in a linguistically accurate fashion, but to index a particular style of speaking (Balhorn 1998). It also indexes, for the most part, sociolinguistic stigma (Bucholtz 2000, Jaffe 2000). The stigmatizing and stereotyping effects of nonstandard orthography are well-documented.

Baynham and Slembrouck identify written representations as a way of accomplishing some social action, including “stereotyping a particular group or ridiculing a person” (1999:442). Isom et al. also recognize the potential for ridiculing the speaker through nonstandard representation, and found that orthography that is nonstandard because it encodes dialectical variation lowers the speaker’s perceived intelligence, while orthography that is nonstandard because it encodes grammatical errors lowers it further. Not only do these nonstandard orthographic representations make a speaker vulnerable to “social disfavor,” (1995:876), they also discredit that speaker’s credibility as a viable source of information. Miethaner asserts that speech represented in nonstandard writing is perceived as “defective” (2000:541), Bucholtz illustrates how it effects incoherence (2000), and Preston claims that most nonstandard orthographies “share in this defamation of character” (1985:328). Preston characterizes the defamation mainly in terms of social class. Jefferson emphasizes the tendency of nonstandard orthography to perpetuate stereotypes and create the effect of “faulty” speech (1996:163). In the case of

inconsistent and inaccurate transcriptions of specifically non-native nonstandard speech, the danger is readers drawing the conclusion “all these foreigners sound alike” (1996:169). Jaffe and Walton suggest that even one nonstandard spelling embedded in an otherwise standard quotation can trigger negative perceptions of the speaker (2000), and those negative perceptions can have drastic real-life consequences in the case of legal transcription, in which defendants’ lives and liberty are at stake (Bucholtz 2000).

For almost any speaker (Isom et al. found little variance in terms of a speaker’s gender or social position), the ramifications of being represented in nonstandard orthography are overwhelmingly negative. For that reason, Preston encourages the highly discretionary use of nonstandard orthography, limiting appropriate usage to morphological representations, and phonological representations only when pertinent (1982). Style manuals for journalists proscribe almost all uses of nonstandard orthography (Isom et al. 1995), and Roberts firmly recommends “never use eye dialect”¹ (1997:170). The following section suggests, however, that strictly avoiding nonstandard orthography “no matter what” may not be the best solution.

Against Categorical Rejection

Categorically rejecting the use of nonstandard orthography creates new concerns, and at times, deciding to use nonstandard orthography it is actually beneficial in some ways. Both issues are discussed below.

¹ Eye dialect is a type of nonstandard spelling (such as “sez” for “says” or “wuz” for “was”) that does not reflect pronunciation (compare to nonstandard spellings that do represent pronunciation like “dis” for “this”).

The hazards of rejecting nonstandard orthography

Bucholtz warns that standardizing (in writing) all instances of nonstandard speech expresses an underlying assumption that the speech is “problematic” and “requires revision” (2000:1451). Cameron refers to this kind of tidying up as “verbal hygiene” (1995).

There are hazards in strictly avoiding the representation of nonstandard speech in writing. Though the concern of the current study is how writers represent orthographically what was spoken, we can be informed by the work of translators, who represent in one language what was written in another.

Antoine Berman’s analysis of translation is helpful and relevant here. His concern was how to translate idiomatic phrases in one language into the translating language, in this case, English into French. He cites an idiom from Conrad’s *Typhoon*: “Damme, if this ship isn’t worse than Bedlam!” This phrase, he argues, “invites the replacement of “Bedlam,” which is incomprehensible to the French reader, by “Charenton” (Bedlam being a famous English insane asylum).” If that practice is repeated throughout, however, it “[results] in the absurdity whereby the characters in *Typhoon* express themselves with a network of French images” (Berman 2000:295).

The reader disorientation caused by that kind of bad translation can take place in media texts as well. The corpus of data in this study includes examples of non-native English speakers quoted in non-native English, and examples of African-Americans being quoted in African-American English. In some cases, any stipulations that all quotes should be in Standard English would “result in the absurdity” whereby non-native English speakers express themselves in perfect English, and speakers of African-American English strangely never use any of the constructions of that dialect.

Possible benefits of nonstandard orthography

Some researchers find that their consultants prefer to be represented in orthography that reflects their unique qualities of speech (Jaffe 2000). At those times, it may be desirable to encode speech in a way that makes it “look to the eye how it sounds to the ear” (Schenkein, 1978:xi cited in Bucholtz 2000:1457). Bucholtz recognizes the usefulness of nonstandard orthography when attempting to capture “the flavor of the original speech” (2000:1457). Journalists are sometimes encouraged to employ nonstandard orthography, though the instructions for appropriate usage are somewhat vague and widely interpretable, i.e., general prohibitions against nonstandard representation unless it is “important to the story” (Isom et al. 1995:875).

Media Discourse

The language of news media is recognized as being one of the most consistent manifestations of standard language usage. Not only do the media practice the standard use of language, they consider themselves guardian of that standard, commonly showing metalinguistic awareness in directly acknowledging their use of standard language, and aims in upholding standard language (Davis 1985, Bell 1991, Lippi-Green 1997). Since the conventions of media discourse stipulate standard usage, any nonstandard usage is highly marked (Clark and Gerrig 1990).

The news article has been the recipient of more scholarly analysis than almost any other genre of news. The focus of the analysis varies, but the attention paid to the news article is understandable since the vast majority of the general population uses the news article to obtain knowledge about the world and subsequently construct views about the world (van Dijk 1991).

In this section I will discuss an approach to media discourse in general, and more specifically, direct quotations in news language.

Approaching Media Discourse

The approach to media discourse followed most closely in this study was most heavily informed by Bell (1991) and van Dijk (1985, 1991). In 1985, van Dijk called for an approach to media discourse that would more closely relate the structures of news language with the sociological implications of them, since they are indeed related (Fowler 1991). At that point, though media discourse was enjoying considerable scholarly attention, most of it focused on either one or the other. In this study, the two are inseparable: nonstandard orthographic representation in direct quotations (structure), and the resultant stigma and denigration of it (implications).

Quotations in Media Discourse

Direct quotations are indispensable to news media because of what news is: “news is what is said” (Caldas-Coulthard 1994:303); “news is what an authoritative source tells a journalist” (Bell 1991:191). Journalists rely on direct quotations to carry out the function of news media.

That function is to convey information to readers. That information, readers assume, is about actually occurring events in the world. This assumption leads readers to believe, also, that what appears between quotation marks in the news is what was actually said (Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Waugh 1995). Direct quotation, says Bell, is “supposed” to be verbatim (1991:61).

Caldas-Coulthard however states that direct quotations, having passed through series of edits and re-edits, are only very rarely word-for-word representations of what was actually said (1994). Though direct quotations are used less frequently than indirect

quotations, which simply paraphrase what a speaker said (Bell 1991), the discrepancy between what people expect of them and what they actually provide is wide.

While readers are deceived as to the accuracy of direct quotations, journalists are deceived as to the level of distortion they cause by necessarily mediating direct quotations. Journalists esteem objectivity and being unbiased reporting (Fowler 1991), yet are seemingly unaware of the subjectivity and bias inherent in the use of direct quotation.

Journalists use direct quotations for a number of reasons. Rarely are journalists themselves eyewitnesses to the events they write about, so they rely on the words of those who are closer to the event to lend credibility to their version of what happened. Direct quotations can add variety and liveliness to a new article, both in terms of content and graphic representation (Bell 1991, Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Scollon 1998). Being set apart from the rest of the text by punctuation, they separate and distance the reporter's voice from the voice of the speaker (Clark and Gerrig 1990). Distance is desirable for two reasons: (1) when convenient, it shifts responsibility for what was said from the journalist to the speaker in quotation marks (Scollon 1998) and (2) it absolves the journalist from the "alien forms" that quoted speakers may use (Bell 1991:208). In directly quoting a source, journalists happily delegate responsibility for what was said, dissociate themselves from nonstandard forms, all while reserving the power to represent the speaker (by exploiting the selectivity of orthographic encoding) in a way that satisfies their journalistic or ideological intentions (Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Scollon 1998).

Expansions

A number of issues have been un- or under-represented in the literature reviewed above. The current study fills a number of gaps brought to attention by previous studies.

Preston's categorical description of respellings is widely cited, though, I will argue here, not exhaustive; the respellings he examined separate into just three types. Preston acknowledges as much himself, saying that there are "at least" these three types (1985:328). The data in this study provide examples of other types, and also expand the idea of what counts as nonstandard written representations. Preston also calls for more study to be done on the kinds of negative results caused by nonstandard written representations (1985).

Moves against categorically avoiding nonstandard written representations are severely under-represented in the literature. A notable exception is Bucholtz, who addresses the topic and calls attention to the lack of previous attention given to it (2000). The length devoted to the topic in this chapter along with the data presented in the next chapter should be acknowledged as additive to existing research.

Jaffe (2000) provides a thorough framework for the analysis of nonstandard orthography and nonstandard speech. Her theoretical stance, though, is focused on the use of nonstandard orthography as self-representation (similarly for Androutsopoulos 2000), whereas the current study focuses on newspaper quotations, decidedly not instances of self-representation, but rather representation-by-an-other.

