

REPRESENTING SPEECH IN EARLY ENGLISH

by

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DEDICATION

To my father and to the memory of my mother:
for teaching me to speak, for teaching me to read,
and for helping me to think about speaking and reading.

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If any large academic project must acknowledge the assistance of many people, it seems to me that a dissertation must do so many times over. Scholarly books only give thanks to people who helped the book to develop to fruition, but a dissertation must offer thanks to people who helped the author to develop to fruition. This page could never be adequate to the task.

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Introduction:

Editing Reported Speech

Present-day English uses quotation marks to indicate passages of reported speech, but these markers are a purely modern convention and cannot be found in premodern manuscripts. The presence or absence of these marks changes our reading experience and our relationship to the written language. Compare this passage from the fifteenth-century Hengwrt manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*:

She seith nat ones nay/ whan he seith yee

Do this seith he/ alreedy sire seith she

to its incarnation in the *Riverside Chaucer* (1987):

She seith nat ones “nay,” whan he seith “ye.”

“Do this,” seith he; “Al reedy, sire,” seith she.

On first glance, the addition of quotation marks in the modern edition may seem a superficial difference. What this work suggests is that the difference between these two passages is in fact substantive: that the first text comes from a system where speech was marked in less pronounced ways, and that the second, through the quotation marks, adds clear tags to the levels of narrative, tacitly asserting that the speakers are quoted verbatim, and making presumptive editorial decisions about narrative voice in passages where the speaker and the boundaries of the reported utterance are ambiguous.

These are issues which have been touched upon by both linguistic and literary scholars in recent years, yet there has been little interdisciplinary conversation between

these groups and no full study of the methods of reporting speech. The need for one was suggested by linguist Suzanne Romaine in *Socio-Historical Linguistics*, when she speculated about premodern written texts that “The norms for reporting speech in discourse or verse may have been different then or could have varied according to genre.”¹ This work provides the sort of study that Romaine anticipates. It examines the methods of reporting speech in medieval manuscripts and texts and employs the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse to search a broad range of texts. Further, it positions the results of this study in their cultural and literary context. In doing so, it raises and responds to a series of historical, linguistic and hermeneutic questions. What does it mean that manuscripts have less-determined ways of indicating speech? Did speakers and writers of English in the premodern period have the same assumptions about direct and indirect speech that contemporary speakers and writers of English have? What are the implications of these methods for our understanding of late medieval literature? How did late medieval authors work with this fluid system of speech marking? Finally, what are the consequences of modern editorial practice, in which editors have consistently added quotation marks when editing medieval texts? The answers to these questions can shed light on premodern conceptions of reading and writing.

Reported discourse is the intrusion of the voice (spoken or written) of one speaker or writer into the discourse of another. V. N. Voloshinov’s famous definition states that, “Reported speech is speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also speech about speech, utterance about utterance.”² The embedded “speech-within-speech” nature of reported discourse grows out of the ability, which speech reporting grants, for one speaker or writer to voice the words of another. Attempting to

describe the properties of this discourse embedding, though, is a thorny matter, owing to the divided allegiance of the words – their dual responsibility towards both the original context from which the words are represented and also towards the new frame into which they are being positioned. The problem is a long-standing one; Plato, for example, differentiates in Book III of the *Republic* between *mimesis*, in which the poet adopts the voice of another, and *diegesis*, in which the poet never attempts to assume the voice of another. The importance of organizing and representing discourse has made the analysis of reported speech a complex issue for linguists, narratologists, anthropologists, and literary scholars, and the problems of assimilating reported speech into models of language have troubled many theorists. This is why Roman Jakobson, for example, described reported speech as a “crucial linguistic and stylistic problem.”³

The terminology surrounding the depiction of the words of another in a written or spoken form has been varied and sometimes contradictory. I will adhere strictly to certain taxonomic distinctions and only loosely to others. Direct speech or discourse (*oratio recta*) occurs when a primary speaker or writer presents the speech or writing of a secondary person through the latter's own perspective, but as reported by the primary speaker:

(1) She said, “I ate the crème brûlée.”

Indirect speech or discourse (*oratio obliqua*) occurs when the primary speaker or writer presents the speech or writing of the secondary person, but rephrased to fit the perspective of the primary speaker:

(2) She said [that] she ate the crème brûlée.

The difference between (1) and (2) can be found in the shifters, the deictic words that depend upon the orientation of the speaker, such as pronouns and verb tenses. (1) and (2) together have been called represented speech or reported speech. Yet these terms have also been applied to narrower uses: “reported speech” has sometimes been used to refer specifically to indirect discourse in opposition to “quoted speech” for direct discourse. And “represented speech” is the term used by Jespersen to refer to a blending of direct and indirect discourse, which has also been called free indirect speech, style or discourse.⁴ Free indirect speech, first discussed as *le style indirect libre* by Charles Bally and *uneigentliche direkte Rede* (quasi-direct speech) by Gertraud Lerch and Voloshinov,⁵ employs the form of indirect speech while suggesting a direct reporting of the words or thoughts of the reported person:

(3) Wow, the crème brûlée was too fabulous for words.

In free indirect discourse, the reporting clause is often omitted (except as a parenthetical clause) and the speech-like structure of direct discourse is possible (vocatives, interjections, direct question forms, and so forth).⁶ The free indirect style characterizes some modernist work, most famously that of James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, though various beginnings have been posited for it, dating back to the writings of Jane Austen.

It is possible to read medieval works as containing free indirect speech, since they contain represented speech which employs some of the characteristics of direct speech and some of indirect speech (as I discuss in chapter 3). Yet I will avoid the term “free indirect speech” for describing this phenomenon, preferring to reserve that term for modern texts which employ the form to subvert the categorical distinction between direct and indirect speech. I argue instead that premodern texts did not have such a pronounced

categorical distinction, and that the more fluid system lent itself better to some overlap between the modes of discourse.

Writings in historical sociolinguistics and pragmatics occasionally use “speakers” to collapse the categories of speakers and writers, and “speech” as a general term in environments where speech or writing is meant. Short, Semino and Wynne point out that these usages are imprecise and establish the importance of distinguishing between speech, thought and writing presentation in their data.⁷ But the practice of using “direct speech” to refer also to written discourse emphasizes the ways that medieval texts used reporting strategies from oral language. For this work, then, some of the slippage between the categories of speech and writing is appropriate, and I will distinguish between speech and writing in those places where the distinction is relevant. “Discourse” is another problematic word, since it is sometimes used to refer to speech and writing but sometimes exclusively to speech; and since it has developed many complex theoretical senses in some disciplines. In the wake of Foucault, literary scholars have used the word to connote the means of communication within an institution or power structure.⁸ I will use it to refer to a continuous communicative unit of language above the sentence which contextualizes morphological and syntactic elements (a conversation, a passage of a novel, the proceedings of a trial). The term “voice” proves similarly troublesome, since it has assumed many complex meanings for the field of narratology.⁹ I will employ it to refer to the presence of a particular perspective in a passage of the text: words which originate from a particular person (fictional or otherwise). I follow Janssen and van der Wurff in using the term “reported speech” as a category term for direct speech, indirect speech and free indirect speech. Recognizing reporting as a type of representation, I also

use the terms “reported speech” and “represented speech” interchangeably. The term “reported speech” poses further problems owing to the question of reported thought. This work, in focusing primarily on reported utterances rather than reported thoughts, will employ the terms “speech” and “discourse” to describe the reported embedded clause, and clarify when particular points are made which involve reported thought rather than reported speech.

1. Editing reported speech in medieval manuscripts

Nearly all present-day readers of late medieval literature approach works through edited texts. We accept this mediation as necessary and even desirable, since most of us have no wish to tangle with fifteenth-century book hands every time we sit down to read a passage – even if this were possible. Different aspects of published editions alter our reading and understanding of the edited works, however, and reported speech is a particularly fraught aspect of a text.

Present-day English marks reported direct speech with quotation marks, and editors typically add these to edited medieval texts. Editors of introductory texts explain these emendations by asserting that they increase a text’s accessibility. Ann Haskell, for example, introduces *A Middle English Anthology* with: “Since the appearance of a medieval text can be overwhelming to the inexperienced reader, I have supplied punctuation, capitalization and accent marks where they seem necessary.”¹⁰ Equally often these issues are taken for granted, as in the case of R. T. Davies’s anthology *Medieval English Lyrics*: “Modern punctuation and use of capital letters have

been introduced throughout.”¹¹ Even scholarly editions which rigorously provide footnotes and apparatus to record every manuscript variant still typically add punctuation. And certainly editorial precedent supports this practice; editors have been punctuating direct speech in different ways and with varying consistency since the sixteenth century.

This is why, for the most part, current editorial scholarship adjudges punctuation to be more vulnerable to modern intervention than other features of a text. Many recent editors have been working under the tutelage of W.W. Greg's influential essay “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” which draws an often-repeated distinction between the “substantive” and the “accidental” elements of a text.¹² Greg defines “substantives” as features which influence the author’s meaning or the essence of his expression and “accidentals” as affecting its formal presentation. For accidentals he gives spelling, punctuation and word-division as examples. Greg’s choice of terms places punctuation in a subordinate position, an ‘accident’ of textual presentation. His exclusion of punctuation from the semantic center of the text indicates the historical tendency of editors to exhibit reluctance in changing the actual words of a text, but to take greater liberties in altering the surrounding context. Himself a scholar of Renaissance texts, Greg was aware of the potential importance of punctuation, and acknowledges in a footnote that punctuation may have effects on meaning. Greg’s categories, however, are usually repeated without his mitigating note. Fredson Bowers, for example, borrows the substantive/accidental distinction without repeating Greg’s concession about punctuation and meaning, and the Anglo-American tradition of editorial theory has followed suit.¹³ D. F. McKenzie, therefore, regards Greg’s distinction as responsible for engendering a tradition of editorial theory which does not incorporate the history of the

book.¹⁴ By dividing the text into primary and secondary attributes, editors are encouraged to unravel aspects of a work from the whole, resulting in an editorial perspective which approaches a work as a collection of components rather than as a unified creation.

Other recent theorists, led by McKenzie and Jerome McGann, have come forward to advocate a vision of textual editing which considers the content of the words together with their appearance as writing on the page. This model privileges not an abstract ideal of the work in an author's imagination, but the physical aspects of the text as it was produced and circulated. McGann's best-known contribution to editorial theory is his reshaping of the notion of authorial intention. Prior to McGann, scholars tended to assume that the final published version of a literary work was the most authoritative because it represented the author's final intentions. McGann pointed out that an author's intentions are not reliable as a measure of aesthetic quality. He cites examples like *Childe Harold*, *Don Juan* and the *Giaour* – of which survive multiple manuscripts, multiple corrected proofs, and several early editions proofed by Byron.¹⁵ Determining the authorized poem through the panoply of versions proves impossible.

The attempt to reconstruct an author's intentions in editing, a chancy endeavor even for texts from the last century or two, becomes still more vexed when considered for premodern texts. Intention can only be guessed at by using what we know from cultural history, which always presents an incomplete picture. Our knowledge is not sufficient to accommodate differences between authors and for different genres, and we do not always know the extent to which we are retroactively applying our own perspectives and habits on early texts. In fact, the entire concept of the author is something of a back-projection

onto late medieval English works.¹⁶ Premodern models of the *auctor* did not seem to permit authoring a work in the vernacular. Medieval scholars recognized Latin *auctores*, and they recognized English writers, but the notion of English *auctores* did not seem to fit into existing paradigms.¹⁷ The conception of authorial intention, therefore, is elusive enough that it should be approached with caution in editing medieval works. Since our knowledge of the author's intent is always speculative, I will focus whenever possible on production, and on textual function rather than authorial intention.

Even in the wake of contemporary criticism of authorial intention, which promotes meticulous attention to elements of the physical page, punctuation continues to elude categories constructed by theorists. McGann divides textual authority into two domains, the linguistic and the bibliographic.¹⁸ To editors, according to McGann, authorial intentions have carried weight only with respect to the linguistic text, and not for the bibliographic aspects of the text, over which publishers hold sway. Punctuation does not fit easily into this binary, however. It marks linguistic aspects of the work, such as syntax and prosody, and is included within the text. Both of these features would appear to make it part of the linguistic coding of a text. But editors have traditionally assumed greater authority over punctuation than they would over the words of a text, which would make it instead part of the bibliographic code. Punctuation, then, seems to be both linguistic and bibliographic code, and neither.

Other Anglo-American editorial theorists have created other categories to attempt to shape McGann's notions for editorial practice. G. Thomas Tanselle discriminates between material intended for publication and material not so intended.¹⁹ His claim is that editors should reproduce material not meant for publication as faithfully as possible

since they have no authority to guess how an author would have proceeded if faced with publication. Works intended for publication are differently problematic because an author's intention is not necessarily satisfied by any particular reproduction. Therefore, an editor is completely within his rights in deciding to alter punctuation in the edition to assist in presentation of the underlying work (Tanselle distinguishes between a *document* intended for publication and the abstract *work*, which may or may not be realized in that document). Tanselle's divisions have been questioned by modern historians, however.²⁰ And medieval documents pose an even greater problem for Tanselle's categories. Many of them were intended for "publication" in the sense of circulation, but there was no standardizing print medium. Per Tanselle, then, does a scholarly editor have the right to guess what an author would have done if faced with the prospect of modern publication with our modern conventions? Intention to publish does not make the best criteria for editing texts from such a great historical distance.

The elusiveness of punctuation for the categories of editorial theory occurs because of several fractures in its identity. Punctuation can either facilitate the sense of a sentence, or assign a different sense to it. It aids in the conveyance of meaning and creates meaning of itself. Even medieval writers could play with this dual identity, as we find in a few surviving verses which artfully employ the metrical punctuation of the poetic line to create a divided reading. One from Cambridge Univ. MS. Hh. 2.6. reads:

In women is rest peas and pacience .

No season . for-soth outht of charite .

Bothe be nyght & day . thei haue confidence .

All wey of treasone . Owt of blame thei be .

No tyme as men say . Mutabilite .

They haue without nay . but stedfastnes .

In theym may ye neuer fynde y gesse . Cruelte

Such condicions they haue more & lesse .²¹

Reading across the line produces a tribute to women: they have peace and patience, they are never out of charity, and so forth. If, however, we locate the syntactic divisions at the caesurae (as marked by the mid-line dot) rather than the line breaks, the reading is not so flattering: women have peace and patience at no time, they are always out of charity, and so forth. The poem either praises or condemns depending on how the punctuation defines the syntactic unit. R. H. Robbins cites this verse together with two others about priests and the law; he calls them “punctuation poems.”²²

Thus, the decision to add punctuation can be either an assistance to expressing semantic content or the imposition of an entirely different semantic content. Even when editing modern texts, decisions about punctuating a text must be made on a case-by-case basis, since different authors had different approaches to the use of punctuation. A poet like Marianne Moore, for example, took a great deal of care in punctuating her poetry and maintained close control over her punctuational revisions. W. B. Yeats, on the other hand, seems to have used minimal punctuation in the expectation that others would mark the works for him.²³ Altering punctuation would be an instantiation of authorial intention for one poet and a rejection of it for the other. And these are writers at only a single century’s remove, for whom the conventions of punctuation were relatively similar to those of their present-day editors. Approaching premodern texts presents still greater

challenges, since the conventions of textual marking are so different and since almost nothing can be known about the intentions of the writer.

Punctuation marks are both historical and ahistorical. They depend upon the conventions of textual marking in the period from which they derive, but they can assist us in eliciting meaning from texts, regardless of time period. The punctuation problem, therefore, revisits the central issue of all modernizations: does modernizing make meaning accessible to modern readers, or does it interfere with the transmission of meaning by imposing alternate standards of interpretation upon earlier texts? Clearly, in the case of punctuating direct speech, it does both: simultaneously aiding and inhibiting the decipherment of older works. By adding features which make medieval texts more approachable, we make their meaning more accessible even as we obscure the parts of its identity which do not fit into the modern paradigm.

This work argues that adding quotation marks to medieval texts obscures the indeterminate, shifty nature of reported speech in medieval texts and that this practice has effects, sometimes significant ones, for our interpretation of older works.²⁴ I will not advocate the strict position, that medieval editions should not contain quotation marks, as Howell Chickering does in his discussion of punctuating Chaucer editions.²⁵ I am not convinced that removing the quotation marks will lead to an improved reading experience of premodern texts. First of all, we read differently than did earlier readers: more quickly and more often silently. Second, we expect different things from our written works and structure our approach to the page around those expectations. Just as we cannot restore the mindset of early twentieth-century automobile travel by simply removing the street lights from intersections, so we cannot simply remove the signposts which govern a

present-day reader's experience in order to achieve authentic premodern readings. I accept that quotation marks are a necessary interpretational layer for medieval texts, but consider in this work how these quotation marks are changing our reading experience. As readers we need not remove all modernizing aids to older texts. But if we are to be careful scholars, we must endeavor to keep modern interpretational tools distinct in our minds from the original source material. We must bear in mind that quotation marks change the pragmatic functions of a text, creating a layer of mediation: a pragmatic palimpsest. This work examines these palimpsests to investigate the hermeneutics of speech reporting.

2. Methodology

The object of this study is not to ask whether there should be quotation marks in edited medieval texts, but to ask what these anachronistic marks cover up. How did medieval writers (both authors and scribes) mark speech, and how did they understand these markings? By asking such questions, scholars can arrive at a sharper understanding of the people behind the page, the communities which created and circulated written manuscripts, and the human decisions that make up the production of a manuscript.