That direct quotation is not self-representative is not made perfectly clear in the body of literature on the subject. Waugh in particular fails to treat direct quotation with sensitivity to it being representation-by-an-other (1995). She claims that one difference between reported speech in conversation and reported speech in the form of journalistic direct quotation is that the latter "[attests] to the reality of the original speech event" (1995:136). In the previous chapter, however, it was made clear that the transition from

speech to writing makes apprehending any “reality” of the speech event near impossible. “Since direct speech demonstrates, or shows, the words of the reported speaker” Waugh argues, “this means that ... the voice of the speaker is represented in the text.” She provides the caveat “with the mediation of the journalist,” but attempts to mitigate the journalist’s involvement by adding the parenthetical “(as with any demonstration)” (1995:137). She makes a clear distinction between direct and indirect speech, but her distinction is at times too clear-cut. Most of what she ascribes to indirect speech can actually be applied to direct quotations as well: that the speaker has “no autonomy,” is “kept distant,” and that “ambiguity” arises, making it difficult to tell when you are hearing the journalist’s voice and when you are hearing the speaker’s voice. In saying that indirect speech is “much more of a mediated” representation than direct quotation, Waugh overestimates the ability of direct quotations to actually represent the speaker, and underestimates the distortion caused by the transition from speech to writing. Even if indirect speech is a more mediated representation than direct speech, it is not, with quotation marks, claiming to be what a person actually said. In that way, the mediating effects do not stigmatize the speaker in the way that they can with direct quotations.

Also under-represented in the literature is the acknowledgment that the effects of changing mediums (writing to speech) apply to instances of standard speech as well as nonstandard speech. The selectivity of orthographic encoding means that even when the speech itself sounds standard to most hearers, it is nevertheless possible to encode it in nonstandard orthography (see the transcription examples above). This is particularly dangerous because readers appear to be unaware of the selectivity; they readily accept written representations as accurate portrayals of what was actually said (Preston 1985).

By and large, nonstandard speech is taken as a starting point, and the issue at hand is the nonstandard ways in which it is encoded (Preston 1985, Macaulay 1991, Isom et al. 1995, Jefferson 1996, Bucholtz 2000, Jaffe 2000, Miethaner 2000). The current study treats not only nonstandard written representations of nonstandard speech, but also nonstandard written representations of what would likely be labeled standard speech by its oral audience.

CHAPTER 3 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

In this chapter I discuss the seven categories of nonstandard representation in writing that emerged from this study. The discussion in this chapter makes use of a number of examples; a full catalog of examples from each of the seven categories can be found in Appendices A-G.

Non-native Representations

Non-native speakers of English are quoted in many different genres of news, most notably international news and sports news. Non-native speech often contains many nonstandard structures and pronunciations. Though we can presume that many of the non-native speakers quoted here used nonstandard pronunciations, and though pronunciation is often cited as the most distinguishing mark of a non-native speaker, I found no examples of non-native, nonstandard pronunciations encoded in writing. The sorts of re-spellings often used to reflect the casual or dialectical pronunciations of native speakers (“gonna,” “cain’t”) were never used to reflect non-native pronunciations. Considering the wide-spread use of such re-spellings to reflect pronunciation, their absence here should be surprising and deserves further investigation (see Chapter 4). The nonstandard orthographic encodings were thus limited mostly to non-native structures like the following: “I lost completely motivation,” “I concentrated for the strikes,” “all of the walls in front of me went broken,” “you are hero,” etc.

At times, non-native speakers are quoted in such a way that obscures their intended meaning, and sometimes they are quoted with an overt mention of their lack of

proficiency in English. Those instances will be discussed in this chapter under the headings “Not Exactly What They Meant” and “Overt Mention” respectively. In the remainder of this section, however, I discuss three interesting examples of non-native nonstandard quotations.

Fully Nonstandard

The quotation examples labeled fully nonstandard are considered fully nonstandard because not only are the speakers not represented in Standard English, they are not represented in English at all. In these fully nonstandard examples, the totality of the nonstandard nature is the result of a speaker being quoted only in a language other than English. In one instance, a non-native speaker of English was quoted using only her native language, Spanish:

- Kohen, who is from Uruguay, said Machen is trying his best to "patear el avispero," or "kick the beehive."¹

In this example, though quotation marks are used twice, only the first set of quotation marks are being used to represent spoken language, the second set are used simply to set off a phrase from the prose of the article. Kohen is never represented in English, though she speaks English near-natively. Her representation in print is limited to a language foreign to many of the paper’s readers. The effect is one of strange-making, connoting exotic inaccessibility. Her actual fluency in English is never apparent to the reader, whose interpretation of her is restricted by nonstandard coding.

¹ Source information for examples in this chapter can be found in Appendices A-G. For examples which are not catalogued in the Appendices, source information is footnoted.

Nonstandard Eloquence

On rare occasions, though, a non-native speaker of English is quoted in a way that, though nonstandard, lends a poignant eloquence to their speech:

- But today, I wish for them to come back and look around this city. See those flags decorating the street? They are telling you, ‘The Olympics are here, and they will be our national fiesta!’

The speaker’s use of English is certainly non-native and therefore nonstandard, but it results in an expressiveness that a more native, more standard representation might lack.

In Conjunction with Native Style

Some non-native speakers are represented in both non-native (nonstandard) style and surprisingly native styles (though usually nonstandard ones). The following example includes both a non-native nonstandard structure (*italics added*), and one native-like nonstandard construction (**bold added**):

- "**I played good**, *I wish I play better*, but I am still very happy with the result," Kuznetsova said. "I hung in there."

Non-native speakers are also quoted using discourse markers of casual spoken English with apparent ease, as in the following examples (*italics and bold added as above*):

- “When you are **like** 8 years old, you want to move and play games **and everything**,” Chakvetadze said, referring to her experience on the piano. “*I didn’t like.*”
- “*I hope I can do [so] soon*, **you know**, because *life is now.*”

The juxtaposition of native-but-nonstandard and non-native-nonstandard features has two effects: (1) it makes the native aspects of the utterance more surprising than

perhaps they should be, and (2) it makes the non-native nonstandard aspects of the utterance stand out as even more nonstandard.

The final example above is also interesting in terms of the bracketed “correction.” The speaker’s original utterance was presumably “I hope I can do soon, you know, because life is now.” Taking into consideration that the speaker’s native language was Spanish, it is more likely that the intended meaning was “I hope I can do [it] soon,” not the actually printed “I hope I can do [so] soon.” The issue of false corrections is another area for further research (see Chapter 4).

Overt Mention

The overt mention of nonstandard language usage may be more prevalent in quotations of written language, rather than quotations of spoken language. The following two examples are instances of written language being represented in its original nonstandard fashion, with an overt mention of the nonstandard nature in parentheses:

- Across town, Simply Unforgettable (they spell it with one "t") party shop opened last week ...²
- Is Courtney Love going to star in a reality TV show? That’s what the grunge goddess — or someone pretending to be her — claims in a long, rambling, barely literate posting on a web site. “I also wanna say im so embarassed about this tabloid s--- thats happening,” she writes. (The Scoop is printing the excerpts from posting as they ran, without fixing up the grammar.)³

The excerpts mentioned in the above example were perhaps printed “without fixing up the grammar,” but were apparently edited to remove vulgarity.

Another way of plainly pointing out the nonstandard nature of a written language excerpt is the use of “(sic)” as in the following examples:

² accessed on 8/28/2004 at <http://www.gainesville.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2004208190314>

³ accessed on 5/13/2004 at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/4946313>

- "I see all of these girls who walk around with pants that show their belly button and underwear," she wrote. "Your clearks (sic) suggest (sic) that there is only one look. If that is true, then girls are suppost (sic) to walk around half naked."⁴
- In an e-mail sent last Tuesday to about 170 members of Gamma Phi Beta, sophomore Christie Key, the chapter's blood donation coordinator, wrote: "I dont (sic) care if you got a tattoo last week LIE. I dont (sic) care if you have a cold. Suck it up. We all do. LIE. Recent peircings (sic)? LIE." She added: "Even if youre (sic) going to use the Do Not Use My Blood sticker, GIVE ANYWAY."⁵

Interestingly, the e-mail in the example above was represented elsewhere with all of the nonstandard features "corrected":

- In an e-mail message sent last week, Christie Key, the chapter's blood donation coordinator, wrote: "I don't care if you got a tattoo last week, lie. I don't care if you have a cold. Suck it up. We all do. Lie. Recent piercings? Lie."⁶

The overt mention of nonstandard written language has been overlooked. Clark and Gerrig ignore it almost completely, saying that the general journalistic rule to represent language exactly as-is is followed easily when representing writing, but hard when representing speech (1990). The above examples suggest otherwise.

In written representations of speech, the same kind of overt mention occurs, but the overt mention seems to serve different functions. The first function, labeled "explanatory," is similar to the function of overt mention in the examples from written language above. The second function, labeled "replacive," appears to be used only in the representation of speech in writing, never in the re-presentation of something already written.

⁴ accessed on 6/2/2004 at <http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/West/06/02/modest.clothing.ap/index.html>

⁵ accessed on 4/15/2004 at www.cnn.com

⁶ accessed on 4/14/2004 at <http://www.nytimes.com>

Explanatory Function

In the following examples, there are nonstandard representations of speech (italics added) and an overt mention of them (bold added):

- *"I was dead thirsty,"* he said. **He was speaking English, a language in which he is not perfect** but makes himself pungently clear.
- "In today's terms, the apostle Paul would be living in the projects saying, 'Grace and peace to you, *a'ight*,' instead of 'amen,'" Mr. Durso said, **using the hip-hop contraction for all right.**
- **Her speech is relaxed and pure Arkansas, a singsong of y'all's and endearments and missing g's.** *"They're willin' to learn."*

The underlying assumption belied by the comments in bold is that nonstandard orthographic representations need to be explained: they are abnormal, and have no place in formal written language. In using overt mention to accomplish the explanatory function, the journalist essentially says "the way this person talks needs explaining." Journalists choose to represent a speaker in nonstandard fashion (allowed by the selectivity of orthographic representation), and then absolve themselves from that nonstandard representation through overt mention. Journalists, then, have the power to create the impression "nonstandard," and the power to then distance themselves from the stigma associated with it.