In examining texts to reveal how they mark discourse transitions and approaching the texts as the products of human communicative needs, I engage the methodology of historical pragmatics. Historical pragmatics is a relatively recent field of inquiry, or, rather, a relatively recent name for the investigation of language function and use in historical contexts. Possibly coined by Dieter Stein in a 1985 essay, "Perspectives on

Historical Pragmatics,”²⁶ the term was defined and institutionalized by Andreas H. Jucker’s 1995 collection, *Historical Pragmatics*,²⁷ and the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, edited by Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen. In the Introduction to *Historical Pragmatics*, Jucker and Andreas Jacobs sketch out the broad boundaries of the field, setting out “historical pragmatics” as an umbrella category for pragmaphilology and diachronic pragmatics.²⁸ The former, pragmaphilology, attempts to situate historical texts in their pragmatic contexts: the social and personal position of addressers and addressees, the relationship between them, and the implications of textual production, distribution and reception. The latter, diachronic pragmatics, examines the changes to the language through communicative use. Diachronic studies typically take an aspect of the function of the language (*e.g.* politeness) or a particular linguistic form (*e.g.* discourse markers) to investigate the changing realization of this function or form over time. Historical pragmatic studies include both of these approaches, and this study includes elements of both. Other recent studies have concentrated on the function of tense-aspect morphology, social use of pronominal forms, word order patterns and the meaning of formulaic phrases, and textual and generic conventions.²⁹

Historical pragmatics, in investigating communicative language use, focuses especially on certain functions of language. Current research builds on work like Brown and Levinson’s formative study of politeness (1987),³⁰ which examines ways that speakers are motivated by preserving face in communicative encounters and the linguistic implications of this. Studies of hedges, insults, exclamations, interjections and formality in second person pronouns (*you* vs. *thou*) are all outgrowths of this model of politeness.³¹ Other studies have built on, for example, speech act theory to examine ways that

language has been understood performatively in historical texts.³² The use of language to both establish and reveal dynamics of human relations permits social readings of rhetorical features.³³ Moreover, this functional perspective was also importantly applied to lexical and semantic change, highlighting the semantic-pragmatic nature of many linguistic shifts. As Traugott details, H. P. Grice's conversational maxims, echoed by Horn and Levinson, construct a frame for examining discourse-pragmatic origins of changes in meaning.³⁴

The field also focuses on certain kinds of historical texts. Historical dialogue analysis, a subfield of historical pragmatics, examines particular issues concerning dialogues in English texts. These texts are particularly important because they present a semblance of spoken language. Dialogic texts are a noteworthy site for pragmatic questions because they present both sides of a verbal interaction (whether fictional or otherwise). They can provide insight into issues of politeness, relationships between speakers, formality in address, as well as other characteristics of "speech-based" texts, such as the representation of discourse markers.³⁵

Opening historical texts to a pragmatic line of inquiry creates a rich area for scholarship. It is not an accident that historical pragmatics emerged in conjunction with two other developments: the comparative analysis of textual genres and the emergence and broadening availability of electronic corpora. The obstacle to applying pragmatic methodology to historical texts has always been the absence of oral evidence, and these two afford a way to work within the confines of written sources. They provide the tools and perspective for a functionalist approach to communicative language use.

Textual genres, also called registers or text types, are groups of texts which often share purpose, stylistic features, audience or level of formality. Personal letters, for example, have a very different aim and focus than scientific treatises, and these differences are manifest in the construction of the work. The analysis of textual genre has become a productive field in English historical linguistics in the last 15 years. Beginning with diachronic analyses of particular genres,³⁶ the field moved to diachronic approaches to comparative genre analysis after Biber and Finegan's 1989 article which tracked the relative development of three written genres over three centuries.³⁷ Historical genre analysis was instigated in large part by the desire to examine the spoken language of the past. In order to study speech, though, we have to look through the lens of written language. While recognizing that no written records are exactly verbatim speech recordings, we also discover that some written records are more closely linked to the spoken language than others, and that this relationship is fundamental to the genre of the written record. Examining and comparing texts from different genres, for example, Culpeper and Kytö develop a set of criteria of orality and find that texts fall out into a continuum from more to less speech-related.³⁸

Genre-based studies have been assisted by the proliferation of electronic corpora, which make possible large-scale diachronic comparisons between genres. English historical linguistics has been transformed by the computerization of its research methodology, which has, in a relatively brief time, made textual databases and historical dictionaries electronically searchable. Some corpora, *eg.* the Helsinki corpus and the ARCHER corpus, are searchable by text type, so that users can compare, for instance, sermons with letters. Other corpora and databases represent only a single genre and

permit diachronic comparisons, such as the Chadwyck-Healey databases (the English Poetry Database, the English Prose Drama Database, etc). Many corpora permit searching and grouping results by genre, or subgenres within larger generic categories. The diminishing subdivision of genres is an important point. Genre, as a factor for analysis, is only as effective as the textual separations prove to be. The criteria which we use to distinguish text types must create categories of texts which have more in common with each other than they do with other text types. A corpus, for example, might set up the genre “newspaper writing,” in opposition to “fiction writing.” But newspaper writing can be further broken down into editorials, sports writing, entertainment writing, and so forth. Similarly, the genre of “correspondence” can be subdivided into personal letters, business letters, love letters, and these are subgenres which each have their own stylistic tropes. The categories which we use to sort past texts into generic groups are critical, and they must distinguish groups with established formal similarities. Generic categories are most useful if they are recognized by the original writer. If writers acknowledge a genre in which their own writing is intended to be part, then they are bound by certain constraints of the genre: the particular conventions and codifying and formal templates. Legal language, for example, requires the repetition of many formulae, and legal writing must be constructed so as to include these formulae. This study pursues speech reporting in a few different genres of text because differing generic expectations put different pressures on speech reporting.

This work does not stop at a historical pragmatic approach as it has emerged through the traditions discussed above, however. Language studies and textual pragmatics present methodologies and approaches which the discipline of English

Language and Literature in the United States has often ignored – to its detriment, in my opinion. I extend this study to an examination of the literary implications of a linguistic question. The pertinence of such an approach may be questioned, but I think that the cross-pollination of linguistic and literary study can be mutually beneficial. First, English historical linguists can generate greater interest in language questions by building bridges to existing lines of inquiry in English departments. Demonstrating the relevance and effectiveness of a linguistic approach to the studies of literature and composition can create new energy and broader appeal. At the same time, literary study needs to be tied to the language of its texts. Pragmatics, with its focus on the use of language in human communication, provides profitable tools for reading literature. Literary scholars have fruitfully borrowed concepts already like speech acts and performative utterances to enhance analysis of literary works; genre studies and electronic corpora provide other resources. Thus, part of this work shows how a historical pragmatic approach to reported speech can assist in reading and analyzing late medieval literary works.

Pragmatics can provide an important frame for historical approaches to literature. New historical studies, for example, often examine contact between texts, probing sites of borrowing and overlap between literary and cultural texts. But we need to know how to regard these texts in relation to one another, to consider the pragmatic features of written texts *a priori* to a study of contact. To understand intertextuality, therefore, we need to have a sense for the modes of representation. Pragmatics offers important tools to examining literary works in their historical and cultural contexts.

Language-based approaches to literary texts comprise a rich tradition. There is, however, no term denoting a unified methodology or subdiscipline collecting the

different approaches: historical stylistics, poetics, the study of manuscripts and manuscript culture, the application of dialectology. This work looks to earlier studies like Norman Blake's *The English Language in Medieval Literature*, David Burnley's *A Guide to Chaucer's Language*, Christopher Cannon's *The Making of Chaucer's Language*, H. J. Chaytor's *From Script to Print*, Tim William Machan's *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*, A. J. Minnis's *The Medieval Theory of Authorship*, John Lennard's *But I Digress: the Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse*, M. B. Parkes's *Pause and Effect*, and others.³⁹ These works are disparate in their approaches to literature, and this list merely scratches the surface of the available research which investigates questions of language in literary texts.⁴⁰

I use these different methodological approaches to address varying inquiries within the larger project. Chapter 1, "Methods of Marking Speech," addresses the core research question of the dissertation: how did manuscripts from 1350-1500 indicate reported speech? To answer this question, I examine techniques that scribes could employ on the manuscript page to demarcate quotations. Medieval manuscripts could use the physical features of the page, such as ink color, marginalia or early punctuation marks, to signal the intrusion of direct speech. These methods were not systematically or consistently applied, however, so they could not be depended upon to mark speech. The most reliable means of marking switches in reported speech, therefore, resides in the words of the text itself. I next examine intratextual methods of indicating changes of voice, particularly verbs of speaking. Making use of the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, this section tracks the appearance of these verbs of speaking and applies the contemporary theory of grammaticalization to explain their functionality. This section

also presents a case study of a particular speech marker within a single genre: the adverb *videlicet* as it functioned in a sample of slander depositions. Finally, I return to the purview of the physical page, and consider the developments in punctuation which emerge in early printed texts. These methods of punctuating direct speech, though they postdate the scope of the central study, can elucidate what editors and compositors thought of reported speech and exemplify the way that early punctuation assumed some of the pragmatic functionality which was previously located in the lexical content.

Our modern editorial methods of punctuating medieval texts by enclosing direct speech with quotation marks presumes a certain identity for direct speech: one that is easily distinguishable from the surrounding narrative, clearly distinct from indirect speech, and categorically different from other modes of discourse. If the methods of marking speech are less fixed in late Middle English than in present-day written English, however, then do these presumptions make sense for late Middle English texts? Chapter 2, "Interpreting Reported Speech," considers sermons and slander depositions, two genres of texts in which different pressures influence the reporting of speech, and concludes that the fluidity of medieval discourse marking accompanies a less rigid understanding of the divide between direct, indirect and narrative modes.

Finally, if medieval discourse did exhibit greater flexibility between the modes of discourse, as Chapter 2 concludes, then this should influence our understanding of medieval texts. Chapter 3, "Reported Speech in Literary Texts," examines the works of three canonical fourteenth-century poets to show that these issues can be quite salient for our reading of literary texts. The works of Chaucer, Langland and the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Pearl* all exploit the fact that direct speech, indirect speech,

and narrative need not be clearly distinguished. When we read past the modern punctuation of our editions, we find texts which use reported speech in shifty ways and employ ambiguity in a manner which often enriches the aesthetic or rhetorical effect of the language.

The fraught practice of designating direct speech with quotation marks, then, raises questions about interpretation in late medieval English texts. Recognizing the differences between medieval strategies of speech marking and our own helps us to analyze the pragmatics of premodern texts, and makes us, in turn, more careful readers of early English.

NOTES:

- ¹ Suzanne Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 125.
- ² V. N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), 118.
- ³ Roman Jakobson, "Shifters, Verbal Categories and the Russian Verb," in *Selected Writing* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 130.
- ⁴ Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (New York: H. Holt, 1924), 291.
- ⁵ Charles Bally, "Le Style Indirect Libre En Français Moderne," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 4 (1912); Gertraud Lerch, "Uneigentliche Direkte Rede" (1919); Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*.
- ⁶ Randolph Quirk et al., *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), 789.
- ⁷ Mick Short, Elena Semino, and Martin Wynne, "Revisiting the Notion of Faithfulness in Discourse Presentation Using a Corpus Approach," *Language and Literature* 11, no. 4 (2002): 334.
- ⁸ Robert de Beaugrande, "Discourse Analysis," in *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism*, ed. Michael Groden and Martin Kreiswirth (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- ⁹ A. C. Spearing, "Narrative Voice: The Case of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*," *New Literary History* 32, no. 3 (2001): 727.
- ¹⁰ Ann S. Haskell, ed., *A Middle English Anthology* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969), xi.
- ¹¹ R. T. Davies, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1963), 47.
- ¹² W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950).
- ¹³ Fredson Bowers, "Multiple Authority: New Problems and Concepts of Copy-Text," *The Library, 5th series* 27 (1972): 452.
- ¹⁴ D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, *Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 201.
- ¹⁵ Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 21-2, 51-4.

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- ¹⁶ E. Ph. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1943), 30.
- ¹⁷ Tim William Machan, "Middle English Text Production and Modern Textual Criticism," in *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism*, ed. A. J. Minnis and Charlotte Brewer (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 6-7.
- ¹⁸ Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 60, 66-67.
- ¹⁹ G. Thomas Tanselle, "Textual Scholarship," in *Introduction to Textual Scholarship*, ed. Joseph Gibaldi (New York: MLA, 1981), 34.
- ²⁰ Robert J. Taylor, "Editorial Practices – an Historian's View," *Newsletter of the Association for Documentary Editing* 3, no. 1 (1981).
- ²¹ Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 101-2. See also Machan's discussion of these poems: Tim William Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 136.
- ²² Robbins, ed., *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, 101-2.
- ²³ Richard Finneran, "Poems of W. B. Yeats," in *Representing Modernist Texts*, ed. George Bornstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).
- ²⁴ See Mary Blockley's discussion of the effect of punctuation on Old English texts. Mary Blockley, *Aspects of Old English Poetic Syntax: Where Clauses Begin* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 40-42.
- ²⁵ Howell Chickering, "Unpunctuating Chaucer," *Chaucer Review* 25 (1990).
- ²⁶ Dieter Stein, "Perspectives on Historical Pragmatics," *Folia Linguistica Historica* 6.2 (1985).
- ²⁷ Andreas H. Jucker, *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English, Pragmatics & Beyond, New Ser.* 35 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995).
- ²⁸ Andreas H. Jucker and Andreas Jacobs, "The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics," in *Historical Pragmatics*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995).
- ²⁹ Laurel J. Brinton, "Introduction, Utterance and Discourse Meaning," in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. Irma Taavitsainen, et al., *Topics in English Linguistics* 35 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000).
- ³⁰ Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

³¹ See Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö, "Modifying Pragmatic Force: Hedges in Early Modern English Dialogues," in *Historical Dialogue Analysis*, ed. G. Fritz A. H. Jucker, F. Lebsanft, *Pragmatics & Beyond, New Series 66* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999); Andreas H. Jucker, "Slanders, Slurs and Insults on the Road to Canterbury: Forms of Verbal Aggression in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. Irma Taavitsainen, et al., *Topics in English Linguistics 35* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000); Irma Taavitsainen, "Interjections in Early Modern English," in *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995); Irma Taavitsainen, "Exclamations in Late Middle English," in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997); Jonathan Hope, "Second Person Singular Pronouns in Records of Early Modern 'Spoken' English," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 94 (1993).

³² Leslie K. Arnovick, *Diachronic Pragmatics: Seven Case Studies in English Illocutionary Development, Pragmatics & Beyond, New Ser. 68* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999); Brigitte Schlieben-Lange, "Für Eine Historische Analyse Von Sprechakten," in *Sprachtheorie Und Pragmatik. Akten Des 10. Linguistischen Kolloquiums Tübingen 1975*, ed. Heinrich Weber and Harald Weydt (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976).

³³ Susan M. Fitzmaurice, "Some Remarks on the Rhetoric of Historical Pragmatics," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1, no. 1 (2000).

³⁴ Elizabeth Traugott, "Historical Pragmatics," in *Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward (Oxford: Blackwell, forthcoming).

³⁵ See Andreas H. Jucker, Gerd Fritz, and Franz Lebsanft, eds., *Historical Dialogue Analysis, Pragmatics & Beyond, New Ser. 66* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999).

³⁶ See, for example, Ghadessy's 1988 collection Mohsen Ghadessy, *Registers of Written English: Situational Factors and Linguistic Features* (New York: Pinter, 1988).

³⁷ Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, "Drift and the Evolution of English Style: A History of Three Genres," *Language* 65 (1989). See also Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, "The Linguistic Evolution of Five Written and Speech-Based English Genres from the 17th to The 20th Centuries," in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, ed. Matti Rissanen, et al., *Topics in English Linguistics 10* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992); and Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, eds., *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

³⁸ Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö, "Data in Historical Pragmatics: Spoken Interaction (Re)Cast as Writing," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1 (2) (2000).

³⁹ Norman Blake, *The English Language in Medieval Literature* (London: Methuen, 1979); David Burnley, *A Guide to Chaucer's Language* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); John Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*; A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992).

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the value of linguistics to reading literature, see Geoffrey N. Leech and Michael H. Short, *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*, *English Language Series* (London: Longman, 1981), 4-6.

Chapter 1: Methods of Marking Speech

Discourse analysis presupposes that every text has a speaker (or writer) and an audience and is produced within a certain context. To interpret a text correctly, a reader or listener must be able to determine the perspective of a text or an episode within a text. Indicating represented speech in discourse, therefore, is important for the coherence of a text, since it helps the reader to navigate changing points of view.¹ Consider a statement of direct speech,

(1) He said, "I ate the banana."

Sentence (1) employs two primary methods of marking the change of orientation between the first and second clause: the quotation marks which surround the reported utterance, and the speech verb *said* which precedes it. Premodern texts, however, did not have this convention of double-marking reported speech; there were no punctuational indicators of the switching of voice. Without the punctuation, sentence (1) looks like this:

(2) He said I ate the banana

Example (2) more closely resembles the appearance of the sentence in a medieval text. The absence of markers in (2), however, creates the possibility that the utterance is not direct but indirect speech, omitting the optional complementizer *that*, as in:

(2a) He said [that] I ate the banana

In an utterance of indirect speech, the voice between the two clauses does not change; the speech is reported through the voice of the narrator rather than quoted. In this case, the deictic pronoun "I" would refer to the speaker or narrator of the entire sentence and not to the subject "he" as it does in the utterance of direct speech. So, the identity of the alleged

banana eater in the sentence depends upon whether it is to be read as indirect or direct speech. Contemporary grammarians draw the following distinctions between indirect and direct speech: (i) a subordinating conjunction *that* introduces indirect speech; (ii) the verb of indirect speech undergoes sequence of tense rules; (iii) the grammatical person of pronouns with the same referent in the main and embedded clauses of indirect speech is identical; and (iv) the demonstrative elements which refer to the time or place of the quoted utterance differ in direct and indirect speech.²

Although the division between direct and indirect speech is usually distinct in present-day written English, spoken English can leave some utterances unclear. Speakers generally pause or vary their tone or pitch to make clear the syntactic division. However, the sentences are lexically indistinguishable when spoken, and so confusion can occur. In the syntax of the utterance, the point of view of the embedded discourse and the referent of “I” are unclear. This may explain the appeal of an oral quotative expression like the following,

(3) He’s like, “I ate the banana.”

This use of *be+like* is a relatively recent example of a quotative expression.³ Speakers use such expressions to clarify the switch into reported speech or thought, and these quotative expressions from oral usage may serve as a clue to strategies of marking speech intratextually in written usage prior to the introduction of punctuation marks for this purpose. Research in present-day spoken English (sociolinguistics and discourse analysis) provides insight into speaker strategies which might be similar to strategies in earlier written documents, as Suzanne Fleischman suggests,

I am convinced that many of the disconcerting properties of medieval vernacular texts – their extraordinary parataxis, mystery particles, conspicuous anaphora and repetitions, “proleptic” topicalizations, and jarring alternations of tenses, to cite but a few – can find more satisfying explanations if we first of all acknowledge the extent to which our texts structure information the way a spoken language

does, and then proceed to the linguistic literature that explores the pragmatic underpinning of parallel phenomena in naturally occurring discourse.⁴

Medieval speech marking presents a case where we might look to strategies in present-day spoken language, because without consistent punctuational means of setting the discourse of direct speech apart from the discourse of the rest of the text, writers had to resort to other methods of marking speech: scribal markings and lexical speech markers.

For textual coherence, therefore, speakers and writers must indicate the occurrence of reported speech, and our modern quotation marks present an unambiguous method of marking such utterances. When modern editors add quotation marks to tag speech in earlier texts, therefore, they are obscuring the earlier systems of marking speech. Earlier systems may be less determined, but it is important that we consider their functions and take them seriously on their own terms. The succeeding sections examine different scribal and authorial methods of marking speech in late medieval manuscripts. In order to do this, it has been useful to extend the domain of the investigation to include early print texts, since the strategies of early printers can be revealing of both the ways that print first changed strategies of marking and the characteristics of text that printers first found important to indicate.

The first section, “Manuscript methods of marking discourse” presents methods of marking from the page itself, the physical layout of a manuscript. Even without quotation marks, aspects of the *mise-en-page*, the physical appearance, served to set apart passages of reported speech. I find in Section 1 that scribes utilized several strategies of marking speech on the manuscript page, but that no markings were consistently applied. An author could not know, therefore, what punctuation or marginalia would be added to a text in copying and circulation, and, if he wanted reported speech to be clear, he had to make switches in voice apparent through the words of the text. Section 2, “Lexical marking,” investigates these strategies of tagging reported speech using the lexical material of the work. I find that words, and especially verbs of speaking, were recruited

to perform organizing functions for passages of discourse. This section presents a study of the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse and a study of a sample of slander depositions to examine words which take on this structural purpose. Section 3, "Direct Speech Marking after the Advent of Print: 1477-1600" follows the question of speech marking into the early print era. In order to understand the divide between late Middle English methods of marking speech and those employed in present-day English, I examine an intermediate stage in the process: the work of sixteenth century printers and compositors. They utilized parentheses and eventually inverted commas as tags on the printed page, though they were not always marking reported speech in the manner in which we understand it. Their practices of punctuation reveal early solutions to the pragmatic problems of marking intrusions of voice.

1. Manuscript methods of marking discourse

Searching for systems of marking discourse in manuscripts is a forbidding task, since manuscripts notoriously employ an amalgam of conventions for orthography, morphology, syntax and extra-lexical features. Nevertheless, this amalgam can be revealing in its own way: orthographical and morphological variations provide scholars with valuable linguistic information. Current knowledge of the regional variation of English in the later medieval period stems primarily from manuscript variations, and our descriptions of Middle English dialects have become so sophisticated that the orthographical and morphosyntactic features of a manuscript can allow it to be dated or localized.⁵ If we approach medieval manuscripts with our expectations from six centuries' distance intact, we will be disappointed by what we find. But if we allow the manuscripts themselves to dictate the terms on which we approach them, we will be able to develop a better understanding of the pragmatic solutions at work in a premodern context.

The appearance of words on the page is critical to our experience of reading a text. And the physical layout of the manuscript page, its *mise-en-page*, differs markedly from medieval manuscripts to their printed editions. The *mise-en-page* can emphasize or downplay certain aspects of the text; essentially, it orders the reader's perception of the content. Laying out verse on separate lines, for example, is a practice less common among manuscripts of Old English poetry (which more often had continuous text), but one that greatly facilitates the metrical interpretation. Middle English manuscripts more often present verse with metrical line breaks. The conventions influencing the appearance of the physical page varied according to period of origin, by region, and even according to purpose, audience and budget. Since costly manuscripts employed more lavish markings and more spacing, expense was an important factor shaping the appearance of a manuscript page and the resources which a scribe or illuminator could employ.

One complication in examining the manuscript page to assist in interpreting a text, of course, is that the methods for production and transmission leave uncertain the author's relationship to manuscript notes and conventions. Manuscripts were copied, and copies were disseminated and recopied. In some cases (mostly fifteenth-century), there is evidence that medieval authors were their own scribes, editors and publishers.⁶ In other cases, however, and with earlier manuscripts, the interaction between scribes and their authors is more difficult to determine. The writings of St. Bonaventura detail the medieval classification of production: a *scriptor* copies text, a *compiler* orders a text by rearranging or adding marginal nota, a *commentator* supplements texts with other arguments (sometimes his own), and an *auctor* composes texts of his own.⁷ These aspects of production were not all taken to be necessary, certainly for vernacular texts. The scribe of a late medieval manuscript in English could assume different functional relations to the text. Indeed, as the existing manuscripts illustrate, scribes interpreted their jobs in different ways, and took varying liberties with the texts that they copied. Some

of them attempted to reproduce the exemplars as closely as possible, and others had clearly “improved” the texts with varying measures. These improvements could include modernizing forms or shifting occasional regional forms from one dialect to another. Or, they could include more substantial revisions such as rewriting entire texts in the dialect of the scribe, adding moralizing sections, or completing unfinished manuscripts. Even copyists who tried to be faithful often inadvertently substituted one word for another. Moreover, the compiler’s role in production was to add a level of interpretation to assist in reading a manuscript (*compilatio*), to perform an ordering of text (*ordinatio*). So the clarifying punctuation added by scribes was completely consistent with the medieval models of *compilatio* and *ordinatio*.⁸ Manuscript markers present the compiler’s interpretation of markings which will elucidate the text.⁹

Different scribes, then, employed the *mise-en-page* differently to interpret their texts. A. C. Cawley says of the manuscripts of John Trevisa, for example, that “the manuscripts...are punctuated differently from each other and yet both regularly and meaningfully.”¹⁰ Medieval manuscripts employ several inter-lexical punctuation marks, or “points,” for indicating pauses and textual division, including the *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus*, and *virgula*.¹¹ These marks have been often interpreted as noting oral or rhetorical elements and indicating the prosodic construction of the text.¹² And yet there is a pronounced tendency for natural speech patterns to conform to grammatical organizational units,¹³ and some Middle English manuscripts, consequently, evince syntactic patterns in their use of punctuation.¹⁴ This study is concerned less with the intentions of medieval scribes, however, and more with the function of their layout and *notae* as they operate as part of the visual and interpretative construction of the page. As Malcolm Parkes points out: “Although punctuation inevitably appears at the boundaries of syntactical or rhetorical units, its primary function was as a form of hermeneutics.”¹⁵ Other features of the *mise-en-page* could also serve as markers; scribes could employ different colored inks and underlining and use marginal indicators for

interpretative and structural matters which he deemed important.¹⁶ We find, when we examine premodern English manuscripts, then, that these manuscript methods are employed not for all occurrences of reported speech, but only for those occurrences which present notable quotations from authorities.

1.1 Scribal marking in the *Piers Plowman* manuscripts

The manuscripts of *Piers Plowman* reveal different methods of scribal textual organization, some of which designate new speakers in the text. Many of the manuscripts have little or nothing in the way of scribal markers, while others use preceding paraph marks (¶), empty line space or spaces, or midline punctuation to mark the introduction of new speakers. This midline punctuation has a long history, and functions in many different ways on the page. Most saliently, the midline punctuation can serve to call attention to the clause containing the speech verb (the *inquit*: Latin for he/she said), because these clauses often occur in the middle of the line, after a prefatory onset of direct speech. Consider an interchange from f28v of Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.17 (W):

¶ To holy chirche quod he • for to here masse
and siþen I wole be shryuen • and synne na moore

¶ I haue good Ale gossib quod she • Gloton woltow assaye

¶ Hastow ouȝt in þi purs quod he • any hote spices

¶ I haue pepir and piones quod she • and a pound of garleek (see fig. 1)

Although this text does not mark the precise onsets and offsets of each speech in this exchange, the physical layout of the page assists the reader to see the switches between speakers. The paraph marks and line spacing set apart the speeches,¹⁷ and the midline dots (occurring as they do directly after the *inquit*s) emphasize the speech markers. Other

passages in this manuscript manifest these markings in slightly different ways. Compare a seemingly similar passage on f34v:

¶ Now by crist quod a cutte-purs • I haue no kyn þere
 Nor I quod an Apeward • by au3t þat I kan knowe
 Wite God quod a wafrestere • wiste I þis for soþe
 Sholde I neuere ferþer a foot • for no freres prechyng

¶ 3is quod Piers þe Plowman • and poked hem alle to goode... (see fig. 2)

In this passage, the speeches of the cut-purse, the apeward and the waferer are not separated by empty lines or set off with paraph markers, even though the following speech by Piers the Plowman is set off in this way. This technique has the effect of combining the speeches of the minor characters, as though to suggest that they might be considered jointly, as voices in the crowd, or as a chorus. Without asserting that the W scribe intended to set up a system of speech marking (which we cannot know), I claim that the scribe's practices with regard to spacing, paraph marks and midline dots produce a visual appearance for the text which creates an interpretative frame for direct speech.

We can see a very different approach in Oxford, Corpus Christi College 201 (F) (see figs. 3 and 4). F is more highly abbreviated than W, and there are no blank lines left in the manuscript. 'Quod' is abbreviated in the text, for example, and appears as a 'q' with an ascending bar through the tail (represented in my transcription as 'q̄').¹⁸ In the manuscript, the abbreviated 'quod' is touched with red in the closed upper chamber of the 'q', with the effect of drawing the eyes to the letter, and organizing the direct speech on the page. Other rubricated letters include the initial graphemes of every line, and the introductory letter of character names or positions: "an apeward," "pers plowhman," "a comon woman," "seyt Pet̄ of Rome," etc.) The interchange from W's f28v appears on F's f19r (see fig. 3):

To holy chirche q̄ he ⁊ to heren a morwe messe
 & sytthe y will be shryve / & synne no moore
 ¶ 3ee ⁊ y have good ale gossip q̄ she ⁊ gloton wilt þ^u a saye

¶ hast þ^u in þy purs q̄ he ⁑ ony spyces fyꝛue ·
 I have pep̄ & pyenys / q̄ she ⁑ & a poūd of gilloffris ·

This passage shows the use of the punctus elevatus (⁑), a pause marker in discourse.

Here, the punctus elevatus corresponds to passages of direct speech, usually in a midline position which visually separates the two halves of the line just after the inquit. The virgules mark the causura elsewhere. The passage also shows the use of the rubricated and abbreviated ‘quod’ (q̄) which operates visually almost as a form of punctuation. We can see this also on f23r (see fig. 4):

a ⁑ by cryst q̄ a cutteþurs / y have no ken þere ·
 Ne y / q̄ an apeward / by awht þat y knowe ·
 a ⁑ wolde god q̄ a messaḡ / þ^t y wiste þ^e sothe ·
 sholde y neue^e a fote for ther / for no frerys p̄chyge ·
 ȝys ȝis ⁑ q̄ pers plowhmā / & pokede hem to goode ·

Corpus Christi 201 (F) organizes the text on the page quite differently than Trinity College B.15.17 (W), but both present systems where the *mise-en-page* functions to assist the reader in disentangling the direct speech from the narration.

1.2 *Auctoritas*

We can look to the markings in manuscripts, then, as visible traces of compilational organization: pointing to elements which scribes deemed structurally important. These elements may vary from text to text or between genres. In the Auchinleck manuscript, for instance, new speakers are not set off in most of the narratives (romances, saints’ lives) but are unambiguously marked in the dialogues. In “þe desputsoun bitven þe bodi and þe soule” the speeches of the soul and the body are prefaced by red metatext marking the turns of the dialogue, and each speech begins with a decorated two-line initial. Similarly in a dialogue between God and Satan in the “Harrowing of Hell” on f36 and 37, red ink designates sections of the text: “dominus ait,” and “satanas dixit.” The textual *ordinatio*, then, helps the reader to determine the

discourse boundaries, and helps the reader to determine which discourse boundaries are important.

Several of these markers seem to indicate textual matters associated with quotation, though closer examination reveals that they do not operate in the way that contemporary punctuation marks reported speech. In the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*, for example, the word *auctor* appears in the margin beside some sentences, usually quotations, to which the scribe particularly wanted to draw attention. This marginal note was used by the Ellesmere scribe to mark citations of *auctoritas*, the recognized authority of the writing of, for example, Aristotle, Virgil, St. Paul, or St. Augustine. A. J. Minnis's study of medieval theories of authorship links this textual authority to truth and wisdom.¹⁹ An *auctoritas* is a reported excerpt from the work of an *auctor*. Minnis cites Hugotio of Pisa's definition of an *auctoritas* as a *sententia digna imitatione*, a profound saying worth of imitation or implementation. The note *auctor*, then, was not a marker of direct speech, but rather marked *sententiae* written by accepted *auctores*, and therefore worthy of being accepted, remembered and imitated.

Marking these *auctores* was an impulse that trumped the marking of direct speech in discourse. In the Macro manuscript containing the medieval drama *Mankind*, for example, the speeches of the characters are separated from each other in the text by horizontal lines drawn across the page; the speakers of each passage are labeled on the right side of the line.²⁰ This labeling organizes the text on the page, so that a reader can look down at an opening and see the passages separated by lines with the speakers all marked in the right-hand margin of the text. Interestingly, however, the left-hand margin was also used on some pages (see figure 5). This page marks all of the turn-taking between speakers in the left margin, in a hurried, running hand, and the quotation from St. John in a more decorative script in the right margin. The marginalia structures the reader's perception of the text, making it easier to determine who is speaking and where *auctoritas* can be found.

Biblical quotations, a particular subgenre of *auctoritas*, are common in medieval texts, and are often clearly demarcated in the physical features of the page. We saw in figures 2 and 3 that Corpus Christi College MS 201 presents the scriptural quotations in red, and this is a common way to set off quotations. Methods of marking scriptural quotations include rubrication of an entire passage or an initial letter, underlining, and use of a more formal script (for Latin quotations). Peter Lucas examines the punctuation of Capgrave's manuscripts and finds that "Initial red shading is generally used to mark the beginning of an *incipit*, a title, a quotation from a written authority, or the citation of a name or prayer."²¹

The treatment of *auctores* can be quite precise, indicating that scribes and compilers could exercise meticulous copying and marking when the situation warranted. M. B. Parkes cited, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 2. 8 in his 2000 address to the Medieval Academy. It presents Peter Lombard's commentaries to the Psalms and the Pauline epistles copied next to the scriptural source, and each of the *auctores* which Lombard quotes in the gloss is identified in the margin with an abbreviation of his name and a line which extends down the margin for the whole of the quotation.²² The *notae* permit this manuscript to take great care in citing its sources. Notes could also inform readers about the faithfulness of a quotation. The compiler of *Lectionarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (for the convent of the Dominican nuns of Heiligen Kreuz Regensburg), for example, uses the sign ¶. to indicate lessons in which the texts have been abbreviated by the compilers, but retain the words of the original. The manuscript also uses the sign ¶. to designate lessons in which the text have been abbreviated by introducing words which are not in the source material.²³ These examples, though they are more elaborate than those demonstrated by vernacular manuscripts, reveal the issues which would be relevant to a compiler. The markings in vernacular manuscripts, though less developed and ornate, indicate the same priorities for

the strategies of the *mise-en-page*: designating the person from whom the truth of the text derives.

1.3 Scribal marking conclusions

For the most part, the markers in manuscripts, like rubrication and marginalia, are designed to call attention to particular excerpts as deriving from an authority, secular or sacred. The feature that is being marked, therefore, is not generally the interposition of another voice, but rather the *truth* of the passage, the authenticity of its assertion, which comes through its link to an *auctor*. Scribes called attention to certain passages in texts because these passages were known to be to be true, wise and worthy of remembrance. Because these techniques in practice often did mark the interposition of some other voices, they were occasionally applied more generally to speech, as Lucas finds in the Capgrave manuscripts where the technique of red shading is used also to mark the beginning of a passage of direct speech. Lucas points out, however, that “on three occasions, all immediately after the past tense of the verb ‘to say’, the beginning of the quotation is not marked.”²⁴ Presumably, the direct speech wasn't marked with red shading because it was already satisfactorily marked grammatically with the *verba dicendi*, the verbs of saying. (I will discuss *verba dicendi* in the next section.)

The physical markers in a manuscript, then, signaled a variety of textual points, tagged by scribes to assist in interpreting the text. Examining these tags reveals the ways that medieval scribes *could* help readers to distinguish changes of perspective in a text. Despite having methods at their disposal, however, they did not often privilege the indication of speech, but rather the presence of *auctoritas*. Switches of speaker, then, had to be marked primarily within the body of the text itself – using the words of composition.

2. Lexical marking

The medieval transmission of manuscripts resulted in a system where authors had little control over the future appearance of a manuscript; they could correct a copy of a text, but copies were made over which authors had no authority. Since the author could not be sure what marks (if any) scribes would employ in the text, an author who wanted to be sure that a passage of direct speech was clearly marked was obligated to indicate these switches through the discourse itself. The words of a text were not stable either, of course, but they were the author's central medium both for the construction and organization of discourse. Lexical marking could be done in many different ways. Norman Blake proposes the Old English poem *The Battle of Maldon* as an example of the elaborate formulae which premodern texts could employ.²⁵ In *The Battle of Maldon*, pronouncements are introduced by a general call to attention and brandishing of weapons. Although incorporated into the narrative of the poem as a summons for quiet and attentiveness among the company, the formulae of weapon-brandishing also alert the reader or listener that a passage of direct speech is approaching. The formulae in *The Battle of Maldon* are elaborate, but operate on the same principle as those employed in most texts: that the onset of new voices could be indicated in the narrative before a new passage of speech began, or in the words of the new speech itself. Changes of perspective are often marked intradiscursively by features characteristic of speech such as interjections and vocatives, or by quotatives, words or phrases which indicated the presence of reported speech.

Consider a typical instance of direct speech in the dialogue *Wynnere and Wastoure* (from the Thornton manuscript, ca.1450), overlooking the punctuation supplied by the editor:

“Yee, Wynnere,” quod Wastoure, “thi wordes are hye.”²⁶

The direct speech in the third line begins with “yee,” a pragmatic marker beginning a response; is followed by the addressee’s name (as a vocative); is interrupted by ‘quod Wastoure’, the inquit; and continues with Wastoure’s speech. The vocative form draws the reader’s or listener’s attention to the fact that someone is being addressed, thereby indicating that the passage is spoken *by* someone *to* someone. Other “speech-like” features which an author can use to signify the onset of a passage of reported speech include interjections, ‘allas!’, ‘mercy!’; vocatives, “Sire”,²⁷ deictic words (also called ‘shifters’: words that depend upon the speaker or spatio-temporal context for reference), ‘thou’, ‘now’; other pragmatic markers, ‘No’; or quotatives which precede the passage, ‘quod he’, or ‘she seyde thus’. These are combined with each other and with the quotative inquit which interrupt the passage to make clear the passage of reported speech.²⁸ Table 1 lists the primary methods of premodern speech marking.

Table 1: Common lexical markers of the onset of direct speech

Speech internal ‘perspective shifters’	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interjections – ‘Alas’ 2. Vocatives - ‘Sire’ 3. Deictic pronouns - ‘ye’ 4. Spatio-temporal deictics – ‘here’ ‘now’ 5. Tense switching 6. Other pragmatic markers – ‘yis’
Speech external linguistic structures	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. simple inquit – ‘seyde she’ 2. explicit meta-discourse – ‘he spoke in these words following’
Conventional social interaction routines	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Entrance and exit talk gambits 2. Changes in speech modality – eg. questioning to asserting 3. Politeness formulae
Conventional narrative interaction structures	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Formulae for public address 2. Character-constructing narrative

The third and fourth rows of this table lists methods akin to those in *The Battle of Maldon*: pragmatic markers which rely upon conventions of social or narrative interaction to mark speech. This research focuses more closely upon the methods delineated in first two rows of the table, because they present strategies which are more easily transferrable from text to text.