Replacive Function

At times, however, overt mention seems to replace the need to actually represent in writing whatever nonstandard feature was found in the speech. In these examples, there is an overt mention of the nonstandard nature of the speech (italics added), but the speech of the speaker in question is never represented in nonstandard orthography:

- Mr. Marshall, the director of films like "Pretty Woman," got up and *in his signature Bronx twang* talked about how shocked he was to be honoring the virtuoso tenor.

- Mr. Wilson often speaks in terse sentences and monosyllables. *His speech is occasionally slurred*; he sometimes seems lost in his own world.

The articles from which these excerpts were taken included direct quotations from the speakers in question, but none of the quotations contained any nonstandard orthographic representations. Though a “Bronx twang” would seem to be a good candidate for being represented in dialectical fashion, and “slurred” speech would seem to be susceptible to re-spellings, neither actually occurred. It should be noted that both Mr. Marshall (Garry Marshall, movie director) and Mr. Wilson (Brian Wilson, former Beach Boy) both enjoy high status due to their fame. The explanatory function of overt mention is more common; the replacive function appears to be reserved for high status speakers.

Representations of Sound

Onomatopoeia

The conventions of English orthography are not capable of representing certain sounds like whistles or certain bodily functions (Clark and Gerrig 1990), yet in English we do have the word “whistle” and “burp.” In cases where their language does not have a standard word, speakers sometimes make noises to represent sounds. Those sounds are difficult to encode orthographically, as illustrated by the following evasion:

- “I felt the bumps,” she said, making a distinction between the sound of the car going over her father's body and that it made running over a pair of medians.⁷

But when noises made by a speaker are encoded orthographically, the visual effect appears somewhat strange:

- A tree fell on the power lines and the poles snapped like toothpicks - chik, chik, chik.

⁷ *New York Times* 1/30/2003

The effect is oftentimes infantilizing, repeated nonsense words being characteristic of children's language.

Interjections

Other instances of sound represented in writing include interjections, as in the following two examples:

- "And it was like, aaarrggghh," he said, his voice suddenly booming.
- "So we are going to take 10 more inches and put it on top of already filled pot holes? Argh!" he said.

Though interjections are common and expected in spoken language, the transition to writing is not a smooth one, as indicated by the discrepancy over how exactly to represent them in the above examples.

Not Exactly What They Meant

One of the speakers whose nonstandard quotations appear in this study is Ariel Sharon. He is quoted (in standard orthography this time) saying "what I say, I mean, and what I mean, I say."⁸ His earnest attempt to connect what he says with what he means is thwarted by the types of distortion discussed in this section.

In the transition from speech to writing, one of the dangers is losing the sense of what the speaker actually meant. Writing lacks the context in which producer and receiver can work together to resolve ambiguity as in spoken conversation. In some cases (see "non-words" below) a speaker's erroneous utterance is maintained in writing, thus creating the impression that what they said was not exactly what they meant. In other cases (see "translated idioms" and "reanalysis" below) the written representation obscures what was presumably a speaker's appropriate use of language. In that case,

⁸ *New York Times* 1/30/2004

what they actually uttered was what they meant, but the entextualization of speech distorts their meaning.

Non-words

The native speakers of any language occasionally use a word incorrectly or use a “word” that is not actually a word at all. In an oral setting, listeners use contextual clues to confirm for themselves the speaker’s intended meaning, and are usually forgiving of the misuse of words. The following examples show instances of speaker’s using non-words which were then directly quoted (*italics added*):

- "He called us *rapers* and killers and that's not true," he continued.
- "I was so belligerent, I was so cantankerous, so persistently *disregardless*."

Translated Idioms

Idioms are quintessentially context-dependent, and the translation of idioms is notoriously difficult. The idioms of one language, even when translated into another, cannot be considered standard use of that language. When non-native speakers of English are quoted using idioms from their native language, the effect is not always flattering. In some cases, an explanation of the idiom is provided, as in the following example:

- He adds, “In China, we say, “The bean is out of the bottle,”” a proverbial reference to a beanpot being so full, not one more bean could fit.

In the next example, the speaker of the idiom himself references its being an idiomatic expression:

- "This is your third bite at the proverbial cherry," the judge said, ordering him to proceed.

The judge in this case was a non-native speaker of English in an international court case. The explanation serves to indicate that the expression is idiomatic, but provides little explanation of what it means.

In other instances, no benevolent explanation is provided at all, leaving the reader with the impression that this speaker is strange indeed:

- "I enjoy eating a good banana; I don't believe I enjoy the bases loaded with Tejada batting," he said
- "There are lots of oranges, they are all bad, and we are just choosing the least bad," said John Siu, 21, a university student, after voting Sunday at a Kowloon Peninsula community center.

In the cases of translated idioms, the speaker was using language appropriately, but when quoted in writing, with little explanation of context and where Standard English is expected, the perception is that the speaker is unable to communicate well.

Reanalysis

Reanalysis is a process in which speech is misheard and reanalyzed as something different. Reanalysis commonly takes place in phrasal constructions. For instance, the phrase "for all intents and purposes" is sometimes reanalyzed as "for all intensive purposes," and "a scapegoat" is sometimes reanalyzed as "escape goat." In each case, there is a standard phrase in relation to which the reanalysis is nonstandard.

In speech, reanalysis like this may go unnoticed, but when written, it is immediately apparent. Consider the following examples:

- "On the big issue that faces this country, Mayor Giuliani and President Bush walk arm and arm."
- "The reporting system is a shambles," said James Wendorf, executive director of the National Center for Learning Disabilities.

Presumably the first example is a reanalysis of “arm in arm,” and the second, “in shambles.” It is impossible to tell whose reanalysis this is, the speaker’s or the journalist’s. But the result is that speakers are represented as saying something other than what they (should have) meant.

An interesting but rare example of “not exactly what they meant” follows:

- Retired Rear Adm. Roy Hoffman, who organized the group, says the members expected the [negative] reaction. “We’re not naïve to think we’re not going to get blasts,” said Hoffman.

The speaker is trying to say that his group is not so naïve as to think that they are not going to get blasts. In other words, the negative reaction was expected, and it would have been naïve to not see it coming. What he says, though, is “we’re not naïve to think we’re not going to get blasts.” That sentence means “we think we’re not going to get blasts, and that’s not naïve,” the opposite of his intended meaning.

Casual Speech

Many of the characteristics of normal, casual speech are not provided for by the conventions of standard written English. The process then, of encoding casual speech in writing, is one of strange-making. Four ways of encoding casual speech are discussed here.

Allegro Speech

This type of respelling attempts “to capture through the use of nonstandard spellings (some more traditional than others) the fact that the speech is casual, not carefully monitored, relaxed – perhaps slangy” (Preston 1985:328):

- "Hey, fellas, this guy's writing for The New York Times Magazine. If he writes badly about me, will you kick the [expletive] out of him?"
- "I think it will get somebody upset when they realize that they have kinda been milked out of their money."

- "I think Florida oughta forfeit and send us the check."

The word “fellows,” and the phrases “kind of” and “ought to” are typically pronounced by native speakers as they are spelled in the examples above. It is not perceived in an oral setting, but stands out to the point of distraction in writing.

Word Repetition

One characteristic of normal, casual speech is word repetition. Word repetition is rarely found in the writing of Standard English, so encoding the word repetition of casual speech is somewhat problematic:

- Amy Stuart Wells, a sociology professor at Columbia University Teachers College, called the new data ‘really, really important.’
- “This is a powder keg, a major, major problem.”

While in spoken language, word repetition represents emphasis, when recontextualized in a written medium, the effect is largely negative.

Discourse Markers

Another characteristic of casual speech is the use of discourse markers like “oh,” “you know,” “okay” (or “O.K.”), and interjections like “oh my gosh.” The following examples contain the use of such discourse markers:

- "Oh, thousands," she said when asked how many trees may have been lost in Alachua County.
- "You know, what happened, why they released me. All I got was the papers. You know, I got to move forward from here."
- “This is an award-winning translation, so you're really going to get scared if it's not translated well, O.K.?”
- “Everyone's like, oh my gosh, where'd you get these?”

The example directly above also contains an instance of one widespread structure in casual speech: the use of the word “like” to introduce reported speech.

Use of “like”

The use of “like” to introduce reported speech is gaining acceptance in spoken language, but the following examples illustrate its inability to appear normal in written language:

- As soon as she could talk, she was like, 'rub my back,' 'rub my feet,' 'rub my legs'.
- I'm sure there are people who are like, 'Oh, she didn't play that much.'
- And I'm, like, 'What are you doing here?' And they're, like, 'Well, Linda, we never dreamed you'd be down here!'

Once again, though fairly common in casual spoken language, this use of “like” appears out of place in writing, and causes the speaker to be perceived as less than fully articulate.

Dialect

Speakers' use of a nonstandard dialect can be represented in three ways: phonetically, morphologically, and syntactically.

Phonetic

Preston calls the phonetic representation of dialect “dialect respelling,” and says that this type of respelling attempts “to capture regional and social features of pronunciation,” but, he notes, is not necessarily accurate (1985:328):

- “It creates that itch you cain't scratch.”
- "No, Mum, they're not crazy alcoholics," he said, giggling a little.
- "Downstairs . . . ay-aight . . . I got you."