For an illustration of how the different methods described in the first two rows of Table 1 can be used in a text, consider these two verses from *Troilus and Criseyde*:

Quod Pandarus, “Madame, God yow see,
 With youre book and all the compaignie!”
 “Ey, uncle myn, welcome iwys,” quod she;
 And up she roos, and by the hond in hye
 She took hym faste, and seyde, “This nyght
 thrie,
 To goode mot it turne, of yow I mette.”
 And with that word she doun on bench hym
 sette.

“Ye, nece, yee shal faren wel the bet,
 If God wol, al this yeer,” quod Pandarus;
 “But I am sory that I have yow let
 To herken of youre book ye preysen thus.
 For Goddes love, what seith it? telle it us!
 Is it of love? O, som good ye me leere!”
 “Uncle,” quod she, “youre maistresse is nat
 here.” (II, 85-98).²⁹

The first verse begins with a quotative (‘Quod Pandarus’) and the speech opens with a vocative (‘Madame’). The voice switches from Pandarus to Criseyde in the beginning of line 87; it is marked by an interjection (‘Ey’) and a vocative (‘uncle myn’) and is clarified afterwards by a quotative (‘quod she’). Her speech begins again in line 89 with a speech verb (‘seyde’) and then a deictic reference (‘this nyght’). It ends with a clarification of the speech termination (‘And with that word...’). Pandarus's next speech begins at the

start of the next verse with a pragmatic marker ('Ye') and a vocative ('nece'), and it is interrupted by a clarifying quotative after line 93 ('quod Pandarus'). The voice switches to Criseyde in line 98 with a vocative ('Uncle'), and followed by an *inquit* ('quod she'). We can see in this passage the length to which the author goes to provide enough clues to the reader or listener of the switches in voice. Chaucer varies his methods, so that the text is not as formulaic as some others of the late fourteenth century, but he indicates the switching of voices by at least one and sometimes several of these methods.

Troilus and Criseyde contains 449 passages of reported direct speech.³⁰ Table 2 itemizes the strategies of marking the onsets of these passages and their relative frequencies. These numbers tally markers that occur in the environment of the onset of direct speech (including several words before the onset and several words after). The markers of the onset of speech, therefore, come to 789 – 75% more than the total number of passages of reported speech. Although this table does not make it possible to see the cases and frequencies of overlapping strategies, it is important to note that there are no cases in the text of speech onsets with no markers at all. We can see in *Troilus and Criseyde* that Chaucer meticulously employs intertextual speech markers, and often employs more than one to mark a passage of speech.

Table 2: Direct speech onset markers in *Troilus and Criseyde*

Marker	number used	% of total passages of direct speech (449)
verbs of speaking	414	92%
initial vocatives	115	26%
initial interjections and adverbs	105	23%
deictic references	75	17%
other pragmatic markers	80	18%
total markers	789	
total passages of direct speech	449	

Table 2 shows that Chaucer's primary method of marking speech lies with the verbs of speaking, which accompany almost all of the onsets of speech (92%). The data omit the cases where the verb of speaking appears some distance before or after the speech onset; including these would add 21 cases to the tally, and bring the total to 96%. The category, "verbs of speaking," collapses verbs which precede speech onsets of which there are 289, or 64% of the total, and verbs which appear in inquit just after the onset of speech (e.g. "Yes, he said, I'll do that"), of which there are 125, or 28%. Because the verbs which appear in inquit mark the onset just after the switch has occurred, the reader is occasionally required to project the speech marker back onto the initial word or words of the reported discourse. The reader is usually given other markers, though, to indicate the switch, only 21 of these 125 inquit examples (5% of the total) occur without any other form of marking.

We can see in Table 2, then, the adroitness with which Chaucer weaves together different methods of marking the onset of speech. Possible reasons for choosing one method of speech marking over another might include metrical constraints, narrative restraints, and stylistic motivations. One particularly illustrative case of stylistic and generic features of the text shaping the choice of speech markers can be found in Thomas

Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes*. *The Regiment of Princes* has a two-part structure: first, a 2016-line prologue, and then the main section, which I will call the "*Regiment proper*," an 3447-line address to a prince on the subject of his governance.³¹ The prologue describes a young man (called 'Hoccleve') meeting an old man, and recounts the dialogue between them. The dialogue of the prologue is marked very differently than reported speech in the *Regiment proper*, or even than the reported speech within speech in the prologue. We can see the effect of this in a stanza with a particularly rapid exchange of dialogue:

“Now, sone myn, hastow al seid and spoke
 That thee good lykith?” “Yee, fadir, as now.”
 “Sone, if aght in thyn herte elles be loke,
 Unloke in blyve. Come of, what seistow?”
 “Fadir, I can no more telle yow
 Than I before spoken have and said.”
 “A Goddes half, sone I am wel apaid (1044-1050).³²

Without the editorial quotation marks, the turn-taking in this stanza is marked only by the vocatives. But this is not Hoccleve's usual style, as is evident not only from the rest of the poem, but even from the sections of direct speech which occur within the dialogue of the prologue. In these latter cases, verbs of speaking are the primary form of speech marking, as Table 3 shows.

**Table 3: Speech marking in *The Regiment of Princes*
Number and percentage of total of speech markers**

	The prologue (excluding embedded speech) n=80*	The embedded speech within the prologue n=17	The <i>Regiment</i> proper (<i>R.</i> w/o prol.) n=67
verbs of speaking	12 (15%)	17 (100%)	67 (100%)
vocatives	69 (86%)	1 (6%)	13 (19%)
interjections	8 (10%)	0 (0%)	3 (4%)
deictic markers	14 (18%)	3 (18%)	8 (12%)
other pragmatic markers	26 (33%)	1 (6%)	4 (6%)

*n= total onsets of speech

In Table 3, we can see the striking differences in the speech marking between the prologue and the rest of the poem. In the prologue, verbs of speaking are rarely seen (only 15% of onsets employ them), and vocatives are the primary indicator of the speech onsets (86%). Exceptions may be found, however, in the case of quotations embedded in the dialogue of the prologue (*i.e.* quoted by one of the characters), which are all marked with verbs of speaking. The rest of the poem follows the pattern of the embedded quotations: all of the quotations are marked with verbs. I speculate that the difference in patterns of speech marking in the prologue serves to emphasize the interconnectedness of the two speakers; the relationship between the two of them becomes the structural thread of the discourse. It also has the effect of creating a “confessional” element to the discourse: the spiritual counseling of the younger man by another man in a paternal role. Geoffrey Leech distinguishes three functions of vocatives: a) attracting someone’s

attention, b) identifying someone as an addressee, and c) maintaining and reinforcing social relationships.³³ I suggest that the prologue to the *Regiment of Princes* uses vocatives as the primary methods of switching between speakers because of their second and third functions on Leech's list. (Further literary implications of speech marking will be discussed in Chapter 3.) I present the prologue of *The Regiment of Princes* as an example of a passage stylistically marked by its unusual pattern of speech marking. By establishing a pattern of usage and then deviating from that pattern, an author can foreground particular sections of text.

Lexical speech markers have certainly been observed before; it would be difficult to miss them. They probably contribute largely, in fact, to the charge which is often levelled at medieval texts: that they are formulaic and repetitive. I would like to shift the terms for this discussion, however, to recast these repeated speech markers as having pragmatic and grammatical importance. If they operate functionally in discourse in a way that primarily serves to mark reported speech, it is not meaningful to judge them by the stylistic standards which are applied to the lexical elements of narrative (the word 'the', for example, is rarely considered overused). Grammatical elements of narrative incline in the direction of invisibility – they are less noticeable in discourse than more strongly lexical elements. The more a word or phrase becomes dedicated to the function of textual organization, the more it operates grammatically in discourse, and the less noticeable it seems. This is the process which characterizes the lexical speech markers, and more particularly, the *verba dicendi*. Since vocatives and interjections vary from text to text, they play an organizational and pragmatic role in discourse, but it is more difficult to see a grammatical function developing for each usage. Verbs of speaking, however, serve a quotative function in many different texts, and in many different kinds of text, and therefore assume a grammatical function. In this section, I will set out the concept of grammaticalization, and show how late Middle English texts use grammaticalized

quotatives, particularly verbs of speaking, to mark reported discourse with the words of the work itself.

2.1 Quotatives, grammaticalization, pragmaticalization

Grammaticalization refers to the process wherein fully referential lexical items become more grammatical over time.³⁴ In other words, this process refers to words that move from functioning primarily as “meaning” words to functioning primarily as “structural” words in a sentence or text. Consider the sentence,

(4) I am going to go to the store.

The verb *go* appears twice in this sentence, but the two occurrences do not function in the same way. The first occurrence of *go* is part of the clause *be going to* which scholars of grammaticalization generally argue can be analyzed as an auxiliary of immediate futurity, and the second is a main verb expressing motion. The study of grammaticalization examines the history of the two usages and posits that the auxiliary usage derives from the motion verb *go* in a highly specific context, and that the two coexistent forms are polysemous, *i.e.* they present two meanings of the same word in different contexts. The development of the grammaticalized use of *be going to* to express future time, then, does not replace the first sense, but provides a coexisting form.

The process of grammaticalization occurs along a cline – lexical items can be more or less grammaticalized – and grammatical changes can be accompanied by other changes to the linguistic system such as generalization (the development of newer, more abstract meanings for words), decategorization (the functional shift from one kind of role to another in the organization of discourse) and bleaching (weakening of semantic content). Essentially, grammaticalization is a method of exploiting existing components of a language for new functions. Traugott and König describe grammaticalization as “problem solving”: its central purpose being the borrowing of linguistic raw material to express one thing in terms of another.³⁵ Such “problem solving” falls under the study of

pragmatics: how speakers and writers use language. This is the perspective from which speech marking can best be understood: pragmatic solutions to the marking of different voices in discourse.

Pragmaticalization is a subset of grammaticalization: the process wherein fully referential lexical items acquire a strengthened pragmatic function. Pragmatic markers, also called discourse markers or pragmatic particles, are words like *and*, *now*, *I mean*, *y'know*, from present-day English³⁶ and *þo*, *þa*, *anon*, *alas*, *soþlice*, *witodlice* from Old English and Middle English³⁷; they are a primary type of pragmaticalized item. They have a “bridging function,”³⁸ and serve as “episode boundary markers”³⁹; in other words, they link sections of a text which have different pragmatic functions, and mark the boundaries between them.

The reporting of speech in narrative presents particular episode boundaries important for discourse coherence: the marking of the onset and termination of direct speech.⁴⁰ Suzanne Romaine and Deborah Lange have proposed that we are witnessing grammaticalization of the use of *be+like* and *be+all* in American English to mark reported speech and thought, as in:

She said, “What are you doing here?”

And I'm LIKE, “Nothing much,” y'know. I explained the whole...weird story.

And she's LIKE, “Um... Well, that's cool.”⁴¹

The adverbials *like* and *all* have become pragmatic markers in spoken English, serving as episode boundary markers for reported speech and thought.⁴²

This section asserts that the use of verbs of speaking in medieval texts reveals many features characteristic of grammatical and pragmatic markers. Though they do not fit all of the criteria for defining pragmatic markers, they have advanced along the cline in that direction. As in present-day spoken language, the repetition of inquit phrases reminds the listener or reader of the fact that the marked clause is direct speech. M. A. K. Halliday defines the inquit as a projecting clause, a verbal process (of saying), and the

projected clause represents that which was said.⁴³ In spoken English, according to Halliday, the projecting clause is often repeated in order to remind the listener that a passage of discourse is projected. In the Hallidayan framework of functional grammar, a verbal process has an ideational (experiential) meaning. Consider again the examples from the beginning of the chapter:

(1) He said, "I ate the banana."

(2) He said I ate the banana

Referring to sentence (1) as a process puts the action of the sentence on the projecting, the main verb *said*. In this perspective, the main action of (1) is the *fact* of his speech, not the *matter* about which he speaks. In sentence (2), with *he said* as the only marker of the speech, the functional meaning of *he said* might be different than Halliday suggests. If we wish the functional spotlight of the sentence to fall upon the utterance and want *he said* to be a mere indicator of the change in voice, the interpretation of the sentence changes. In this instance, the ideational meaning of the inquit (encoding our experience of the world) is minimized, and the textual meaning (organizing our experiential, logical, and interpersonal meanings into a coherent whole) is magnified;⁴⁴ *said* becomes important less as a verb of process than as a structural indicator of voice. This corresponds to one of tendencies which Traugott describes for the development of a grammaticalized meaning: "Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > meanings based in the textual situation."⁴⁵ In a metaphorical description in which words with a high ideational content are "colorful" and words with a high grammatical content are "colorless," a lexical item loses color as it is grammaticalized, and becomes less noticeable.

The treatment of quotative phrases containing verbs of speaking in medieval texts supports the idea that they were viewed in a textual sense rather than an ideational one. Tim Machan explains that in the transmission of *Boece*, Chaucer's translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, that there is a textual subgroup in which "every

direct quotation is prefaced with a *B* or *P* to specify whether Boethius or Lady Philosophy is speaking, and in one late manuscript of this subgroup the procedure is refined through the elimination of the now redundant ‘quod I’ and ‘quod she.’⁴⁶ We can assume that the scribe of this manuscript, the Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodl. 797, does not see any relevant semantic content in “quod she” that is not found in the designating initial. The scribe's revision implies that – at least to him – the role of the repeated verbs served no function other than as a marker of the onset of speech.

2.2 Case Study: Verbs of speaking in late Middle English texts

I first examined the usage patterns for verbs of speaking in a corpus of late medieval English texts. This corpus was constructed using Michigan’s Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (CMEPV); the 62 texts currently available, and another set of 80 or so texts that UM digital library has ready to make available.⁴⁷ The corpus was restricted to texts with manuscript dates of 1350 or after, conforming to the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English’s definition of “late medieval English.” This produced a sample of 126 texts (a 108 MB file).

The CMEPV is constructed from edited texts, and therefore corpus searches are only as good as the editors of the respective texts. In order to establish the research sample, I exploited the fact that editions of medieval texts add editorial quotation marks as indicators of direct speech and searched the raw data for quotation marks indicating the onset of speech. To elicit these, I searched for an empty space followed by a quotation mark (single or double) and then an alphabetical character, and sampled the 40 characters prior to this string and the 30 characters succeeding it (see examples below).⁴⁸ Using editorial quotation marks is problematic, of course, since one of the contentions of my larger work is that editorial quotation marks hide a more fluid system of direct speech marking, and that the boundaries between indirect and direct speech were not so pronounced in late medieval English.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, this methodology makes possible a

large-scale search on the assumption that human editors are able to reconcile multiple and conflicting textual clues to more reliably recognize direct speech than a computer program. Although the editors' goals are different from my own, they are complementary in function. An editor's goal is to mark the levels of discourse in order to render the text user-friendly, and my goal is to examine the structure of the discourse.

The search of the raw data of the post-1350 texts in the CMEPV produced a 31,000 line sample of opening quotation marks. This larger file was then randomly sampled to reduce it to a manageable size for hand counting: 3931 lines, (320 K) roughly 1/8 of the original. Owing to the method of constructing the search, the original sample contained not merely direct speech onsets, but all uses of quotation marks, including instances in which the opening quotation marks designate a name, a title or a comment in textual notes. These were manually excluded from the search, reducing the number of lines to 3590. Other limitations to the methodology include the sample's greater number of hits from longer works. This means that the styles of different authors are not represented equally; generalizations about the entire sample are disproportionately about the longer works. Without abridging the material, this is a necessary characteristic of a database search. Lines from the file look like this:

Brut: þe Kynges enbassatours, and said: "youre Kyng of Englonde is ouer y

Brut: redy to bataile, and said thes wordes: "Sirres! thenkes this day to qu

Brut: ich a versifier makes mencion, and saith "Crispini multos strauit gens an

Brut: nd þe Kyng hym ansuard, and said: "Nay: thes ben childer of my cun

The first word at the left indicates the source, in this case, the *Brut*. Each line gives one hit for the search string (a space, followed by a single or double quotation mark, followed by a letter) plus the 40 characters before and 30 characters after the string. These characters surrounding the search string will not always be the words of the text, however; since I had to search the raw data, they sometimes include bits of the mark-up language. In the first hit above, for example, the line begins with "þe" which

would actually appear as “þe.” When counting the sample, I tagged the verbs of speaking, which are, for this sample, “said” (line 1), “said” (line 2), “makes mencion” (line 3), “saith” (line 3), “ansuard” (line 4) and “said” (line 4). Although using a tagged corpus might have spared this painstaking hand-counting, a tagger would not have been as accurate in finding all of the verbs of speaking. Tagged corpora are also much smaller, and would not have been able to search the broad range of texts that the CMEPV draws upon.

The search methodology does have limitations, of course. A few texts in the corpus which fall into the correct time frame do not appear in my sample because they do not contain quotation marks; these were generally texts, like Malory’s *Morte d’Arthur*, which are taken from Caxton’s editions because no more recent edition met the copyright specifications. Also, the search may include some hits to instances of open quotation marks which are not truly markers of speech onset, but which cannot always be excluded based on the 70-character line sample. Some editors employ open quotation marks at the beginning of every new paragraph within a passage of direct speech, and this method of searching cannot exclude these. An impressionistic assessment of the texts suggested that these cases were quite rare, however.

These 3590 instances of direct speech from 71 texts, therefore, were examined to see if verbs of speaking were used in the vicinity of the onset of direct speech (defined as the 40 characters before the quotation mark and the 30 characters after the quotation mark). The totals in Table 1 show that 2015 of the instances of direct speech used the verb *seien* (or 56%), 433 used the verb *quethen* (12%), 92 used the verb *answeren* (5%), 32 used the verb *speken* (2%), and 238 used some other verb (*crien*, *callen*, *singen*, etc) (8%). There were a total of 2984 quotative verbs, which is 83% of 3590, but eliminating the instances of doubling (where 2 verbs marking the same onset, as in lines 3 and 4 from the *Brut* sample above) gave 2813 total expressions with a quotative verb, or 78%.

Table 4:
Verbs of speaking indicating passages of direct speech

verb	occurrences n=3590	percentage of total usages
seien	2015	56%
quethen	433	12%
answeren	164	5%
speken	77	2%
other (crien, callen, etc.)	295	8%
total	2984	83%
total (w/o double-marked)	2813	78%

Even though these totals include those cases of open quotation marks which editors use to mark a new paragraph rather than a new speech onset, however, more than three-quarters of the instances of direct speech were marked with a verb of speaking, and more than half of them were marked with the one verb *say*. *Said* is so formulaic in some of these texts as to suggest that the author regarded the word as nearly invisible.