These examples index, by virtue of the orthography alone, three different speech varieties: southern English, British English, and African-American English. If each of

the above examples were represented in Standard English, the particular dialect of the speaker would be inaccessible to readers.

Preston (1985) discourages the use of nonstandard representation at the phonetic level, and encourages the restriction of nonstandard representation to the morphological and syntactic levels (discussed below).

Morphological

The morphological representation of nonstandard dialect may or may not make use of phonetic respellings, but by definition, makes use of vocabulary items specific to nonstandard dialects:

- "I thought my young'un was pinned up in there," said Gene Driver
- Sonja Pearson shouts: "Right foot let's stomp, left foot let's stomp, cha-cha now, y'all!"

Morphological representations of nonstandard dialects are not as common as syntactic representations.

Syntactic

Syntactic representations of nonstandard dialects outnumber both phonetic and morphological representations of them. It is certainly more common than phonetic representation, because nonstandard phonetic representation is something added to the text, whereas nonstandard word order is not. The selective nature of orthographic representation allows for the selection of pronunciations, but it does not allow for the selection of word order.

Syntactic representation of nonstandard dialects is more common than morphological representation because it requires more editing to standardize a nonstandard syntactic form than it does to standardize a morphologically nonstandard

form. Restructuring a phrase or entire sentence is perceived as being more meddling than simply changing a word. The following are examples of nonstandard dialects represented in nonstandard syntactic form:

- "Yeah," said her son, Paul Todd. "If God wants it to get tore down, it's going to get tore down."
- "He can't play no dominoes," Joe said, his face deadpan.
- "We're getting real familiar with the documents," said Jesus I. Solis, an agent.
- "That's when we got scared and thought we was going to get hit head-on by the hurricane — when we drove up and saw that they shut the doors at Wal-Mart," said June Nielson, a Tampa Bay resident who was heading north on U.S. 19 with her husband in their 20-foot-long motor home.

Phonetic, morphological and syntactic representations of nonstandard dialects typically index sociolinguistic stigma, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Looks Like a Scoreboard

The content of sports news (scores, statistics, years, etc.) necessitates the frequent use of numbers. Quotable segments of speech from athletes and coaches often include numbers. It seems, though, that the guidelines for spelling out numbers are suspended in the case of sports news. The practice of using numerals appears to be favored over spelling out each number. The following examples are characteristic of numerals being used in quotations:

- "At this point, I didn't care if there was 100 people, 10 people, I just wanted to play," Davenport said. "At about 6-1, 5-1, I thought, 'If it rains now, I'm going to die.'"
- "You put it up on the board and you say, 'My goodness, 17-8, how do you bounce back from that?'" Manager Joe Torre said, referring to Monday's score. "Then all of a sudden, it's 4-0."

In additions to the use of numerals for spoken numbers, quotations in sports news frequently make use of individual letters, either in abbreviations or as symbols on their

own. The following example includes numerals, abbreviations, and individual letters as symbols:

- “That's why I believe so much more factors into the decision than X's and O's. I believe there are intangibles that make this decision, too. The dynamics of it are very unique. The No. 1 draft pick. I've been to two Super Bowls and won two M.V.P.'s.”

The amount of numeric and abbreviated forms in sports news appear to far outweigh those representations in other news genres. The overall effect is that for sports news, speaker quotations take on the look of a scoreboard, with its numbers and abbreviations.

Rare Examples Uncategorized

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to examples of quotations written in nonstandard orthography that defy categorization due to their rarity.

Children are rarely quoted directly in the media, but when they are, they are susceptible to being quoted using nonstandard syntax like in the following example:

- The 3-year-old sitting on my lap ... turned to me only twice to point out enthusiastically, “That from the book.”⁹

Though the child's nonstandard syntax was maintained, it is probable that any nonstandard pronunciations (perhaps “dat” for “that”) were standardized. In the same way that non-native pronunciations are never encoded in writing, neither are children's pronunciations. The following quotations do however exemplify unique strategies for encoding pronunciation in orthography:

- Her eyes narrowed, she sucked in some breath and then she barked out an uppercase admonition: "DON'T BE BIG BABY."¹⁰

⁹ *People* magazine, December 1, 2003 p. 32

¹⁰ accessed on 8/31/2004 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/31/opinion/31lanpher.html?th>

- "That's basically what Moose did tonight."¹¹

In the first case, the journalist illustrates the assumptions of literate language users that were discussed in Chapter 1, namely that spoken language can be measured and described using the conventions of written language. The volume of speech is thus described (and transcribed) as “uppercase.”

The second quotation refers to baseball player Mike Mussina. The shortened version of his last name used in the quotation is pronounced “moose,” but could presumably be represented by “Muss” as well. Since the shortened version of his last name is homophonic with an already existing word, the already existing word is chosen to represent the pronunciation.

The next example is also illustrative of the general confusion between spoken and written language. It does not, however, include any instances of nonstandard orthography. The use of nonstandard orthography is generally to represent speech. It is doubtful that the quotations in the following example are writing that represents speech. The journalist uses the speech verb “say” throughout, yet the quoted material appears to have been written, not spoken:

- “I ranked about halfway up the popularity totem pole, which I cared about less and less as I got older,” Jeremy says ... “I was a nerd,” Jeremy says. “I had a fairly small, very close-knit circle of friends that ran a span of about three years both younger and older than myself. We definitely were outside the predominant social circle — listened to “weird” music, read for pleasure (the horror!), watched art films, found mathematical theories fascinating (some of us, not me), tried to top one another's vocabularies and generally colored outside the lines.”¹²

¹¹ accessed on 9/17/2004 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/15/sports/baseball/15yanks.html?th>

¹² accessed on 9/13/2004 at <http://www.gainesville.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=200440909006>

The use of parentheses and a hyphen arouse suspicion that what was “said” was actually something that was written. A similar example concerns the author herself:

- “When I find new information, whether a scholarly article or a newspaper comic strip, I put it in the appropriate folder,” Wears says ... Wears constantly seeks to improve her teaching skills. “Suggestions from supervisors and students alike guide me in refining my style,” Wears says.¹³

Once again, though the speech verb “say” is used throughout, the quoted material was never actually spoken; it was written. The impression is that the speaker in question “talks like a book,” which can connote stuffiness or elitism. Neither example is nonstandard; rather, they both may be considered too standard for the spoken language they claim to represent.

Even when a speaker using standard language is quoted using standard orthography, over-quoting them can cause the perception of abnormal language use:

- “I find it very, very sad,” Parks said. Yet the stores remained popular and in the mid-1990s, one location in south Miami-Dade County, at Dadeland Mall, was the busiest department store in the nation, George said. “I find it very, very sad,” Parks said.¹⁴
- “There has been a lot of public outcry against this war,” said Master Sgt. Abel Garza, 44, a Marine maintenance chief at the Naval Air Station in Pensacola, Fla., who added that he was riveted by the speech. “There has been a lot of public outcry against this war.”¹⁵

The final two examples illustrate the selectivity of orthography discussed in Chapter 2. Though neither example contains instances of nonstandard orthography, the subtle differences in the way the same stretch of speech is encoded differently by different journalists are interesting:

¹³ Excel: News For & About University of Florida Graduate Students, Spring 2004, Vol. 3 No. 1, p. 6

¹⁴ accessed on 9/15/2004 at <http://www.gainesville.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=200440914028>

¹⁵ *New York Times* 1/30/2003

- "It's a watch-and-wait game, so we'll be here until we know what our next move will be," said Dixie County Emergency Management Director Chad Reed.¹⁶
- "It's a watch and wait game, so we'll be here until we know what our next move will be," Dixie County Emergency Management Director Chad Reed said.¹⁷

The use of hyphenation in the first and not in the second illustrates the selectivity of orthographic encoding, and subtly changes the visual representation of the speaker.

The rare examples discussed here merit further investigation, along with a number of other research questions (see Chapter 4).

¹⁶ accessed on 9/7/2004 at <http://www.gainesville.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2004209040326>

¹⁷ accessed on 9/7/2004 at <http://www.gainesville.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2004209040323>

CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I will discuss some possible future directions of research motivated by but beyond the scope of this study, and summarize the results of the data analysis with a view toward the contributions this study offers in terms of data and theoretical stances.

Future Directions

The data and analysis provided by this study offer a number of directions for future research. All seven types of nonstandard orthographic representation outlined in Chapter 3, particularly the ones other than dialectical representation, merit more in-depth detailed analysis than can be provided here. Other questions that have emerged from this study have to do with more specific issues in nonstandard orthographic representation.

For instance, the data in this study show only nonstandard orthographic representations (i.e., “gonna,” “helluva”), which obscures the fact that oftentimes, nonstandard orthographic representation is employed inconsistently: the same journalist who uses the nonstandard “gonna” or “helluva” in one direct quotation uses the standard “going to” and “hell of a” in another, even for the same speaker. A useful analysis of this inconsistency might attempt to provide possible conditioning factors for whether a speaker is represented in standard fashion or not.

Other questions that arose have to do with the representation of non-native speakers. Considering the widespread use of dialectical respellings to reflect nonstandard pronunciations, it is startling that respellings were never used to reflect non-native pronunciations. Are the nonstandard syntactic forms and vocabulary choices of non-

native speakers sufficient to represent their lack of fluency? Are journalists, though familiar with the common ways to represent dialectical pronunciations, at a loss as to how to write out non-native pronunciations? Would transcribing non-native pronunciations be considered prejudiced? If so, why are written representations nonstandard syntax and vocabulary not treated with the same alarm? These questions merit further research.