Said appears to be so “colorless” as a verb, in fact, that more “colorful” verbs of speaking like *answered*, *spoke*, or *cried* are often paired with *said*, or used in conjunction with *said*.⁵⁰

Rolland **ansuerd** and **sayd**: “syr guy of Bourgoyne, come ye...
-*Charles the Grete*

...by cause of kynrede, and **spak** and **seyde**, “Schal I be a bisshop?”
-Trevisa trans. of Higden

Charlemagne **speke** thus, he **sayd** to hym / ‘I wyll that ye knowe | now that I...
-*Four Sons of Aymon* (Caxton)

...tua **ansuerd** that floch, || ‘Mi nam,’ he **said**, ‘es cald enoc....’
-*Cursor Mundi*

Table 5 shows the usages of *answeren* and *speken*. Of the 164 usages of the verb *answered*, 72 of them are used together with *said*, and 2 of them are used together with *quod* to mark the quoted discourse. Of the 77 usages of the verb *spoke*, 42 are used together with *said* and 1 is used together with *quod*.

Table 5:
answeren and speken occurring with seien or quethen

verb	total usages	occurring with seien or quethen
answeren	164	74 (45%)
speken	77	43 (56%)

This doubling of verbs of speaking can be found in many texts, and is a common pairing in biblical language. The doublings present an example of linguistic copiousness, and perhaps the repetition reflects no more than the author's desire to use two words where he could have used one.⁵¹ I submit, however, that this doubling of verbs of speaking in roughly half of the instances of the verbs *answer* and *speak* indicates that the "colorless" verb *said* was not functioning ideationally in these contexts, since the other verb would seem to accomplish the ideational reference to speaking. *Said* assumes a more purely grammatical function in these cases, serving as a tag for the onset of the utterance of direct speech. Thus, the first verb functions in the narrative account to describe the event of speaking and the second verb marks the episode boundary and the switch to direct speech. Most manner adverbs or qualifying phrases are attached to the first verb, the second one tends to be unqualified, or qualified only by an addressee (eg. *seyde to hym*).

The verb *seien*, then, as indicated through repetition and by doubled constructions, serves to mark episode boundaries; it assumes a discourse organizational function in late medieval written texts. As such, it fits many of the criteria for pragmaticalization as set out by Laurel Brinton, especially when these criteria are adapted

for a written context rather than an oral one.⁵² First, pragmatic markers are typically regarded as a feature of oral discourse. But written texts also have pragmatic requirements, and organizing discourse is central for written as well as spoken language. Written Middle English resembles oral usage in present-day English, in fact, in the repetitions which occur to mark passages of reported discourse. A speaker might repeat verbs of speaking, “I said to him, I said, ‘Yes, we can do that,’” just as a medieval text might read (modernized), “He spoke and said to him, ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘We can do that.’” Second, pragmatic markers are often “short” items which are often phonetically reduced or unstressed. Further, they have little or no ideational meaning, or are difficult to define. Finally, they occur with high frequency, and are often optional or marginal forms occurring outside of the syntactic structure of the sentence or are only loosely attached to it.⁵³

Verbs of speaking, in turn, are often unstressed, particularly in inquit clauses which interrupt the reported discourse. The punctuation of early printers (see Section 3) suggests that these interjecting inquit clauses were a separate tone group. Verbs of speaking have also undergone some degree of bleaching, reducing their ideational meaning. They occur with high frequency in passages of reported speech, and are often optional forms, inserted into a passage of reported speech, but syntactically independent of it. Verbs of speaking are not pragmatic markers in the same way that *alas* or *anon* are, however, because they are not marginal, meaningless words. They are lexical items which have been coopted for a grammatical purpose. They are still morphosyntactically attached to the sentence, since even an inquit contains a pronoun which is not fixed and a verb which declines according to the pronoun. They are repeated, unstressed, frequently occurring items which have lost some of their propositional (ideational) value, are multifunctional, are often primarily organizational and optional to the structure of the sentence. They therefore seem to be partially pragmaticalized with respect to the organization of written texts.

Another, more straightforward example of a pragmaticalized quotative can be found in the adverbial *videlicet*. *Videlicet* is an interesting example, because its pragmaticalized usage is restricted to a particular genre of texts. In slander cases where the importance of clearly marking the alleged speech is perhaps higher than in other genres since the imputed crime is itself the utterance, clerks resort to code-switching (switching between languages) and the grammaticalized use of *videlicet*.

2.3 Study: *videlicet* as a grammaticalized quotative in a sample of legal texts

For this first part of this study, I examined a sample of 120 depositions of slander cases dating between 1245-1645, collected from editions by Bridget Cusack and R. H. Helmholz. I consulted but did not include the nineteenth century editions, which habitually anglicize forms. For a fuller description of the sample, see Chapter 2.

The slander cases present mixed-code or macaronic records: the usual Latin of Medieval and Early Modern depositions is interrupted by English when the scribe attempted to present the alleged slanderous utterance, and *videlicet* often introduced the reported speech. Consider a typical example in text 5:

(5) *Common Pleas, 1578*⁵⁴

...dixit et pronunciavit in anglicis verbis sequentibus videlicet William Funnel is a thefe...

[...did speak and proclaim in the English words following namely William Funnel is a thief...]

In this section, I examine how the word *videlicet* functioned as a marker of direct speech in this sample of slander depositions.

2.3.1 A brief history of *videlicet*

The development of *videre licet* into *videlicet*, the marker of expository apposition, happened in Latin before the word appeared in English contexts. *Videlicet*

was well established in Latin; the *Patrologia Latina* electronic database reports 44681 occurrences of the word in primary medieval contexts. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) finds the earliest English usage of *videlicet* to be 1464, in the sense of “That is to say; namely; to wit: used to introduce an amplification, or more precise or explicit explanation, of a previous statement or word.” Abbreviated forms of the word include *viz.*, *videl.*, *vizt.*, *vid.*, and *vidz.*; the form *viz.* stems from *viꝛ*, in which the medieval Latin abbreviation ꝛ stands for terminating *-et*. *Videlicet* was one of several Latin markers used in English for expository apposition; *scilicet* and *id est* (*i.e.*) are similar,⁵⁵ and *to wit* is taken to be an English translation of *videlicet* or *scilicet*.⁵⁶

Videlicet does appear in some of the early lists of English hard words. Elisha Coles’s dictionary of difficult terms from specialized fields, for example, includes the entry: “*videlicet, viz, to wit, that is.*” It also appears in Thomas Blount’s dictionary of hard words, though marked as Latin: “*Videlicet* (Lat.) that is to say, to wit; It is usually written thus (*viz.*) And in the same sence we use (*i.e.*) for *id est*, and sometime *i.* alone” (684). The entry reveals that although Blount includes *videlicet* in a list of English hard words, he also considers it to be in some sense a Latin word. *Videlicet*, though incorporated into English contexts by the sixteenth century, then, probably retained some of the flavor of a borrowed word.

In legal contexts, the word became an important marker of specifying information. This excerpt from Hobart’s Reports (1671 [1641]), cited in shorter form in the *OED* (Hobart’s Reports 171-2), explains the usage of a *viz* or *sc* (*scilicet*) clause in property law cases:

Now I come to the use of a (*viz.*) or (*sc.*) or in English (that is to say) and the nature and force of it. It is neither a direct severall Clause, nor a direct entire Clause, but it is intermedia.

First it is clear that it is not a substantive Clause of it self, and therefore you can neither begin a sentence with it, nor make a sentence of it by it self; but it is

(as I may say) *clausila ancillaris*, a kind of hand-maid to another clause, and to deliver her mind, nor her own. And therefore it is a kind of Interpreter; her naturall and proper use is to particularize that that is before generall, or distribute that that is in gross, or to explain that that is doubtfull or obscure.

First, it must not be contrary to the premises, as....

Next, it must neither increase, nor diminish, for it is not the nature of it, to give of it self....

...An Anglice, (which is but a *viz.* or that is to say,) shall never exceed the Latine.

But now I grant on the other side, that a *viz.* may work a restriction where the former words were not express and speciall, but so indifferent, as they may receive such a restriction without apparent injury; though those former words by construction of Law would have had a larger sense, if the *viz.* had not been...

(171-2).

Hobart's definition sets out a clause introduced by *videlicet* as a secondary, specifying clause ("a kind of hand-maid to another clause") which particularizes or explains that which came before. He clarifies that it cannot contradict the first clause, nor increase or diminish it. An English passage, he says, is "but a *viz.*, or that is to say," and it shouldn't exceed the scope of the Latin. Although Hobart is not speaking here of defamation cases, his definition could be applied to slander depositions, where the *viz.* clause takes on the function of a specifying clause providing the alleged words constituting the defamation.

2.3.2 The use of *videlicet* in the sample of slander depositions

The meaning of *videlicet*, therefore, from its literal Latin meaning, 'one is permitted to see', to its meaning as it was borrowed into English, 'namely', suggests that it will be followed by the direct speech of the defendant. And this assumption is supported in this context by the corresponding switch into the language of the utterance,

which suggests that the text is going to reproduce the utterance verbatim. But such assumptions do not necessarily hold true, as Text 6 reveals:

(6) *Durham Diocesan Records 1570*⁵⁷

Elizabeth Robson contra Isabell ~~agnet~~-knops in *causa* diffamacionis videlicet that she is a hoore & a harlott/

[Elizabeth Robson against Isabell ~~agnet~~-knops in a case of defamation namely that she is a whore and a harlot/]

In (6), *videlicet* was paired with *that* and the third person pronoun which indicate that the speech was reported indirectly and therefore not as the witness said it. In (7), however, *videlicet* was not paired with *that* and again signals a switch to direct speech:

(7) *Durham Diocesan Records 1570*⁵⁸

Margaria nicolson singlewoman contra agnete blenkinsop vxor Robert in *causa* diffamacionis videlicet hyte hoore a whipe and a era cart/ & a franc hoode/ waies me fo^r ye my lasse wenst haue a halpeny halter fo^r ye to goo vp gallygait & be hanged/

[Margaria nicolson singlewoman against agnete blenkinsop wife of Robert in a case of defamation namely hyte (an interjection) whore a whip and a cart and a french hood (whip, cart and french hood depict a woman being punished for sexual immorality)/ woe is me my lass do you want a halfpenny noose for you to go up Gallogate (street to gallows) and be hanged/]

Videlicet seemed to operate in these examples to bridge the discourse of the deposition with the reported discourse of the witness (whether that discourse was reported directly or indirectly). Its function, in this sense, may have grown out of the deposition scribes' desire to mark clearly the alleged speech of the defendant, since this speech is the crime at issue.

I looked particularly at code-switching as a marker of reported speech in these depositions. As shown in Texts 6-7, the code-switch marked an attempt to represent the

utterance; the transition from an unmarked code (Latin) to a marked code (English) suggests that the scribe had some motivation to change language. There are no instances in the cases in the sample of code-switching for reasons other than reporting speech. There are a few (6) examples of direct speech which do *not* code-switch, but their early occurrence (1381, 1413, 1424 (x3), 1514), and the fact that most of them (4) were paired with English translations, indicate that code-switching was closely adhered to as a technique for reporting slanderous speech in these records.⁵⁹ Tallying results by the onset of the code-switch rather than by onset of direct speech seemed preferable, since some of the code-switching cases are examples of indirect speech (as in Text 6). This avoids creating a distinction between direct and indirect speech – a distinction which I am not convinced would have been as robust for the scribes as it is in PDE. Because I tallied reported speech in the form of code-switches, however, I excluded the later cases in the sample which were almost solely in English.

Table 6 shows the occurrences of *videlicet* in code-switching and non-code-switching environments:

Table 6: The occurrences of *videlicet* introducing a code-switch

	before 1500 n=40*	1500-1549 n=23	1550-1600 n=26
<i>videlicet</i> introducing code-switch	1	7	40
total occurrences of <i>videlicet</i>	6	11	50
<i>videlicet</i> introducing code-switch as % of total occurrences	17%	64%	80%

*n= number of cases

In presenting the data, the cases from 1200 to 1500 are treated together; there were so few tokens in the early records that any usage change would seem to post-date these texts. The period 1550-1600 shows a marked increase in the occurrences of

videlicet, and eighty percent of these occurrences of *videlicet* mark the onset of code-switching. Especially when we consider that 7 of these 10 tokens of *videlicet* which do not introduce a code-switch are instances of the formulaic usage *videlicet quod cum*, these data reveal that by the latter half of the sixteenth century *videlicet* is being used largely in a context of code-switching to report speech in these slander depositions.⁶⁰

Table 7 compares the use of *videlicet* to herald a code-switch with the total code-switches (all of which present reported speech):

Table 7: Code-switches introduced by *videlicet*

	before 1500 n=40*	1500-1549 n=23	1550-1600 n=26
<i>videlicet</i> introducing code-switch	1	7	40
total code-switches	5	17	44
<i>videlicet</i> code-switching as % of total code-switches	20%	41%	91%

*n= number of cases

By 1550-1600 the number of code-switches in the records has increased dramatically, and there is a striking increase of the proportion of code-switches introduced by *videlicet*.

The increased use of *videlicet* in the sixteenth century, and the increased correlation of *videlicet* with code-switching suggest that *videlicet* has acquired a grammaticalized function in these records: to introduce reported speech. As discussed, the code-switches almost always indicate the onset of reported speech, and the switch to English would seem to be an attempt to present the utterance in the words in which it was spoken.

In at least some later English records, *videlicet* plays the same role of bridging the text of the legal narrative with the text of the reported utterance. Here there is no code-

switch since the cases are completely in English, but *videlicet* serves as an episode boundary marker between the narrating and reporting parts of the text:

(8) *Consistory Court of Exeter 1615*⁶¹

thesaid william delve spake these followinge of thesaid Hugh mill ~~with-an-intent to-sla~~ in a slanderous manner and verie disgracefullie *videlicet* Thou arte no Cuckolde holdinge oute two of his fingers to thesaid Mill in the manner of hornes...

Videlicet serves in this text to link the parts of the discourse, and to mark the transition between them. I have followed Cusack's editorial practice of spelling out the abbreviation for *videlicet*; in this case; the clerk used the abbreviated form *vit.* Similarly in Text (9):

(9) *Essex Quarter Sessions 1645*⁶²

Margaret the wife of the said Edwards said to this Informant (*videlicet*, That a Company of yo^w had brought a Popish Preist to towne; but (*saith she*) the King is a coming now, and then wee shall haue a course taken wth. yo^w & such as yo^w are: Or words to the like effect./

In this case we see that *videlicet* is not only abbreviated, but enclosed by an open-parenthesis (the close-parenthesis seems to have been omitted, or appears outside the excerpt which Cusack reproduces). The parenthetical use of *videlicet* has in common with the other parenthetical remark “(sth she)” that both function organizationally to help the reader negotiate the reported speech. I assert that this indicates a higher familiarity with the grammaticalized form; *videlicet* has been accepted in its grammaticalized function to the point where it is abbreviated and treated (in Text 8) almost as a form of punctuation.

In summary, the data suggest that, by the latter half of the sixteenth century, *videlicet* was used in Latin contexts in these slander records to indicate the onset of a reported utterance. The uses of *videlicet* increased over the span of the sample; the word

became more exclusively connected with code-switching and direct speech contexts; and it seems to have undergone some level of bleaching to lose the sense of exactness implied by its meanings, ‘one can see’ or ‘namely’. I assert that this is evidence for a grammaticalized sense of the word: a use of *videlicet* in a pragmatic function to introduce reported speech.

This narrowed sense of the word, however, is restricted to written legal records,⁶³ which makes the case of *videlicet* an interesting one in which to examine the dynamics of grammaticalization. First of all, the grammaticalization of the word is concurrent with its borrowing into English. The Latin legal records use *videlicet* as a quotative marker, and as the legal records begin to be written more and more in English, the English records retain the usage (sometimes abbreviating it) in the same function. At the same time, however, the word is being borrowed into other registers, as we see in the corpus data. But the grammaticalized sense which develops in the legal records seems to be largely register-specific; the other registers do not reveal widespread usage of *videlicet* as a quotative.

The development of *videlicet* over the period of my sample seems consistent with some general tendencies of semantic change. The case of *videlicet* seems to fit into the cline between adverbials and discourse markers, discussed by Traugott,⁶⁴ Kryk-Kastovsky,⁶⁵ and Lenker.⁶⁶ It also seems to fit well into Elizabeth Traugott’s semantic-pragmatic tendency II: “Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > meanings based in the textual situation.”⁶⁷ The literal Latin sense of *videre licet*, ‘one is permitted to see’, developed into a textual sense, ‘clearly, namely’, which developed into a quotative usage. The progression of meaning of *videlicet*, then, is along a cline from the external situation to the textual situation to an even narrower textual situation. Although the first part of this change seems to be general in the borrowing of the word into English, the second part does not seem to spread beyond the bounds of the register of legal depositions.

2.4 Lexical marking conclusions

The grammaticalization of quotatives is consistent with some general tendencies of semantic change. The hypothesis of unidirectionality for grammaticalization asserts that “meaning with largely propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) and expressive (presuppositional, and other pragmatic) meanings, or both, in the order: (1) propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)).” Elizabeth Traugott described this process as a shift from meaning grounded in extralinguistic situations to meanings grounded in text-making to meanings grounded in the speaker's attitude to or belief about what is said.⁶⁸ In the case of *verba dicendi*, the verbs of speaking assume a more textual meaning as they serve to organize the discourse by marking speech. Such a function correlates to cases in other languages in which verbs reporting speech grammaticalize into quotation markers.⁶⁹ And for a quotative such as *videlicet*, the literal sense of the Latin *videre licet*, ‘one can see’, gives way to a more abstract sense, ‘clearly, namely’, which gives way in the deposition sample to a quotative usage. The progression of meaning of *videlicet*, then, is along a cline from the external situation to the textual situation to a narrower textual situation.

Videlicet, in fact, presents a unique situation, because, although the first part of this change seems to be general in the borrowing of the word into English, the second part does not go to completion, and remains within the bounds of the register of written legal depositions. This suggests a second dynamic that we might consider: a directional continuum between genres. Might the spread of grammaticalized forms tend in certain directions between genres? Most work on unidirectionality does not take register into account.⁷⁰ Terttu Nevalainen examines the case of the functional differentiation of *but* as it spreads through genres,⁷¹ but there are not many grammaticalization studies which consider genre as a variable. It seems likely that some registers would lend themselves more than others to conservatism or innovation in the adoption of grammaticalized forms, as they do with language change more generally. Oral registers have in general been

shown to lead change, with speech-based registers evincing new variants before more conservative written genres.⁷² The legal register, while not traditionally an innovative register, seems to have had specific need for a quotative, even one that functioned as imprecisely as *videlicet*. Yet, the grammaticalized sense of the word in this register does not appear to have been influential enough to spread to other registers. A genre-specific usage (particularly one specific to a written genre) would have been likely to be an insecure form, and I speculate that at some point another method of marking quotation, probably through punctuation, supplanted the use of *videlicet*, and that the word was used after this point only in its less-grammaticalized sense of ‘namely’. In the next section, I will investigate the methods of marking speech which were innovated by early printers and compositors.

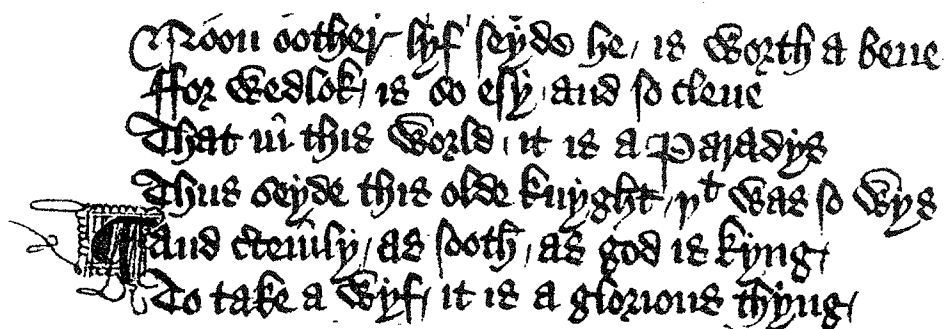
3. Direct speech marking after the advent of print: 1477-1600

Even though this work focuses on late Middle English texts, examining strategies of marking in early print can help us to understand how editors and compositors conceived of reported speech. This section presents a what-happened-afterwards picture, which can help us to see the evolving treatment and understanding of reported speech in discourse. In what follows, I will trace a single passage through its editorial history, to show broadly how editors and compositors changed the treatment of direct speech. Then I will analyze two of the punctuation marks which emerge in the progression of editions: parentheses and inverted commas.

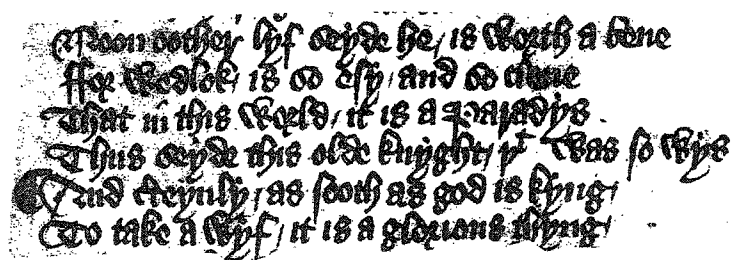
3.1 Evolving punctuation in *the Merchant’s Tale*

In order to illustrate the difference that editors and compositors made in the treatment of quotation and reporting after the introduction of print, this section begins by comparing the editorial incarnations of a passage from *The Canterbury Tales*. The

passage, from the *Merchant's Tale*, has been the subject of scholarly debate on the subject of the narrative voice (see chapter 3), so it is a good case for examination. The evolution of punctuation markers for reported speech may loosely be seen in the progression of editions. As discussed in the first section of this chapter, manuscripts had sparse punctuation, and no consistent punctuational markings for direct speech. Thus, the Ellesmere⁷³ and Hengwrt⁷⁴ manuscripts present the passage with only virgules and decorative paragraph marks:



A noon oother hif seide he, is worth a bene
 For wedlok is so esy and so cleue
 That in this world, it is a paradys
 Thus seide this olde knyght, yt was so wys
 And truly, as sooth, as god is kyng
 To take a wyf, it is a glorious thyng



A noon oother hif seide he, is worth a bene
 For wedlok is so esy and so cleue
 That in this world, it is a paradys
 Thus seide this olde knyght, yt was so wys
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 To take a wyf, it is a glorious thyng

The first printed version (c. 1485) by William Caxton⁷⁵ does not punctuate the passage:

None other hif sayde he is worth a bene
 For wedlok is so esy and so cleue
 That in this world, it is a paradys
 Thus sayde this olde knyght that was so wys
 And truly as sooth as god is kyng
 To take a wyf is a glorious thyng

Caxton's second edition is similarly unpunctuated, as is Richard Pynson's first edition (ca. 1392). Pynson's second edition (1526)⁷⁶ inserts mid-line virgules:

None other lyfe said he/ is worth a bene
 For wedloke is so easy and so clene
 That in this worlde/ it is a paradysse
 Thus sayd this olde knight/ þ was so wyse
 And certaynly/ as sothe as god is kyng
 To take a wyfe is a glorious thyng

Thynne's 1532 edition⁷⁷ is the first to use punctuation to distinguish between the quoted speech and the surrounding discourse; he marks off "said he" with parentheses. He also indents the beginning of the fifth line:

None other lyfe (said he) is worthe a beane
 For wedlocke is so easy and so cleane
 That in this worlde it is a paradise
 Thus saith this olde knyght that is so wise
 And certaynly/ as sothe as god is kyng
 To take a wife/ it is a glorious thyng

Richard Kele's mid-sixteenth century edition⁷⁸ follows Thynne's conventions:

None other lyfe (sayd he) is worthe a beane
 For wedlocke is so easy and so cleane
 That in this worlde it is a paradise
 Thus sayth this olde knight that is so wise
 And certaynly, as sothe as god is kyng
 To take a wyfe, it is a glorious thyng

Speght's edition⁷⁹ follows these conventions, and adds pointing finger indicators at lines upon which he desired an editorial emphasis:

None other life (said he) is worth a bene,
 For wedlocke is so eafe and so cleane,
 That in this world it is a paradise:
 Thus saith this old knight that is so wise,
 And certainly, as soth as God is king,
 To take a wife, it is a glorious thing.

John Urry's edition⁸⁰ (the subject of Joseph Dane's remark: "While there is no consensus on the best edition among Chaucerians, there is a consensus on the worst one"⁸¹) removes the indentation and the parentheses, and merely surrounds "said he" with commas:

None othir life, seid he, is worth a bene,
 For wedlock is so efy and so clene, 780
 That in this world it is a Paradise.
 Thus saith this oldè Knight that was so wise,
 And certainly, as foth as God is King,
 To take a wife it is a glorious thing,

Tyrwhitt defined himself against Urry⁸² (describing his text as "the worst ever published"). He reinstates the parentheses and indents the paragraph:

Non other lif (said he) is worth a bene :
 For wedlok is so efy and so clene, 9140
 That in this world it is a paradise.
 Thus saith this olde knight, that was so wise.
 And certainly, as foth as God is king,
 To take a wif, it is a glorious thing,

Tyrwhitt's edition was the first modern scholarly edition; it was reprinted in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century editions. The first edition that I found with inverted commas was Wright's 1847 edition⁸³:

"Non other lif," sayd he, "is worth a bene :
 For wedlok is so holy and so clene, 9140
 That in this world it is a paradis."
 Thus sayd this olde knight, that was so wys.
 And certainly, as soth as God is king,
 To take a wyf is a glorious thing,

The next scholarly edition was Skeat's 1894 text.⁸⁴ His use of quotation marks secured them as the editorial norm:

Non other lyf, seyde he, 'is worth a bene;
 For wedlok is so esy and so clene,
 That in this world it is a paradys."
 Thus seyde this olde knyght, that was so wys.
 And certainly, as sooth as god is king,
 To take a wyf, it is a glorious thing,

(20)
1265

The next canonical edition was provided by F.N. Robinson⁸⁵:

Non other lyf," seyde he, "is worth a
 bene;
 For wedlok is so esy and so clene,
 That in this world it is a paradys." 1265
 Thus seyde this olde knyght, that was so
 wys.
 And certainly, as sooth as God is kyng,
 To take a wyf it is a glorious thyng,

And the current Riverside version⁸⁶ is the version most widely-taught and referenced today.

"Non oother lyf," seyde he, "is worth a bene,
 For wedlok is so esy and so clene,
 That in this world it is a paradys." 1265
 Thus seyde this olde knyght, that was so wys.
 And certainly, as sooth as God is kyng,
 To take a wyf it is a glorious thyng,

3.2 Parentheses

More consistent methods of marking speech through punctuation commenced after the introduction of print. As we see above in Thynne's 1532 edition, parentheses began to be used in the sixteenth-century for setting off quotative phrases. The parentheses set apart not the passage of represented speech, but the inquit phrase in narration which interrupts the passage to identify it. In Thynne's edition, this is manifested as (*said he*). John Lennard, who adopted the term *lunulae* (a borrowing from Erasmus) to distinguish *parentheses* the punctuation marks from *parentheses* the

rhetorical figures, points out that lunulae are not the equivalent of the modern inverted comma because they do not allow the distinction of direct from indirect speech. This is seen in John Higgins, *The Mirour for Magistrates* (1587):

Naught once (they say) and euer after naught.

Ech man (they say) his fate hath in his hands.⁸⁷

The parentheses, in fact, function rhetorically on a different level than inverted commas. The difference between the two methods of marking is one of figure and ground: the inverted commas mark the speech itself and the parentheses mark the speech markers. This composers' convention of marking the speech markers rather than the speech itself supports my earlier claim that phrases like *he said* or *quod she* function as grammatical markers in many contexts and were recognized as having these functions by composers. First, as defined by sixteenth-century grammarians, parentheses encompass phrases which are syntactically separable from the sentence. John Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569), for example, characterizes the phrases in parentheses as removable,

As the *Parentheseos*, which Gréeke word signifieth interposition: and we may vnderstand to be a putting in, or an addition of some other matter by the way: which being left out yet the sentence remayneth good.⁸⁸

And in the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), Puttenham comments,

Your first figure of tollerable disorder is [Parenthesis] or by an English name the [Insertour] and is when ye will seeme for larger information or some other purpose, to peece or graffe in the midst of your tale an vnnecessary parcell of speach, which neuerthesse may be thence without any detriment to the rest.⁸⁹

Hart and Puttenham categorize parenthetical remarks as interpositions which can be removed from a sentence without “detriment to the rest.” Presumably, they do not mean that the parenthetical remarks can be removed without altering the semantic content, but that the sentence is syntactically whole without the insertion. The criterion of “removability,” therefore, suggests that verbs of speaking were not seen as an integral

part to the discourse; they served as an extra piece for reader or listener clarification, but were fundamentally an “unnecessary parcel of speech” put in “for larger information.” As such, the primary function of the inserted parenthetical would not be to indicate a verbal process of speech, but to mark the speech.

The other contemporary categorization of parentheses concerns their manifestation as oral communication. A long-standing debate exists among scholars of punctuation about the primary purpose of early print punctuation.⁹⁰ Walter Ong and others regard the oral/rhetorical purpose as foremost: “It is clear from the grammarians that these marks were designed primarily to meet the demands of oral reading or of declamation, and to meet them on a very practical level.”⁹¹ From this viewpoint, the syntactic function of parentheses discussed above would be syntactic only insofar as syntax stems from intonation and pauses. In support of this, Lennard argues that Puttenham's definition should be understood orally (as indicated by the reference to “speech.”)⁹² However, an extreme oral/rhetorical position is no longer generally held, as Vivian Salmon points out, “From Hart onwards it is clear that linguists were fully aware of the function of punctuation in dividing the sentence into sections and disambiguating the sense...”⁹³ The counter-position was first argued by C.C. Fries (1925) who asserted the primacy of the syntactic-semantic function.⁹⁴ The strict form of this position is no longer defended much, either. The pervading contemporary opinion seems to be a moderate compromise, with most scholars listing several functions of punctuation and not granting primacy to any.⁹⁵

The perceived chasm between elocutionary and grammatical functions, in fact, seems somewhat specious, since surely these were manifestations of the same thing. Punctuation was described by sixteenth-century grammarians in terms of differing functionalities; they were not overly concerned with drawing distinctions between the function of intonation and pausing and the function of syntax and semantics. Richard Mulcaster, for example, defines parenthesis in the *Elementarie* (1582):

Parthesis is expressed by two half circles, which in writing enclose some perfit branch, as not mere impertinent, so not fullie concident to the sentence, which it breaketh, and in reading warneth vs, that the words inclosed by them ar to be pronounced with a lower & quikker voice, then the words either before them or after them...⁹⁶

Mulcaster's focus is partly on the visual effect of parentheses, partly on their syntactic separability and partly on the effect of parentheses upon reading aloud, supporting the idea that he saw these functions as complementary. Yet whether through vocal or syntactic means, the parentheses serve as a means to downplay the significance of the material enclosed within. They are removable without detriment to the rest of the sentence, and are spoken with a "lower and quikker voice."

In the case of quotatives, the ability of parentheses to downplay the significance of the enclosed material signifies that the quotative expression was given secondary import in a sentence. For compositors to add parentheses around quotative expressions in edited medieval manuscripts reveals that they wanted to deemphasize the impact of the phrase, and that they saw quotative expressions as in some sense removable.

3.3 Inverted commas

The use of the inverted comma to mark reported speech also emerged in the sixteenth century, though the early use of inverted commas should not be equated with the current usage. First, the placement of early inverted commas is different: they mark the onset of the indicated passage, but are also used at the beginning of every line of the passage (analogous to the current practice of using open quotation marks at the beginning of every new paragraph in a quoted passage). The use of apostrophes to close the quotation is a much later development.

The second, and primary difference lies in the identity of the passage marked by inverted commas. Unlike present quotation marks which mark any instance of direct

speech, inverted commas typically mark passages of *sententiae*, brief aphoristic remarks sometimes coined by the author, sometimes quoted from another source. In this sense, they are similar to the marginalia discussed in §1. Ronald McKerrow characterizes them:

Inverted commas were, until late in the seventeenth century, frequently used at the beginnings of lines to call attention to sententious remarks. Modern editors have occasionally regarded such passages as quotations and completed the quotes, which is generally wrong. So far as I have observed, they were not especially associated with quotations until the eighteenth century, although, owing to their use for calling especial attention to a passage, they often appear in passages which are actually quoted.⁹⁷

Douglas McMurtrie finds the first use of inverted commas in *De Vitis Sophistarum*, printed in 1516 by Mathias Schurer at Strasbourg.⁹⁸ G.K. Hunter finds the first English use of marking *sententiae*, or what he terms "gnomic pointing," in a printed book of c.1570.⁹⁹ Gnomonic pointing, as Hunter defines it, includes any marking of *sententiae*: different type faces, marginal asterisks, marginal pointing fingers (as in Speght's edition of Chaucer), as well as commas and inverted commas "at the beginning of the gnomic passage, or each of the lines which contain it, but not at the end."¹⁰⁰ Of these, inverted commas eventually became the most widespread convention; reprintings in the early seventeenth century, for example, were known to replace commas with inverted commas.¹⁰¹

The label "quotation marks" derives from the name of the instruments used to measure the distance between passages printed in the margins, the "quotation quadrants."¹⁰² Quotation marks, named after these marginal measuring tools, were conceived of as marginal devices to indicate commonplaces that might interest the reader. Margreta de Grazia considers practices of reading and rhetorical culture to propose a pragmatic function for early quotation marks:

Quotation marks functioned to separate not one writer's words from another's, but *contingent* words (subject to error) from *certain* words (established by authority, confirmed by consensus). The quotation marks surrounding a passage now serve to fence in a passage as property of another; in earlier centuries, however, they served to advertise its appropriability. They now mark off private property; before the eighteenth century, they signalled communal ground or commonplaces. They marked material to be copied by readers in their copy-books or commonplace books, thereby assuring that the commonplaces would become more common still. By simply perusing the margins of a text, readers might lift material for their own personalised storehouse of wise and therefore widely applicable sayings.¹⁰³

De Grazia raises several issues in this passage. She first points out the difference in expertise which is marked by the inverted commas; they invoke an *auctoritas* similar to the scribal note *auctor*. De Grazia then points out that in the Early Modern period the cultural place of authority was different; the idea of intellectual ownership was less defined. As discussed with reference to scribal *auctor*, credit was given to the authors of quotations in order to invoke authority, but not out of deference to the notion of intellectual property. An authority becomes an authority because his statements are generally endorsed to be *true*, and therefore common property. The inverted commas point, therefore, not to the *presence* of another speaker, but to the *absence* of a speaker, to a statement which is authoritatively known to be true.

Punctuation marks are a pragmatic strategy for marking particular points of textual meaning, and are therefore important for the coherence of a text. Parentheses and inverted commas did not mark direct speech in the way that modern quotation marks do, but the textual features which they do mark are instructive. Parentheses surround the quotative phrase, what we have called the *inquit*, and thereby underscore the idea that this phrase was operating in a more invisible way, with a grammatical function. Inverted

commas mark *sententiae*, phrases set apart because of their authority. Marking a quotation not because of the change of voice but because of the change of authority is not commensurate with our contemporary methods, but reveals what the early composers considered worthy of setting apart.

4. Conclusion

Current editorial practices of adding quotation marks to medieval texts appear to presume that medieval authors and scribes would have added quotation marks, if only they had been available. In doing so, however, editors overlay our current methods of speech marking over the medieval methods. By examining these hidden systems, these “pragmatic palimpsests,” we can better understand the premodern approach to reporting speech.

This study finds an array of strategies for marking reported speech. Some methods are scribal, occurring in manuscripts and through the visual organization of the page. Features of the *mise-en-page* which mark speech include colored inks, underlining, marginal notes, and punctuation. Because the form of the *mise-en-page* cannot be assured through medieval transmission practices, however, writers more commonly use lexical methods for clearly identifying reported speech. In this case, the words of the text itself must be coopted for discourse organization, and texts display degrees of pragmaticalization with regard to vocatives, interjections, deictic references, and quotative verbs of speaking. The verbs of speaking, especially, are employed frequently and often doubled, and the first case study demonstrates how they have developed a strengthened pragmatic function. The second study examines another type of quotative, the adverbial *videlicet* which develops a grammatical function only within the limited genre of legal records. The borrowing and evolution of *videlicet* show how a genre with a particular demand for a quotative can fashion one from existing (propositional) words.

Extending the scope of the chapter into the sixteenth century reveals the development of parentheses, not for marking speech, but for marking inquit. The composers' convention of separating inquit from the surrounding reported speech with parentheses suggests that they were conceived as removable, which would reinforce the claim that these items had developed a pragmatized function. Composers also introduced the use of inverted commas, not for marking all quotations, but for marking the quotations of an accepted authority. The use of inverted commas indicate that early print culture follows medieval culture in its ideologies of textual organization: the important feature to distinguish in the *mise-en-page* is the authority of quoted material. Marking *auctores* rather than modes of discourse constitutes a different conception of the truth of a text – one grounded in people rather than in recorded words. Mary Crane describes the anxiety that words (*verba*) ungrounded in the authority of a speaking presence would become empty verbiage.¹⁰⁴ Marking *auctoritates* is a way of bringing the authority of the speaking presence to the page. Richard Firth Green posits a semantic shift on the continuum from oral to literate culture wherein the truth which had been found only in people began to be located in documents.¹⁰⁵ We see an evolution in the ideology of discourse marking in texts, from a holistic model which derived authorization from the wise men behind the words to a more precise model which derives sanction from the accurate representation of discourse.