Two aspects of possible future study are difficult to research because their interest in nonstandard orthography relates to its absence. Research essentially involves looking for something that is not there. In the first case, the question is who spoke a nonstandard form of English, but was ultimately quoted in standard format? Wehmeyer (2004) broaches the topic, contrasting the orthographic representation of three nonnative speakers of English. All presumably spoke non-native, nonstandard English, and all were directly quoted, but only one was directly quoted using nonstandard forms. Wehmeyer suggests that the representation decisions were due to the journalist's attempt to (quite successfully) cast the speaker in an unfavorable light.

In the second case, the question is who spoke a nonstandard form of English, was ultimately quoted in standard format, but was standardized incorrectly? If journalists are unfamiliar with the nonstandard variety spoken by a source, they run the risk of misinterpreting what was said, and in representing it in standard format, obscure the intended meaning of the speaker. Journalists unfamiliar with nonstandard spoken varieties may not know the appropriate "translation" to standard English, and misrepresent their sources that way.

Finally, coupling the analysis of nonstandard quotations with analysis concerning the location of direct quotations and the speech verbs used to introduce them could offer more insight into the nature of nonstandard quotation. In terms of location, Scollon has pointed out that direct quotations tend to appear at the ends of articles (1998), which according to Bell is a spot reserved for the least important information (1991). In terms of speech verbs, Scollon (in contrast to this study) believes that direct quotations grant autonomy to speakers. He points out however, that though journalists may relinquish the floor to a speaker through direct quotation, they maintain control of readers' interpretation through the strategic use of speech verbs ("suggested," "insisted," "stressed," "urged," "admitted," etc.) (1998:222).

Summary of Results and Contributions

The major contributions of this study in terms of data are both quantitative and qualitative. Appendices A-G catalog a sizable corpus of nonstandard orthographic representations used in direct quotations, while Chapter 3 provides a detailed, qualitative analysis of selected examples. The analysis goes far beyond previous studies in that it distinguishes between seven different types of nonstandard orthographic representation, whereas previous studies have focused almost solely on the representation of nonstandard dialects. These contributions satisfy van Dijk's recommendation to align analysis of structural forms with analysis of the sociological implications of those forms (1985, 1991).

Theoretical Contributions

There are three major contributions of this study in terms of theoretical stances: motivation to move toward the broader, more accurate use of the term "nonstandard orthography," the suggestion that direct quotations are not the neutral representations

once thought, and an emphasis on how even standard speech can be represented using nonstandard orthography.

Broadening “Nonstandard Orthography”

The broad range of nonstandard orthographic representation presented in Chapter 3 suggests that the term “nonstandard orthography” should be expanded. Currently, the phrase is used to refer almost exclusively to dialectical respellings (Preston 1982, Preston 1985, Macaulay 1991, Jefferson 1996, Lippi-Green 1997, Jaffe 2000, Jaffe and Walton 2000, Miethaner 2000), although there is no reason why it should be limited to that. This kind of usage of the phrase has effectively restricted its meaning to include only dialectical respellings, when in actuality it should include much more. The restricted usage may blind researchers to the numerous other uses of nonstandard orthographic representation like the ones discussed in Chapter 3. Dialectical respellings account for only one of the seven categories of nonstandard orthographic representation in this study. In its restricted usage, “nonstandard orthography” means mostly that spelling conventions are ignored, but spelling rules are not the only rules to be broken. Many other conventions of writing (its lack of discourse markers, its formality, its rules for encoding number, its lack of word repetition, its syntactic restraints, etc.) are all readily rejected in the case of direct quotations, as shown in Chapter 3.

Direct Quotations as Non-neutral

In the literature, it appears as though direct quotations can hardly be mentioned without also referring to indirect quotations (Clark and Gerrig 1990, Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Waugh 1995, Scollon 1998, Baynham and Slembrouck 1999). Direct quotations are thus consistently perceived as being in opposition to indirect quotations, or paraphrase. In that somewhat artificial dichotic relationship, it may appear at first that

indirect quotations are the ones guilty of misrepresenting speakers by changing their exact words. While some claim that all reported talk is “a cleaned-up version of real talk” (Caldas-Coulthard 1994:297), the ways and degree to which talk is “cleaned-up” are different for direct and indirect quotations. Journalists are not distanced from indirect quotations in the way that they are from direct quotations (see Chapter 2), so the motivation to clean up indirect quotations is stronger than the motivation to clean up direct quotations. Indirect quotations say “‘here’s my [i.e., the journalist’s] rendition of what the person said’, whereas direct speech says ‘here’s what the person said’” (Waugh 1995:156). Waugh takes the journalist’s rendering of indirect quotation to mean that indirect quotation is less speaker-representative than direct quotation. However, since indirect quotations are “the journalist’s rendition,” carrying the journalist’s authorship, the journalist is unlikely to use nonstandard orthography. Both indirect and direct quotations are mediated by the journalist, but in different ways. The mediations inherent in indirect quotation do not result in the stigma caused by the mediations inherent in direct quotation.

Standard Speech as Susceptible

By and large, nonstandard speech is taken as a starting point, and the issue at hand is the nonstandard ways in which it is encoded (Preston 1985, Macaulay 1991, Isom et al. 1995, Jefferson 1996, Bucholtz 2000, Jaffe 2000, Miethaner 2000). Proceeding in that manner ignores a separate, larger issue: standard speech which is subsequently represented in nonstandard writing. As shown in Chapter 3, many of the characteristics of normal, standard, spoken language, when encoded in writing, take on abnormal, nonstandard visual impressions (see particularly the category “Casual Speech”). The

selectivity of orthographic encoding allows even standard speech to take on a nonstandard impact visually.

APPENDIX A
NON-NATIVE REPRESENTATIONS

Quotation	Source¹
that's not supposed to be the way	GS 1/30/2003
They are crazy about the fruit	GS 12/26/2003
This time, I felt a little strange, awkward, because I felt cheering from the fans	GS 4/30/2003
I was feeling very bad because we were seeing the dead bodies of people	GS 4/30/2003
It is also necessary to push information to women and elderly people who can't travel outside their village	GS 8/16/2004
Good guy, got a problem, learning martial arts, come back, revenge, kill the bad guy	GS 8/25/2004
Lot of that	GS 8/25/2004
I want to find some movies to make that (are) different	GS 8/25/2004
what really is their game plan?	GS 8/28/2003
patear el avispero	GS 9/10/2004
We all hope for a possibility of a solution that avoids the dismemberment and maintains the territorial integrity of Iraq	NYT 1/30/2003
But we hear nothing yet	NYT 12/26/2003
Maybe if we hear something, Don Emiliano can be in -- how do you say? Guinness Book.	NYT 12/26/2003
I fire once	NYT 12/26/2003
I want to confirm the shot and fire a second time	NYT 12/26/2003
I wanted to go abroad like a lot of Lebanese young people	NYT 3/1/2003
This changes, and we are afraid	NYT 3/1/2003
I just can still not believe it, but I did it	NYT 3/31/2003
What time or date, Saddam Hussein?	NYT 3/31/2003
No have any guns, no guns	NYT 3/31/2003
Kahrabaa, kahrabaa	NYT 3/31/2003

¹ The two main sources used in this study were *The New York Times* (represented by NYT) and *The Gainesville Sun* (represented by GS). Supplementary sources are identified by their full name.

Quotation	Source
Down USA!	NYT 4/30/2003
Him, I no know him	NYT 5/30/2003
Everybody was not too comfortable with the whole thing	NYT 5/30/2003
All I care about right now is for my wife's health	NYT 5/30/2003
So it's like a really nightmare for me	NYT 6/23/2004
I lost completely motivation, and I give up	NYT 6/23/2004
The torture issue is relevant because of two of the potential witnesses are in Al Qaeda detention camps	NYT 8/11/2004
All of the walls in front of me went broken	NYT 8/11/2004
The wall is falling, scraping my arms	NYT 8/11/2004
I couldn't see anything. My passport and everything is inside	NYT 8/11/2004
I ran outside without my clothes	NYT 8/11/2004
They stay in the hospital at least one night	NYT 8/13/2004
The authorities waited for one hour and a half, and they closed their case as a nonshow	NYT 8/13/2004
I was dead thirsty	NYT 8/15/2004
Let's say it was the major effort that I've ever done	NYT 8/15/2004
I was so thirsty that I felt I'll not have power to, let's say, make this effort	NYT 8/15/2004
Because people will read it and they will say, 'Look, he drinks also blood.'	NYT 8/15/2004
But I felt that I'll not be able to overcome that if I'll not drink this water there	NYT 8/15/2004
I don't see yet any change whatsoever	NYT 8/15/2004
I would have liked that Israel will be known not for being warriors	NYT 8/15/2004
I don't believe that America says now that settlements can be expanded	NYT 8/23/2004
They just have the idea of having fun, making joy, and so that's a big difficulty	NYT 8/23/2004
You are hero	NYT 8/26/2004
I think the Games were a successful and a secure Games	NYT 8/30/2004
DON'T BE BIG BABY	NYT 8/31/2004
I played good, I wish I play better, but I am still very happy with the result	NYT 9/1//2004
This is your third bite at the proverbial cherry	NYT 9/1/2004

Quotation	Source
You take the Metro, and sometimes you think something could happen. We simply pray to God each time that nothing happens to you	NYT 9/1/2004
Sometimes I am thinking to leave my country	NYT 9/12/2004
For me it's one sightseeing place	NYT 9/12/2004
I enjoy eating a good banana; I don't believe I enjoy the bases loaded with Tejada batting	NYT 9/12/2004
All the parties are not good because they fight for their interests	NYT 9/13/2004
I cannot play good every day	NYT 9/3/2004
And it's not excuse	NYT 9/3/2004
and it's not good things	NYT 9/3/2004
It's not that I take something from her	NYT 9/3/2004
I didn't like	NYT 9/3/2004
Many people like to be in a secure job, and not to take risks at the moment, because the situation is very flaky	NYT 9/4/2004
But I'm happy tired	NYT 9/7/2004
In Greece, we make everything for the last minute	The Florida Times-Union 8/12/2004
I wish for them to come back	The Florida Times-Union 8/12/2004
They are telling you 'the Olympics are here, and they will be our national fiesta!'	The Florida Times-Union 8/12/2004
In China, we say, 'The bean is out of the bottle'	USA Today 8/30/2004
The future costs of security is likely to equal the cost of the Games, themselves	USA Today 8/30/2004
I concentrated for the strikes	USA Today 8/30/2004
These Games were unforgettable dream Games	USA Today 8/30/2004
It's like a machine. If it stops (running), it goes for a while	USA Today 8/30/2004
I hope I can do [so] soon	www.cnn.com 5/26/2004
life is now	www.cnn.com 5/26/2004
It was never agreed this morning	www.cnn.com 8/24/2004
Two civilian planes were crashed by terrorist gangs that had links to the al Qaeda	www.cnn.com 9/1/2004

APPENDIX B
OVERT MENTION

Overt mention	Source
“At first, I realized where I’d been cut,” he says with a thick Southern draw	GS 6/29/2003
Across town, Simply Unforgettable (they spell it with one "t") party shop opened last week	GS 8/19/2004
Kohen, who is from Uruguay, said Machen is trying his best to "patear el avispero," or "kick the beehive."	GS 9/10/2004
"C.E.O.'s have been transformed from American royalty to America's Most Wanted in one year," Ms. Huffington said in Greek-accented English	NYT 1/30/2003
"The citizens didn't accept the behavior of the Americans," an elderly resident in a white robe said in unaccented English that he learned while a student at a technical institute in St. Louis in the 1960's.	NYT 5/30/2003
Her speech is relaxed and pure Arkansas, a singsong of y'all's and endearments and missing g's.	NYT 7/4/2004
"I was dead thirsty," he said. He was speaking English, a language in which he is not perfect but makes himself pungently clear.	NYT 8/15/2004
Mr. Wilson often speaks in terse sentences and monosyllables. His speech is occasionally slurred; he sometimes seems lost in his own world.	NYT 9/12/2004
"In today's terms, the apostle Paul would be living in the projects saying, 'Grace and peace to you, a'ight,' instead of 'amen,' " Mr. Durso said, using the hip-hop contraction for all right.	NYT 9/13/2004
"Wipe your sniffles," the man said, speaking crudely in accented Russian, when asked what they hoped to discuss with the officials.	NYT 9/2/2004

Overt mention	Source
'Crouching Tiger' created an audience for this kind of film," Mr. Zhang, speaking Mandarin, said in his signature mumble.	NYT 9/2/2004
Garry Marshall. Mr. Marshall, the director of films like "Pretty Woman," got up and in his signature Bronx twang talked about how shocked he was to be honoring the virtuoso tenor.	NYT 9/2/2004
Lauri Pakkanen, also 26, used language learned during studies in the United States to make another point. "In 2001 and 2002, everyone wanted to work for Nokia," he said. "But you know how young people are. It ain't so hip any more. It ain't so cool."	NYT 9/4/2004
"By God, I did not shoot!" he mumbled when asked if he had fired on fleeing hostages.	NYT 9/7/2004
The Scoop is printing the excerpts from posting as they ran, without fixing up the grammar.	www.msnbc.msn.com 5/12/2004

APPENDIX C
REPRESENTATIONS OF SOUND

Quotation	Source
I was like 'Whoo-hoo!'	GS 3/1/2003
A tree fell on the power lines and the poles snapped like toothpicks - chik, chik, chik	GS 9/14/2004
Argh!	GS 9/3/2004
Blah, blah, blah	NYT 1/30/2003
Baa, baa, baa	NYT 5/30/2003
And it was like, aaarrggghh	NYT 8/11/2004

APPENDIX D
NOT EXACTLY WHAT THEY MEANT

Quotation	Source
When you're a 110 you're allowed to sleep whenever you want to	GS 5/30/2003
patear el avispero	GS 9/10/2004
I was so belligerent, I was so cantankerous, so persistently disregardless.	NYT 6/23/2004
And have a lot of investments that are kind of working for itself	NYT 7/31/2004
Business customers shouldn't have to weed through pens shaped like asparagi	NYT 8/12/2004
He called us rapers and killers and that's not true	NYT 8/20/2004
On the big issue that faces this country, Mayor Giuliani and President Bush walk arm and arm	NYT 8/30/2004
The reporting system is a shambles	NYT 8/30/2004
This is your third bite at the proverbial cherry	NYT 9/1/2004
I enjoy eating a good banana; I don't believe I enjoy the bases loaded with Tejada batting	NYT 9/12/2004
There are lots of oranges, they are all bad, and we are just choosing the least bad	NYT 9/14/2004
And this new diplomatic effort is barely a year ago	NYT 9/2/2004
The best way to bridge these two worlds, who often speak very different languages, is to come in at the very beginning of the creative process	NYT 9/6/2004
We're not naïve to think we're not going to get blasts	The Florida Times-Union 8/14/2004
In China, we say, 'The bean is out of the bottle'	USA Today 8/30/2004
I hope I can do [so] soon	www.cnn.com 5/26/2004

APPENDIX E
CASUAL SPEECH

Quotation	Source
You know, this was the last place you missed a free throw	GS 1/30/2003
it was a tough, tough year	GS 1/30/2003
they can shoot the ball very, very well	GS 1/30/2003
Like, whoa, this is gonna be fun	GS 10/27/2003
I really, really felt confident	GS 10/27/2003
Oh, yeah, he wins that competition	GS 11/26/2003
You've had a really, really unusual winter	GS 3/1/2003
He'll find these guys punch real, real hard	GS 3/1/2003
I was like 'Whoo-hoo!'	GS 3/1/2003
I'm very, very confident	GS 3/1/2003
He talked about his mommy was killed in a crash in Colorado	GS 4/30/2003
Gimme the ball!	GS 4/30/2003
Jimmy loved his brother and promised his momma and daddy he'd take care of his brother	GS 4/30/2003
He's gonna go where I tell him	GS 4/30/2003
It's a fun and vintage-y piece	GS 8/10/2004
That's what it's all about, you know	GS 8/13/2004
It starts out with a bit of a chilly reception, playin' in front of complete strangers	GS 8/13/2004
Yeah, bands of rain	GS 8/16/2004
We kept hitting — what would you call it?	GS 8/16/2004
I kind of really want a computer for me	GS 8/17/2004
As soon as she could talk, she was like, 'rub my back,' 'rub my feet,' 'rub my legs'	GS 8/18/2004
Yeah, it's personal, but, you know, that's what I would want to hear from my favorite artists	GS 8/21/2004
You know, it's one of those songs that takes you back to another place	GS 8/21/2004
Man, it just popped out of the speakers	GS 8/21/2004
That's when I decided I was gonna give this law thing a chance, but it had to be consistent with my political values	GS 8/25/2004
I'm very, very motivated for this fight	GS 8/28/2003

Quotation	Source
It'll be good to see the ol' ball coach	GS 8/28/2003
It's a big, big world	GS 8/28/2003
There's no 'Wow!' factor	GS 8/28/2004
I think Florida oughta forfeit and send us the check	GS 8/31/2004
I think it will get somebody upset when they realize that they have kinda been milked out of their money	GS 9/11/2004
I said, 'Well, uh, I think I can do it'	GS 9/14/2004
It really depends on how the severity of the damage and the area.	GS 9/15/2004
There was like a flash and the wires turned green	GS 9/5/2004
Oh, thousands	GS 9/7/2004
If I'd have had 100, I could have sold them all	GS 9/9/2004
I've always made films that are sort of avant-garde-y or whatever you call it	http://entertainment.msn.com 8/24/2004
You know, it was great	NYT 1/30/2003
People are like, 'Let's go get him, let's get go get him'	NYT 1/30/2003
Know what I'm saying?	NYT 1/30/2003
This new spoken-word thing is really gonna change the world	NYT 1/30/2003
It's been a long, long fight	NYT 12/26/2003
This is a huge game, huge	NYT 3/1/2003
It was so heartbreaking -- oh, God -- to see how the firemen brought the children's bodies out, like this	NYT 3/1/2003
Because that's a rare item, a rare item	NYT 3/1/2003
I mean, what business do we have being in 79 commercial ventures? Really.	NYT 3/1/2003
You know, it's one of the great things about wine	NYT 3/1/2003
Hey, that's what we do well	NYT 3/31/2003
You know, anyway, I think he's alive	NYT 3/31/2003
Will I miss it? Hello? But it's not the end of the world	NYT 3/31/2003
something very, very different and something very, very new	NYT 3/31/2003
Smoke 'em while you got 'em	NYT 3/31/2003
It's a new era, a new era	NYT 3/31/2003
We want to play basketball, but right now we can't; it's stop, stop, stop	NYT 4/30/2003