Medieval texts, then, are not without means of marking speech. They had alternate systems, albeit systems that were not consistent and less determined than contemporary ones. Speakers and writers have always had to provide to their audiences signs of a change in perspective, but the methods of achieving this coherence have changed over time. We will now pursue the implications of covering over these methods with our contemporary editing and expectations.

NOTES:

¹ The orienting markers in discourse can also be argued to be cohesive, as the term is broadly set out in M. A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, English Language Series (London: Longman, 1976), 4, 299. Reporting clauses function to indicate the divisions between narrative and reported speech, and express the linking between sentences in a text. Cohesion also entails that the interpretation of one aspect of the discourse depends upon the context provided by another part, and passages of direct speech often depend upon the reporting clause for proper interpretation of the orientation of the passage.

²from Ann Banfield, "Narrative Style and the Grammar of Direct and Indirect Speech," *Foundations of Language* 10, no. 1 (1973): 3.

³ Suzanne Romaine and Deborah Lange argue that *be+like* and *be+all* are examples of grammaticalized quotatives. See "Suzanne Romaine and Deborah Lange, "The Use of *Like* as a Marker of Reported Speech and Thought: A Case of Grammaticalization in Progress," *American Speech* 66, no. 3 (1991): 227-79.

⁴Suzanne Fleischman, "Philosophy, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text," *Speculum The New Philology* 65, no. 1 (1990): 23.

⁵See, for example, the full study of dialect boundaries in late Middle English: Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, eds., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).

⁶Peter J. Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1997), 2.

⁷ M. B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 127.

⁸ D. Vance Smith, *The Book of Incipit: Beginnings in the Fourteenth Century*, *Medieval Cultures* 28 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 42-46.

⁹ M. B. Parkes, "Punctuation in Copies of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*," in *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference*, ed. Shoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle, and Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 58-9; and Malcolm B. Parkes, "Medieval Punctuation and the Modern Editor," in *Filologia Classica E Filologia Romanza: Esperienze Ecdotiche a Confronto, Atti Del Convegno Roma 25-27 Maggio 1995*, ed. Anna Ferrari (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1999), 338.

¹⁰A. C. Cawley, "Punctuation in the Early Versions of Trevisa," *London Medieval Studies* 1, no. 1 (1937): 116.

¹¹For elaboration on these marks and their uses, see the defining work on medieval punctuation, Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*.

¹²Blake, *The English Language in Medieval Literature*, 67.

¹³Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartik, *A Communicative Grammar of English*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1994), 17-8.

¹⁴P.G. Arakelian, "Punctuation in a Late Middle English Manuscript," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76 (1975); Pamela Gradon, "Punctuation in a Middle English Sermon," in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: A Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, ed. Eric G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Bury St. Edmunds: D.S. Brewer, 1983); Päivi Pahta, "Punctuation in the ME Prose Legend of St. Faith," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*, ed. Raymond Hickey and Stanislaw Puppel (Berlin: Mouton deGruyter, 1997), 679. Elizabeth Zeeman (Salter) argues that Nicolas Love's fifteenth century *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ* is punctuated in a way so as to mark both grammatical and rhetorical function. See "Elizabeth Zeeman (Salter), "Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's *Mirror*," *The Review of English Studie* 7, no. 25 (1956): 12. John Burrow finds a syntactic pattern in the use of the *punctus elevatus* in Hoccleve's three holograph manuscripts. He shows that nearly all of the cases in which the *punctus elevatus* was used to mark questions instead of the virgule are instances of yes/no questions. John Burrow, "Hoccleve's Questions: Intonation and Punctuation," *Notes and Queries* 49 (247), no. 2 (2002). For further sources on punctuation in early printed materials, see the final section of this chapter.

¹⁵Parkes, "Punctuation in Copies of *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*," 47.

¹⁶John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro De Buen Amor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 36.

¹⁷British Library, Addl. 35287 (M) also uses empty lines before the onset of new speeches.

¹⁸British Library, Cotton Caligula A.11 (O); Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 656 (S.C. 1059) (E); British Library, Harley 6041 (H²); British Library, Harley 3954 (H) also abbreviated 'quod' as a barred 'q'; British Library 35157 (U), University of London (S.L. V.17) (A), Bodleian Library, Douce 104 (S.C. 21678) (D), Bodleian Library, Bodl. 851 (S.C. 3041) (Z), Bodleian Library,

Digby 171 (S.C. 1772) (K), Bodleian Library Digby 145 (S.C. 1746) (D²), British Library, Harley 2376 (N) abbreviate 'quod' as 'qd'.

¹⁹Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 10.

²⁰ Anonymous, *Mankind: The Macro Plays No. 1, Issued for Subscribers by T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1907, Tudor Facsimile Texts 3* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 271.

²¹Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication*, 188.

²² Malcolm B. Parkes, "Nota Bene" (paper presented at the In the Margins/On the Margins, annual meeting of the Medieval Academy, April 13-16, 2000), 14.

²³ See the manuscript description for the *Lectionarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (for the convent of the Dominican nuns zum Heiligen Kreuz Regensburg), Germany c. 1267-76. #49 in M. B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College Oxford: A Descriptive Catalog with Summary Descriptions of the Greek and Oriental Manuscripts* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), 227. Many thanks to M. B. Parkes for suggesting this example.

²⁴Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication*, 189.

²⁵Blake, *The English Language in Medieval Literature*, 72.

²⁶Warren Ginsburg, ed., *Wynnere and Wastoure and the Parlement of the Thre Ages* (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 1992), 21.

²⁷ I use 'vocative' here in the sense of an addressing term in a dialogic utterance. See Geoffrey Leech's semantic categories of vocatives in Geoffrey Leech, "The Distribution and Function of Vocatives in American and British English Conversation," in *Out of Corpora: Studies in Honour of Stig Johansson*, ed. Hilde Hasselgard and Signe Oksefjell (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).

²⁸ Irma Taavitsainen discusses the functions of interjections in Taavitsainen, "Interjections in Early Modern English." She discusses emotive, cognitive and textual functions (which include marking turning points in the plot, foregrounding in narration, and turn-taking in textual performance) for interjections. See also Taavitsainen, "Exclamations in Late Middle English."

²⁹ Geoffrey Chaucer, "Troilus and Criseyde," in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987).

³⁰The quotation marks in the Riverside edition were used as a guide to the onsets of direct speech. Passages of speech which were interrupted by an *inquit* (quod he) were judged to be a single passage, but a larger interruption was considered to break the speech into two passages. Passages of direct thought were also included in this tally, since these were marked in the contemporary edition in the same way as direct speech. Passages of speech within speech were included within

the total as separate speech onsets, since they constituted distinct onsets of direct or quoted speech.

³¹ See Charles R. Blyth, "Introduction to Thomas Hoccleve," in *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1999), 6.

³² Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1999), 69.

³³ Leech, "The Distribution and Function of Vocatives in American and British English Conversation," 116.

³⁴ See Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1.

³⁵ Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Ekkehard König, "The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited," in *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, ed. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991).

³⁶ Deborah Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, vol. 5, *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Bruce Fraser, "An Approach to Discourse Markers," *Journal of Pragmatics* 14 (1990). B. Fraser and M. Malamud-Makowski, "English and Spanish Contrastive Discourse Markers," *Language Sciences* 18, no. 3-4 (1996).

³⁷ See Laurel J. Brinton, "The Importance of Discourse Types in Grammaticalization: The Case of Anon," in *Textual Parameters in Older Languages*, ed. Susan C. Herring, Pieter van Reenen, and Lene Schosler (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), Ursula Lenker, "Soþlice and Witodlice: Discourse Markers in Old English," in *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English*, ed. Olga Fisher, Anette Rosenbach, and Dieter Stein (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky, "From Temporal Adverbs to Discourse Particles," in *To Explain the Present: Studies in the Changing English Language in Honor of Matti Rissanen*, ed. Terttu Nevalainen and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, *Mémoires De La Société Néophilologique De Helsinki* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1997).

³⁸ Bruce Fraser, "Pragmatic Markers," *Pragmatics* 6, no. 2 (1996).

³⁹ Laurel Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*, *Topics in English Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996), 33-4.

⁴⁰ Daniel E. Collins, *Reanimated Voices: Speech Reporting in a Historical-Pragmatic Perspective*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker, *Pragmatics & Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001), Anne Herlyn, "So He Says to Her, He Says, 'Well,' He Says...: Multiple Dialogue Introducers

from a Historical Perspective," in *Historical Dialogue Analysis*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker, Gerd Fritz, and Franz Lebsanft, *Pragmatics and Beyond New Series* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), Colette Moore, "The Treatment of Direct Speech in Early Modern Slander Depositions," in *Studies in the History of the English Language: A Millennial Perspective*, ed. Donka Minkova and Robert Stockwell (Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter, 2002).

⁴¹Romaine and Lange, "The Use of *Like* as a Marker of Reported Speech and Thought: A Case of Grammaticalization in Progress," 227.

⁴² See also Ronald R. Butters, "Narrative Go 'Say'," *American Speech* 55 (1980); Carl Blyth, Sigrid Recktenwald, and Jenny Wang, "I'm Like, 'Say What': A New Quotative in American Oral Narrative," *American Speech* 65 (1990); Jim Miller and Regina Weinert, "The Function of Like in Dialogue," *Journal of Pragmatics* 23 (1995); and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain, "The Sociolinguistic Distribution of and Attitudes toward Focuser Like and Quotative Like," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4, no. 1 (2000).

⁴³M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 251.

⁴⁴For further explanations of these terms see Halliday, 179.

⁴⁵Traugott and König, "The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited," 208.

⁴⁶Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*, 160.

⁴⁷ Frances McSparran et al., *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (University of Michigan Press, 2002 [cited 15 July 2004]; available from <<http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/c/cme>>.

⁴⁸ Many thanks to Paul Schaffner of the University of Michigan Digital Libraries who performed the search of the raw corpus data and generated the sample.

⁴⁹Moore, "The Treatment of Direct Speech in Early Modern Slander Depositions."

⁵⁰ This doubling phenomenon has been discussed by Inna Koskenniemi, *Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Early Middle English Prose*, *Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja Annales Universitatis Turkuensis* (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1968); Herlyn, "So He Says to Her, He Says, "Well," He Says...: Multiple Dialogue Introducers from a Historical Perspective," ; and Brita Warvik, "Answered and Said: On Binomial Speech Introducers in Old English Prose," in *English in Zigs and Zags*, ed. R. Hiltunen, et al. (Turku: Anglicana Turkuensia, 2001).

⁵¹ This is a stylistic feature which has been attributed, for example, to William Caxton. See N. F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (Andre Deutsch, 1969), 180 and Lotte Hellinga and Hilton Kelliher, "The Malory Manuscript," *British Library Journal* 3 (1977): 100.

⁵² Laurel Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*, 33-4.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ See R. H. Helmholtz, *Select Cases on Defamation to 1600* (London: Selden Society, 1985), 60.

⁵⁵ Päivi Pahta and Saara Nevanlinna, "On Markers of Expository Exposition," *North-Western European Language Evolution* 39 (2001): 36-39.

⁵⁶ Päivi Koivisto-Alanko and Matti Rissanen, "We Give You to Wit: Semantics and Grammaticalisation of the Verb *Wit* in the History of English," in *Variation Past and Present: Varieng Studies on English for Terttu Nevalainen*, ed. H. Raumolin-Brunberg, et al., *Mémoires De La Société Néophilologique De Helsinki* 61 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2002).

⁵⁷ See Bridget Cusack, *Everyday English 1500-1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 18.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 18-19.

⁵⁹ Herbert Schendl, "Mixed Language Texts as Data and Evidence in English Historical Linguistics," in *Studies in the History of the English Language: A Millennial Perspective*, ed. D. Minkova and R. Stockwell (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 65.

⁶⁰ Tables 1 and 2 do mask the differing results in courts from which the cases were drawn; the sample does not represent equally the Local Courts, the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Royal Courts. The period before 1500 consists mostly of cases from the local courts, while the final half-century consists largely of cases from the royal courts. The results in Table 1, then, may be more specifically seen to be an increase in the use of *videlicet* in the Royal Courts.

⁶¹ Cusack, 24.

⁶² Ibid, 33.

⁶³ The full study examines several electronic corpora and finds no prevailing use of *videlicet* as a quotative in the Chadwyck-Healey databases (The English Verse Drama database, The English Prose Drama Database, The Early English Prose Fiction database, and the English Poetry Database). The Helsinki Corpus, however, contains several uses of *videlicet* as a quotative, and all of these occur in the legal register.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Closs Traugott, "The Role of the Development of Discourse Markers in a Theory of Grammaticalization" (paper presented at the ICHL XII, Manchester, 1995)
<<http://www.stanford.edu/~traugott/papers/discourse.pdf>>.

⁶⁵ Kryk-Kastovsky, "From Temporal Adverbs to Discourse Particles."

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- ⁶⁶ Lenker, "Soþlice and Witodlice: Discourse Markers in Old English."
- ⁶⁷ Elizabeth Cross Traugott, "On the Rise of Epistemic Meanings in English: An Example of Subjectification in Semantic Change," *Language* 65, no. 1 (1989): 34-5; Elizabeth Cross Traugott and Richard B. Dasher, *Regularity in Semantic Change, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics* 96 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 95.
- ⁶⁸ Elizabeth Cross Traugott, "From Propositional to Textual and Expressive Meanings; Some Semantic-Pragmatic Aspects of Grammaticalization," in *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*, ed. Winfred Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1982).
- ⁶⁹ Marian Klamer investigates this in the Austronesian languages *Tukang Besi* and *Buru*. See Marian Klamer, "How Report Verbs Become Quote Markers and Complementizers," *Lingua* 110 (2000).
- ⁷⁰ See for example, studies in Olga Fisher, Anette Rosenbach, and Dieter Stein, eds., *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), or Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö, and Kirsi Heikkonen, eds., *Grammaticalization at Work : Studies of Long-Term Developments in English, Topics in English Linguistics* 24 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997).
- ⁷¹ Terttu Nevalainen, "Modelling Functional Differentiation and Function Loss: The Case of *But*," in *Papers from the 5th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Sylvia Adamson, et al. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990).
- ⁷² Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, *Sociolinguistics and Language History: Studies Based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996).
- ⁷³ *The Ellesmere Chaucer reproduced in facsimile*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911).
- ⁷⁴ *The Canterbury Tales: a facsimile and transcription of the Hengwrt manuscript with variants from the Ellesmere manuscript*, Paul G. Ruggiers, ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979).
- ⁷⁵ *The Canterbury Tales* <microform>, William Caxton, ed., (Westminster: W. Caxton, c.1485).
- ⁷⁶ *Here begynnteth the boke of Canterbury tales, dilygently and truely corrected, and newly printed* <microform>, Rycharde Pynson, ed. (London: Rycharde Pynson, c. 1526).
- ⁷⁷ *The Works of Geffray Chaucer newly printed*, William Thynne, ed., Facsimile of the 1532 edition. (London: A. Moring, H. Frowde, 1905).
- ⁷⁸ *The Works of Geffray Chaucer newly printed*, ed. Rycharde Kele (London: Hycharde dwellynge in Lombarde strete near unto the stockes market at the sygne of the Egle, c.1550).

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- ⁷⁹*The Works of our Ancient and learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed*, Thomas Speght, ed., (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1602).
- ⁸⁰*The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS*, ed. John Urry, (London: Lintot, 1721).
- ⁸¹Joseph A. Dane, "The Reception of Chaucer's Eighteenth-Century Editors," in *Text, Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* (1988), 218.
- ⁸²*The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, (London: printed for T. Payne at the Mews-gate, 1775).
- ⁸³*Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages*, (London: Printed for the Percy Society by T. Richards, St. Martin's Lane, 1847).
- ⁸⁴*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Walter Skeat. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894).
- ⁸⁵*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson. (Cambridge: the Riverside Press, 1933).
- ⁸⁶*The Riverside Chaucer*, Larry Benson, ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).
- ⁸⁷Quoted in Lennard, *But I Digress: the Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 21.
- ⁸⁸John Hart, "An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature." *John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation*, Bror Danielsson, ed., (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955), p. 200.
- ⁸⁹Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, III. xiii.
- ⁹⁰Scholars who adhere to the view that the oral/rhetorical function of punctuation is primary include Walter Ong, "Historical Backgrounds of Elizabethan and Jacobean Punctuation Theory," *PMLA* 59, no. 2 (1944), Mindele Triep, *Milton's Punctuation and Changing English Usage (1582-1676)* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd, 1970), and Angelika Bergien, "On the Historical Background of English Punctuation," *Zeitschrift für Anglistik and Amerikanistik* 42, no. 3 (1994): 244-5.
- ⁹¹Ong, "Historical Backgrounds of Elizabethan and Jacobean Punctuation Theory," 350.
- ⁹²Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse*, 76-7.
- ⁹³Vivian Salmon, "English Punctuation Theory 1500-1800," *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* 106, no. 3-4 (1988): 295. See also George McKnight, *Modern English in the Making* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1928), 420.

⁹⁴Charles C. Fries, "Shakespearean Punctuation," *University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature* 1 (1925).

⁹⁵See John Lennard, "Punctuation: And – 'Pragmatics'," in *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), 68; John Lennard, "Mark, Space, Axis, Function: Towards a (New) Theory of Punctuation on Historical Principles," in *Ma(R)King the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*, ed. Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 1. See also Merja Kytö, "'Therfor Speke Playnly to the Poynt': Punctuation in Robert Keayne's Notes of Church Meetings from Early Boston, New England," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*, ed. Raymond Hickey and Stanislaw Puppel (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997); and Joan Persily Levinson, "Punctuation and the Orthographic Sentence: A Linguistic Analysis" (City University of New York, 1985).

⁹⁶Mulcaster, chapter XXI. *Of Distinction*.

⁹⁷Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 316-7.

⁹⁸Douglas McMurtrie, *Concerning Quotation Marks* (New York: private printing, 1934), 4.

⁹⁹In *Ferrex and Porrex*, printed by John Day. G.K. Hunter, "The Marking of Sententiae in Elizabethan Printed Plays, Poems and Romances," *The Library*, 5th series 6, no. 3 (1951): 171.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.: 180.

¹⁰¹Ibid.: 181-2.

¹⁰²Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handyworks Applied to the Art of Printing [1683]* (Reprinted: Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1998), 388.

¹⁰³Margreta de Grazia, "Shakespeare in Quotation Marks," in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. Jean I. Marsden (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 58-9.

¹⁰⁴Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

¹⁰⁵Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

Chapter 2: Interpreting Reported Speech

As we have seen, methods of marking reported speech varied in medieval texts, and these methods were applied with varying levels of precision. If speech marking practices were less determined in early texts, what does this mean for interpreting reported speech? In other words, in the absence of a system of textual conventions which unambiguously indicate the boundaries of reported utterances, how faithful should reported speech be understood to be?