Quotation	Source
First inning, bang. Second inning, bang, bang	NYT 4/30/2003
Yeah, man, he was a great comedian	NYT 5/30/2003
But, you know, times change	NYT 5/30/2003
My God, that's like a barn door at those temperatures	NYT 5/30/2003
Very good, very good, very good	NYT 5/30/2003
When the band stops playin'	NYT 6/23/2004
the people stop dancin'	NYT 6/23/2004
You see the one with the little flowers on the cover, and it'll have the little banner?	NYT 6/7/2004
Look for the Oprah's Book Club little sticker there because there's lots of different editions	NYT 6/7/2004
This is an award-winning translation, so you're really going to get scared if it's not translated well, O.K.?	NYT 6/7/2004
By the time I'm 35, I want a big, big house, all kind of sports cars	NYT 7/31/2004
And Magnolia's like a two, two-and-a-half-hour ride from here	NYT 7/4/2004
And I'm, like, 'What are you doing here?'	NYT 7/4/2004
And they're, like, 'Well, Linda, we never dreamed you'd be down here!'	NYT 7/4/2004
They're willin' to learn	NYT 7/4/2004
In other words, there's no sanctions - you can't - we're out of sanctions.	NYT 8/10/2004
That was in 1990, O.K.?	NYT 8/11/2004
And it was like, aaarrggghh	NYT 8/11/2004
My whole thing is, look, if these people are really trying to get at us, they are not going to put two random bombs in a random place	NYT 8/11/2004
It's a chance for me to branch out of swimming and kind of experience some other things like modeling and stuff	NYT 8/11/2004
really, really important	NYT 8/17/2004
'cause he trusts me	NYT 8/19/2004
I went up to the desk and said, 'I've been getting on this plane, you know, for 42 years.'	NYT 8/20/2004
Me and Bill aren't the smartest, but we can count to three	NYT 8/20/2004

Quotation	Source
I'm thinking: O.K., these Hollywood flakes, what am I going to get out of it?	NYT 8/22/2004
If we could just get them to vote, hello, we could win something	NYT 8/22/2004
Bought it in, like, '96 from a hype	NYT 8/22/2004
It was like 6 o'clock in the morning	NYT 8/22/2004
He said a girl wanna sell her TV	NYT 8/22/2004
Man, I been up	NYT 8/22/2004
You up?	NYT 8/22/2004
He feels sorta warm, so I don't know	NYT 8/22/2004
I gotta take his temperature.	NYT 8/22/2004
I was gonna fix us some eggs	NYT 8/22/2004
What you doin'?	NYT 8/22/2004
I do a helluva job with Kevion	NYT 8/22/2004
Cause all I do is work	NYT 8/22/2004
Cause his real daddy don't care nothing about him	NYT 8/22/2004
'cause Kevion's gonna know how to respect me	NYT 8/22/2004
I feel like, if he'd a been there, I'd be in a different spot than I am today	NYT 8/22/2004
Ain't no way I would wanna be working for free when I could be working somewhere and getting paid!	NYT 8/22/2004
He's not gonna come	NYT 8/22/2004
I always told my daddy that I was gonna be his lawyer and help him get out	NYT 8/22/2004
But I'm gonna treat y'all like y'all my sons.	NYT 8/22/2004
Y'all not gonna get to the point where you break me and Jewell up.	NYT 8/22/2004
that's like the worst thing in the world!	NYT 8/22/2004
'Cause you said those wedding vows	NYT 8/22/2004
I don't talk about it at work, 'cause the majority of the women at work -- I ain't gonna say all of them -- their men are alcoholics	NYT 8/22/2004
Then I was like, 'I ain't even gonna marry Tupac, 'cause I got Ken'	NYT 8/22/2004
Cause a your attitude, right there	NYT 8/22/2004
He was, like: 'I don't want you to leave'	NYT 8/22/2004
And I was like: 'No, it ain't even like that'	NYT 8/22/2004
I just told him we gotta sit down and talk	NYT 8/22/2004

Quotation	Source
I said, 'I wanna know what's on your mind, and I'm gonna tell you what's going on in my mind.	NYT 8/22/2004
You know, what happened, why they released me.	NYT 8/25/2004
You know, I got to move forward from here.	NYT 8/25/2004
Now look, the first meeting was pretty emotional,	NYT 8/26/2004
I felt good	NYT 8/26/2004
Hey, I didn't get them	NYT 8/26/2004
I guess there really ain't no competition between me and Justin no more, right?	NYT 8/30/2004
It's 'a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do'	NYT 9/03/2004
we concluded - I concluded - that genocide has been committed	NYT 9/10/2004
Hey, fellas, this guy's writing for The New York Times Magazine	NYT 9/12/2004
When the goin' gets tough, the tough get goin'	NYT 9/13/2004
Fellas, I don't have anything to say	NYT 9/13/2004
If the Portable Media Centers can offer a little bit more at some incremental costs, wow, look at all these other things they can do	NYT 9/2/2004
I thought, 'Wow, that really looks like I'm standing way up in the heavens looking down'	NYT 9/2/2004
I just felt I just really want to program	NYT 9/2/2004
I just really want to invent stuff	NYT 9/2/2004
I have to say this is the best I felt, you know, for the year	NYT 9/2/2004
for sure	NYT 9/2/2004
I've been feeling better, you know, for the last two weeks	NYT 9/2/2004
I decided I was going to write a game that wasn't a shoot-'em-up	NYT 9/2/2004
And we're one block from the beach - I mean, come on!	NYT 9/3/2004
You wish in situations like this - I'm sure he regrets it	NYT 9/4/2004
You know, I'm really proud of my legs	NYT 9/6/2004

Quotation	Source
Years later we blew up the drawing for an exhibition, and we said, 'Whoops, it's not a zero, it's a six'	NYT 9/6/2004
And then you get a little, 'Oh, no, don't do this'	NYT 9/7/2004
This is a powder keg, a major, major problem	NYT 9/7/2004
Everyone's like, oh my gosh, where'd you get these?	NYT 9/9/2004
When you come on to a reality show, you know there's gonna be something	People magazine 12/1/2003
I'm gonna kill you	People magazine 12/1/2003
and I believe she said, '20,' and I said, 'Thattagirl!'	People magazine 12/1/2003
You have to understand that to play it's an honor to play on this team	USA Today 8/30/2004
Every sport has their dark cloud	USA Today 8/30/2004
It's for serious	USA Today 8/30/2004
We're going to deal with it in a very tasteful way, but, you know, excuse us if we believe that our president has done a very good job	USA Today 8/30/2004
I'm sure there are people who are like, 'Oh, she didn't play that much,	USA Today 8/30/2004
I mean, if it isn't broke, don't try to fix it"	USA Today 8/30/2004
They don't wanna tell them about the DNA they took eight times	www.cnn.com 10/14/2004

APPENDIX F
DIALECT

Quotation	Source
My car's obviously real good right now	GS 10/27/2003
The reason we decided to adopt these children is real simple	GS 12/26/2003
those drivers are so darn loyal	GS 3/1/2003
they could bust up a lot of the routes they have now	GS 3/1/2003
He'll find these guys punch real, real hard	GS 3/1/2003
It would be real neat	GS 3/1/2003
he sat with Mum	GS 4/30/2003
she had developed a lot of real good friends on the team	GS 4/30/2003
Jimmy loved his brother and promised his momma and daddy he'd take care of his brother	GS 4/30/2003
We played pretty solid	GS 5/30/2003
This ain't no fake Gator!	GS 6/29/2003
These boys'll bite you!	GS 6/29/2003
I ain't lose nothin', baby	GS 7/29/2003
If God wants it to get tore down, it's going to get tore down	GS 8/12/2004
They don't know nothing, honey	GS 8/13/2004
We got plenty of rain, but not much else	GS 8/13/2004
That's when we got scared and thought we was going to get hit head-on by the hurricane — when we drove up and saw that they shut the doors at Wal-Mart	GS 8/14/2004
Right foot let's stomp, left foot let's stomp, cha-cha now, y'all!	GS 8/21/2004
We wants people to listen to us and our concerns	GS 8/24/2004
Some of us ain't going back	GS 8/28/2004
My grandmama didn't leave me no money	GS 8/28/2004
I take it a lot more serious than I did	GS 8/7/2004
It just came up overnight and happened real quick	GS 9/11/2004
If the thing's going to happen, it's going to happen - it don't matter where we are	GS 9/12/2004

Quotation	Source
That was real important	GS 9/13/2004
While all the forecasts are real positive	GS 9/14/2004
People are reacting quicker this time,	GS 9/2/2004
she's been playing real well for them	GS 9/27/2003
I thought my young'un was pinned up in there	GS 9/5/2004
He can't play no dominoes,	GS 9/7/2004
I'm not saying I got it all together	GS 9/8/2004
I don't get no help from no one	GS 9/8/2004
They got about a billion pictures from everywhere	NYT 1/30/2003
They probably got a photograph with every politician that walked around	NYT 1/30/2003
What he was basically saying was, 'You got to do this for us to do what we want to do'	NYT 1/30/2003
Patrick could hit real good -- he was always hitting the ball into our backyard from theirs	NYT 3/1/2003
If you be a smart, industrious boy, listen to your mama and obey her, I will make you a fife	NYT 3/1/2003
You can't write no music for a fife	NYT 3/1/2003
You got to do it	NYT 3/1/2003
Oy! What a welcome	NYT 3/31/2003
you got to work with what you got	NYT 3/31/2003
I didn't use marijuana in no type of way	NYT 5/30/2003
Those two guys, they really see the ice real well	NYT 5/30/2003
I don't have nothing	NYT 6/23/2004
I don't have nobody	NYT 6/23/2004
It creates that itch you cain't scratch	NYT 7/4/2004
Course	NYT 7/4/2004
We're getting real familiar with the documents	NYT 8/12/2004
You can't hardly believe what they say	NYT 8/12/2004
You feel for them, but you got to do what you got to do	NYT 8/12/2004
This is a real vulnerable area	NYT 8/12/2004
As an offensive line, you always want to play good	NYT 8/19/2004
This ain't Sydney	NYT 8/22/2004
I been having this TV forever	NYT 8/22/2004
she wanted a hit bad	NYT 8/22/2004

Quotation	Source
I been up	NYT 8/22/2004
Kevion still got a fever?	NYT 8/22/2004
but there ain't none	NYT 8/22/2004
What you doin'?	NYT 8/22/2004
Why you sneaking up on the phone?	NYT 8/22/2004
I ain't sneaking.	NYT 8/22/2004
I'm just seeing is y'all up and what is y'all doing	NYT 8/22/2004
She don't even need to be calling	NYT 8/22/2004
ay-aight	NYT 8/22/2004
I got you	NYT 8/22/2004
Cause his real daddy don't care nothing about him	NYT 8/22/2004
The shirt, the do-rag, all the way down to the drawers that he got on -- that comes from me	NYT 8/22/2004
See, my son ain't gonna pull this	NYT 8/22/2004
Ain't no way I would wanna be working for free when I could be working somewhere and getting paid!	NYT 8/22/2004
But I'm gonna treat y'all like y'all my sons	NYT 8/22/2004
Y'all not gonna get to the point where you break me and Jewell up	NYT 8/22/2004
she having my son	NYT 8/22/2004
I ain't having a City Hall wedding	NYT 8/22/2004
you say you got an inseparable bond	NYT 8/22/2004
Long wedding dress, all that stuff don't fascinate me	NYT 8/22/2004
As long as I got the husband and the ring, I'm straight	NYT 8/22/2004
Then I was like, 'I ain't even gonna marry Tupac, 'cause I got Ken'	NYT 8/22/2004
And I was like: 'No, it ain't even like that'	NYT 8/22/2004
I got a man at home	NYT 8/22/2004
what happen with me and Janet Jackson	NYT 8/22/2004
Janet Jackson don't cook	NYT 8/22/2004
Ay-aight	NYT 8/22/2004
You know, I got to move forward from here	NYT 8/25/2004
No, Mum, they're not crazy alcoholics	NYT 8/26/2004
It hits me up with 'In Da Club,' and then all of a sudden I am in da club	NYT 8/26/2004
I felt good	NYT 8/26/2004
I still got to learn a lot to prepare	NYT 8/30/2004

Quotation	Source
I thought Kurt was really sharp and real quick	NYT 8/30/2004
I thought he made some real outstanding plays	NYT 8/30/2004
I guess there really ain't no competition between me and Justin no more, right?	NYT 8/30/2004
I played pretty good coming down	NYT 9/13/2004
I don't take nothing from 50 Cent because he's not talking about anything godly	NYT 9/13/2004
They want the made-up stories, 'I was broke on Thursday and God came and I got paid on Friday, ain't he all right, he's an on-time God'	NYT 9/13/2004
Well, sometimes God don't come on Friday	NYT 9/13/2004
In today's terms, the apostle Paul would be living in the projects saying, 'Grace and peace to you, a'ight,' instead of 'amen'	NYT 9/13/2004
Well so does 'a'ight' to this hip-hop culture	NYT 9/13/2004
you got to stay committed	NYT 9/14/2004
It's some good things, some bad things out there	NYT 9/4/2004
It hit pretty good	USA Today 8/30/2004
We won't know anything official until they do an MRI	USA Today 8/30/2004
Not being a doctor, I don't know, but it's probably not real good	USA Today 8/30/2004
I just went out and did what came natural to me	USA Today 8/30/2004
I mean, if it isn't broke, don't try to fix it	USA Today 8/30/2004
Ain't no such thing as losing your swagger	USA Today 8/30/2004
And when you get beat by technique you should never give nobody that much credit.	USA Today 8/30/2004
It was strictly technique, the reason Gary got beat	USA Today 8/30/2004
God don't sleep	www.cnn.com 10/14/2004

APPENDIX G
LOOKS LIKE A SCOREBOARD

Quotation	Source
they mark their X's and O's	GS 1/30/2003
the game after the first half should have been 6-3	GS 10/27/2003
But even with 13-0	GS 10/27/2003
you'll see their 'A' game	GS 10/27/2003
We're playing OK	GS 10/27/2003
We scored 112 and they scored 107 points	GS 11/26/2003
guys don't fight because they know, No. 1, we're tough on fighting	GS 12/26/2003
We've got 18 now	GS 3/1/2003
39 minutes and 56 seconds	GS 3/31/2003
We've never run a 4xmile team	GS 3/31/2003
You can't do that for 18 holes	GS 3/31/2003
We went out and got No. 1s	GS 3/31/2003
when it was 2-1	GS 4/30/2003
They go out every year and win 50 games	GS 4/30/2003
I would say it's 50-50	GS 5/30/2003
We're at 12	GS 5/30/2003
We might go to 14	GS 5/30/2003
We might go to 10	GS 5/30/2003
You can make 14 work	GS 5/30/2003
You can make 16 work	GS 5/30/2003
It wouldn't hurt my feelings if he went 0-for-his-next-50"	GS 6/29/2003
young QB any young defense	GS 6/29/2003
we certainly didn't expect to be sitting 10½ games out	GS 7/29/2003
significantly under .500	GS 7/29/2003
they're playing the No. 1	GS 8/28/2003
We'd better be 1-1	GS 9/27/2003
behind the 8-ball	GS 9/27/2003
It went a little too far, like I was shooting an N.B.A. 3	NYT 1/30/2003
I don't want to have a 50-50 chance of making the N.B.A.; it's got to be 90 percent to 10 that I get to that level	NYT 1/30/2003

Quotation	Source
If he's got to run 50 times on Sunday to win, he'll run 50 times	NYT 12/26/2003
If you had a team, you could ask every G.M. in the league	NYT 3/1/2003
and it doesn't matter who is No. 1	NYT 3/1/2003
It's all eras -- in 1950, someone was the greatest, in 1960, in the 70's, 80's, there's always going to be somebody	NYT 3/1/2003
Hewitt has proved that he's No. 1	NYT 3/31/2003
They beat us to the battles and in the battles for all 60 minutes today	NYT 3/31/2003
When all of the No. 1 seeds were falling in the tournament, that was scary	NYT 3/31/2003
Then we got a little life when we got the goal to make it 4-2	NYT 3/31/2003
I made two mistakes on 13 and 14	NYT 3/31/2003
It was a 1-point game	NYT 4/30/2003
We don't want to come back for Game 7	NYT 4/30/2003
We're down, 3-0	NYT 4/30/2003
Grind it out and come up with 17 and 16	NYT 4/30/2003
It's hard to believe that 4-under is probably not going to be in the top 10	NYT 5/30/2003
our No. 1 goal is to keep the defensive guys off our quarterback	NYT 8/19/2004
That's why I believe so much more factors into the decision than X's and O's	NYT 8/26/2004
The No. 1 draft pick	NYT 8/26/2004
I've been to two Super Bowls and won two M.V.P.'s	NYT 8/26/2004
He's my No. 1.	NYT 8/30/2004
That was goal No. 1 coming in, to become the starter and help this team win a championship	NYT 8/30/2004
We've got 15 more to go	NYT 9/10/2004
But if we go 1-15, I doubt anybody is going to do handsprings about this one	NYT 9/10/2004
I don't ever remember going through a stretch this bad since '98	NYT 9/11/2004
Early in the season in '99, maybe	NYT 9/11/2004
This is our chance to prove that we are better than 4-12	NYT 9/12/2004
Every guy in this locker room and the people upstairs feel this is not a 4-12 team	NYT 9/12/2004

Quotation	Source
I thought he made some real outstanding plays above the X's and O's	NYT 9/12/2004
That was goal No. 1 coming in	NYT 9/12/2004
Any time you knock off a top-10 football team, it's significant	NYT 9/12/2004
We showed today we have the ability to go out and play with top-10 teams	NYT 9/12/2004
The big putt was on 17	NYT 9/13/2004
It wasn't about going out there and trying to beat Tiger and beat the No. 1 player	NYT 9/13/2004
You put it up on the board and you say, 'My goodness, 17-8, how do you bounce back from that?'	NYT 9/15/2004
Then all of a sudden, it's 4-0	NYT 9/15/2004
Because I really don't think anybody would be playing if they really didn't feel 100 percent.	NYT 9/6/2004
At this point, I didn't care if there was 100 people, 10 people, I just wanted to play	NYT 9/9/2004
At about 6-1, 5-1, I thought, 'If it rains now, I'm going to die'	NYT 9/9/2004
It's tough to get 100 at this level	USA Today 8/30/2004

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sarah K. Wears completed her B.A. in linguistics *magna cum laude* at the University of Florida (2002) with minors in philosophy and teaching English as a second language. This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of her M.A. in linguistics from the University of Florida (2004). While pursuing her M.A., Wears taught English as a second language and introductory courses in linguistics. Her teaching earned her the distinction of being the Calvin A. VanderWerf Award recipient for 2003-2004, the university's top honor for graduate teaching assistants.