To address these questions, it helps to examine first some of the scholarship on present-day speech reporting. In current usage, direct speech is marked with quotation marks that are usually assumed to enclose a verbatim report of a speaker's utterance. A representative assessment from a 2002 usage manual, for example, reads: "Quotation marks indicate where a quotation begins and ends. The text between the quotation marks repeats the exact words that someone said, thought or wrote."¹ A 1905 description is similar: "They [inverted commas] indicate an exact reproduction of matter from another source, and may enclose a long passage, a sentence, a phrase or merely a single word."² This appraisal of verbatimness has been criticized in recent years, however, by scholars such as Deborah Tannen, Monika Fludernik, Herbert H. Clark, Richard J. Gerrig, Elizabeth Wade, and Patricia Mayes.³ Tannen asserts that "reported discourse" is a misleading label, preferring instead "constructed dialogue." The latter term underscores the interpretive effort on the part of the speech "reporter," and supports Tannen's position that uttering dialogue is a fundamentally a creative act.⁴ Fludernik examines free indirect discourse, and her position as well is anti-mimetic, focusing on the invented aspects of representational practices and their inherent fictionalization.⁵ Clark and Gerrig

(1990) and Wade and Clark (1993) describe quotations as demonstrations, which “demonstrate” only select aspects of their referents.⁶ Mayes’s small study corroborates an anti-verbatim standpoint, investigating a continuum between direct quotations which could be authentic reproductions and those which are clearly invented. She found that 50% of the direct quotations in her sample were doubtful in their adherence to a verbatim model of representation.⁷

Other scholars have attempted to mitigate the fierceness of the opposition to the verbatim assumption.⁸ Short, Semino and Wynne, for example, draw a distinction between verbatimness and faithfulness.⁹ They describe faithfulness as a reproduction of the lexical items and grammatical structures of an original utterance, but not a reproduction of every single linguistic characteristic of the utterance, as verbatimness is. A translated utterance, for example, can be faithful, but not verbatim. Short, Semino and Wynne propose a context-sensitive account of discourse presentation and discuss the ways that contextual factors shape the idea of faithfulness in discourse. Written language, in which the accuracy of a quotation can be checked, produces stronger expectations on the part of writer and readers that the quotation will tightly follow the original. And certain genres more than others create expectations of faithfulness. Merja Kytö and Terry Walker apply this genre-based methodology to examine Early Modern speech-related texts, like trial records and depositions. They find that the records provide evidence for and against the reliability of the written records as representations of past speech.¹⁰

In this chapter, I examine the faithfulness claim of direct speech in late medieval English. There are several distinctions important to a discussion of faithfulness in reporting, though they are all essentially variations of the question as to what counts as a faithful report. If a faithful report is one that reproduces the same ideas and/or words of the original, then what constitutes “the same”? How much license can the reporter take in reporting the original utterance? Contemporary convention grants the speaker greater

license to alter the reported words in indirect speech than in direct speech. Such conventions are dependent upon a number of pragmatic variables, however, and the faithfulness assumption for direct discourse seems to function differently in different cultures and with respect to different genres.¹¹ Lourens de Vries, for example, finds no instances of indirect quotation in the Papuan language Kombai and suggests that the language does not distinguish between direct and indirect modes of reporting speech.¹² In Kombai, the faithfulness criterion does not seem to apply to the direct mode.

The verbatim assumption has been hypothesized to operate differently in oral cultures. Albert Lord suggests in his classic study of the Milman Parry recordings of Yugoslavian epic singers that the singers used statements of verbatimness simply for emphasis.¹³ An interviewer asked one singer, Đemo Zogic, about the precision of his repetition of a particular song. Zogic asserts that he has sung “the same song word for word and line for line. I didn’t add a single line, and I didn’t make a single mistake.” He then claims that if he were to live for twenty years, he would sing the same song “just the same twenty years from now word for word.” Zogic’s version of the song, however, is similar but not identical to that of his source, as the records prove. Lord suggests that his expression, “word for word and line for line” is simply an emphatic way of saying “like.” He points out that Zogic does recognize changes in transmission as a fundamental part of the process, however, since at another point in the interview Zogic says of singers reproducing other singers that, “They don’t sing every word, or they make mistakes, and they forget. They don’t sing every word, or they add other words. Two singers can’t recite a song which they heard from a third singer and have the two songs exactly the same as the third.” The conception of reported speech is culturally determined, we see, and varies with the conventions surrounding reporting.

V. N. Voloshinov distinguishes two tendencies for the reporting/reported relationship: the “linear” and the “pictorial” tendencies. The linear style constructs well-defined boundaries for the reported speech, and the internal individuality of the reported

speech is minimized. In the second direction, the pictorial style, the movement between reporting and reported speech is reversed: reported speech is influenced by authorial judgment and commentary in assorted ways. The reporting context pushes at the autonomy of the reported speech. The second direction contains such tendencies as free indirect discourse (what Voloshinov calls “quasi-direct discourse”) in which the separation between reporting and reported speech is maximally broken down.

Voloshinov’s essential point is that patterns of reported speech are a product of their historical period and cultural context, and, in particular, of the relation of reporting and reported clauses which characterize them.

The distinction between the linear and the pictorial style is one of several oppositions which inform our thinking about reported speech. Another is the possible conflict between surface fidelity and content fidelity. In other words, when we quote an utterance, are we reproducing the words that are spoken or the sense of what is said? Medieval scholars understood this as the division between representing *verba* (words) and *res* (sense), or between rehearsing the “lettre” or the “sentence.” In the Prologue to the *Tale of Melibee*, Chaucer describes this difference as explaining the differences between the Gospels. The account of each Evangelist, he says, is different from his fellows in the words that he uses, but they all accord in the sentence. He goes on to apply this to his retelling of his source:

And though I nat the same wordes seye
 As ye han herd, yet to yow alle I preye
 Blameth me nat; for, as in my sentence,
 Shul ye nowher fynden difference
 Fro the sentence of this tretys lyte
 After the which this murye tale I write (VII 959-964).

Here Chaucer asserts that while he may not say the same words as the original, still, his sentence is never different from the sentence of the source.

In present-day English, a wide difference exists between the exactness expected from direct and indirect modes of speech reporting. The perceived freedom of the speaker to interpret the reported words in indirect speech creates the *de re* vs. *de dicto* ambiguity, a third opposition. This ambiguity in an indirect speech report refers to the uncertainty about whether an evaluating statement originates from the original speaker or from the reporter.¹⁴

(1) Marie said that Al Pacino should be commended highly.

In (1), there are two possible readings. The first is that Marie made a statement very much like

(1a) Al Pacino should be commended highly.

This is the *de dicto* reading. The *de dicto* sense of an indirect speech report implies that the words are reproduced as they were spoken. In the *de re* reading, however, the utterance is reproduced at the judgment of the reporter. In a *de re* reading of (1), we understand that Marie might have said:

(1b) The actor who played Scarface should be commended highly.

or,

(1c) Al Pacino was awesome in that role.

If (1) is a report of (1b), the speaker has merely supplied the name referred to in the definite description “the actor who played Scarface.” If (1) is a report of (1c), however, the speaker has taken far greater liberties with the speech report. It is unclear from the indirect discourse form which reading is true. In present-day English, the *de dicto* / *de re* ambiguity is understood to apply only to indirect discourse. Barbara Hall Partee described quotation as a paradigm example of a construction which always has a *de dicto* interpretation.¹⁵ What I am exploring in this chapter is the possibility that the clear dichotomy in present-day usage which permits the *de re* interpretation for indirect speech and forbids it for direct speech in current usage may not have been as pervasive in this

period. In earlier English, without punctuation marks to clearly distinguish between direct and indirect discourse, does the *de dicto / de re* distinction hold in the same way?

I argue that the strict *de dicto* assumption for quotation is an outgrowth of written language and modern conventions of speech marking, and that Partee's assessment only holds within this cultural and pragmatic context. The current linguistic research discussed in the beginning of the chapter finds that speakers of English may believe that quotation is verbatim, but that this verbatimness can only be realized in written text types, and that reporting in spoken language constitutes a recreation of the speech event which may diverge from word-for-word precision. Late Middle English written texts more closely resemble present-day spoken English in this regard. Medieval writers certainly understand verbatim quotation, as we see from the Middle English Dictionary entry for the word *lettre*,¹⁶ but the product is not exact and, far from being surprised by this, writers and readers seemed to anticipate and expect that this will be true.

The realization of the verbatimness assumption sometimes seems to influence the description of exactness. For example, the narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde* tells us that he reproduces a text exactly when he is at best translating:

And of his song naught only the sentence,
 As write myn auctour called Lollius,
 But plainly, save oure tonges difference,
 I dar wel seyn, in al, that Troilus
 Seyde in his song, loo, every word right thus
 As I shal seyn; and whoso list it here,
 Loo, next this vers he may it fynden here (I.393-399).

Chaucer claims that Troilus said “every word right thus” as he will report it, but points out that the works differ in language – “oure tonges difference.” To the modern reader, these are two incommensurate ideas. We see in the records examined in the chapter that verbatim reporting often takes second place to other demands which are specific to the

register. In this chapter, I investigate different genres of texts to examine the treatment of verbatim reporting, and the conception of *ad verbum* representation which emerges from such practices.

This distinction may seem at first like a purely academic question – a superficial detail of the way that reported speech is presented. The relation of speech to identity, however, creates a social and cultural dimension to quotation; reporting speech permits a speaker to inhabit the person of another. By extension, this sometimes creates license to repeat an utterance without responsibility, with the excuse that one is “merely quoting” the words of another. For this reason, the possibility of detaching words from personal accountability has created long-standing historical anxiety over quotation. This is why, for instance, Plato’s *Republic* expresses concern about quotation in pedagogical practice, and about the dangers of assuming another’s person (*mimesis*). It was common in Greek schools to memorize and deliver passages of text written from the person of another, and the *Republic* expresses concern that performing memorized passages at an impressionable age may require the speaker to adopt the person of a slave, a woman or a coward, and could threaten the nascent identity of a young guardian of the state.¹⁷

A similar example can be found in medieval opinions about drama. Like Plato, medieval writers were troubled by the perils of appropriating another’s perspective, and this hazard is nowhere so great as on the stage. The mimetic powers of language and the potential of quoted speech to shift the boundaries of social identity disturbed, for example, those who complained about the deleterious effects of drama. The authors of the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* rail against the imitation of miracles, the performance of signs without deeds in the Miracle Plays. They contend that the theater reverses God’s word, the *mimesis* serving to drain miracles of the presence of God.¹⁸ Erick Kelemen develops this to argue that their difficulties with *mimesis* and presence extend even to the action of a preacher quoting directly.¹⁹ The practice of quotation exceeds the boundaries of mere imitation and threatens the self of the reporting speaker.

This chapter shows how medieval conceptions of quotation are not identical to modern ones by examining speech reporting in different text types in late Middle English. These two genres, defamation depositions and sermons, both use reported discourse for purposes essential to the genre. Defamation depositions depend upon the witness's representation of a slanderous utterance, and sermons depend upon citation from scriptural and patristic authorities. The following sections examine the pressures influencing faithfulness in reporting for each genre in order to show how the realization of direct quotation in late Middle English, and consequently the understanding of direct quotation, is tied to the logistical and pragmatic circumstances of its recording.

1. Defamation depositions

Because speech reporting plays a central role in depositions, court trial records have often been listed among genres which contain "speech-based" language.²⁰ And among these records, slander depositions are particularly instructive because the crime at issue consists of a speech utterance. These depositions are witness testimonials to defamatory language use that provide passages of ostensibly "spoken" text: the reporting of the utterances with which one individual allegedly defamed another.

The slander depositions, in turn, show us that speech reports by the witnesses of the defendants are not always verbatim, and adhere rather to a perception of what constitutes defamatory speech than to a conception of strict verbatimness.²¹

1.1 The records

The first part of this study examines a set of 120 depositions of defamation cases dating between 1245-1645, collected from editions by Bridget Cusack and R. H. Helmholz.²² The cases are from courts in England and Scotland and include depositions from the registers of ecclesiastical courts (Cause papers and Act books), local courts

(manor and borough court rolls) and royal courts (Common Pleas and plea rolls of the King's Bench), as well as later printed reports of cases, and records from the court of the Star Chamber. Nineteenth-century editions, which habitually anglicize forms, were consulted but not included.

The slander cases present mixed-code or macaronic records. Being primarily cases of private law rather than criminal prosecutions,²³ they are largely in Latin, though passages of the direct reporting of the alleged slanderous utterance often switch to English. Some contain larger sections of English, with the use of Latin reduced to a template-form for the formulaic part of the record. Some of the printed reports are also in French, and these likewise generally switch to English for the depiction of the alleged utterance. Even in the records that are in English, Latin verbs or legal terms are employed, revealing the debt that English legal language owes to Latin. Code-switching can even occasionally be found within dialects of English, in later depositions.²⁴ The practice of code-switching, whether from Latin to English or between varieties of English, suggests an adherence to a witness's language in the construction of quoted speech. Indeed, marking quotations was a common function of code-switching in documents of the period, as Herbert Schendl finds.²⁵ Such adherence, however, is not universal, as this sample reveals.

A typical record names the witness, the defendant, and the alleged victim with the situation and the words of the offense:

(2) *Kirk Session Records: Elgin, Scotland 1619*²⁶

...Isobell patersone deponit Androw Wanes callit Elspett Cumming witche carling.

The first verb is the legal Latin term, *deponit*, or "testified." The term literally meant "set down," and what Isobell Patersone sets down is an English testimony, even if presented within a Latin structure. So the discourse switches to English, and the second verb *callit* is the English word that she would have used in her testimony. The implicit assumption,

therefore, is that the record is quoting Isobell Patersone and reporting her words faithfully.

Besides *deponit*, another word that often prefaces a switch to English in the discourse – as we saw in chapter 1 – is the Latin adverb *videlicet* – “namely.” Its meaning, especially its literal meaning, “as you see,” suggests that reported direct speech will follow. And this assumption is supported by the corresponding switch into the language of the utterance, which suggests that the text is going to reproduce the utterance verbatim.

(3) *Diocese of Exeter, consistory court 1559*²⁷

...verbaque diffamatoria in anglicis sequentibus aut alia eis in effectu consimilia videlicet John Kyngwell ys a wyche nencon alia verba diffamatoria atque conviciosa in eventu hujus litis hujusmodi per probationes legitimas plenius specificanda et comprobanda eidem Johanni Kyngwell seu de eodem dixit emisit asseruit protulit et publice atque maliciose predicavit.

[...did say, speak, assert, utter and publicly and maliciously proclaim defamatory words in English or others like them in effect, namely, ‘John Kingwell is a witch,’ and other defamatory and abusive words to be more fully specified and proved in the course of this suit by legitimate proofs.] [underscore mine]

(4) *King’s Bench, 1550*²⁸

...hec verba scandalosa opprobriosa et diffamatoria de prefato Alveredo publice et aperte dixit retulit et propalavit videlicet Thowe arte a theffe and so I wyll prove the.

[...did openly and publicly speak, utter and proclaim these slanderous, opprobrious and defamatory words of the same Alfred, namely, 'Thou art a thief and so I will prove thee'] [underscore mine]

In (3) and (4), the Latin deposition switches to English for the utterance of direct speech.

(5), however, shows that *videlicet* does not always introduce directly reported speech:

(5) *Durham Diocesan Records 1570*²⁹

Elizabeth Robson contra Isabell ~~agnet~~-knops in *causa diffamacionis videlicet* that she is a hoore & a harlott/

[Elizabeth Robson against Isabell ~~agnet~~-knops in a case of defamation namely that she is a whore and a harlot/]

(6) *Common Pleas, 1578*³⁰

...dixit prefato Willelmo hec verba anglicana sequencia videlicet that he the said

William was a thefe...

[...did speak these English words following to the said William namely, 'that he the said William was a thief'...] [underscore mine]

Both (5) and (6) report the speech indirectly: in (5), *videlicet* is paired with *that* and the third person pronoun, and in (6), *videlicet* is paired with *that* and the past tense. The reported speech in (6) also includes the intrusion “the said William” to clarify the deictic pronoun; this is legal language added to the reported utterance and does not appear in other instances where the utterance is reported. Helmholz’s translation of (6) is also interesting, because he adheres to his editorial technique of adding single quotation marks around the reported speech, even though this instance presents indirect speech which would not be accompanied by quotation marks in present-day written English.

This use of the Latin word *videlicet*, by semantically implying that direct speech will follow and then actually resulting in either indirect or direct speech, suggests that the scribes had a different conception of the precise representation of speech than our modern one. I have called *videlicet* a Latin word here because it concludes a Latin text, and resembles the preceding Latin passage in being meta-discursive. However, this is a debatable categorization; the *OED* records *videlicet* used in English contexts as early as the late 15th century. Moreover, the high rate of abbreviation of *videlicet* (*viz.*, *vit.* or *vid.*) might indicate widespread English acceptance. How can we determine, then, whether the word *concludes* a Latin text or *introduces* an English one? The assessment of lexical items as either assimilated loan words or as borrowed foreign words may in fact vary between registers with a word being assimilated into legal English before its widespread acceptance into other registers. *Videlicet* seems to hover at the border between Latin and English, or perhaps indicates the lack of a solid boundary.

The usual pattern of the Latin records is to employ English only in the alleged slanderous utterance, making the boundaries for the code-switch the same as the boundaries for reporting direct speech. But Latin records sometimes switch from an indirect translation of the insult in Latin into a direct reporting of the insult in English, as in Text (7):

(7) *Diocese of Chichester, consistory court 1507*³¹

et actor dicit quod pars rea vocavit eum furem probatum et pars rea confessus est quod in furure suo vocavit partem actricem furem et non aliter et pars rea dicit quod actor vocavit eum in anglicis horson prest antequam vocavit eum furem.

[And the plaintiff asserts that the party defendant called him a proven thief. And the party defendant confesses that in his rage, he called the party plaintiff a thief, and not otherwise, and the party defendant asserts that the plaintiff called him in English whoreson priest before he called him a thief.] [underscore mine]

The scribe represents the appellation “thief” in Latin, but does not attempt to render “whoreson priest” at the end of line 3 into Latin, leaving it in English. The decision to switch languages for these two words has the effect of marking them within the text, highlighting either their untranslatability or their resemblance to the represented utterance. If the goal is to reproduce the utterance as it was spoken, however, what do we make of the cases where the code-switching barriers do not seem to correspond to the borders of the represented utterance? In Text (8), the scribe code-switches in the middle of the reported utterance, not the usual practice:

(8) *Diocese of London, commissary court 1514*³²

unus egipcius sibi publice dixit tuam fortunam cognoscis for he that standith by the schuld jape the iii tymes er thou goo to thy bedd to thi husband. Et hoc allegat probare.

[one gypsy said publicly to her, You know your fortune, for he that stands beside you should jape you three times before you³³ go to your bed to your husband. And she offers to prove this.]

The direct speech begins in Latin with the first clause *tuam fortunam cognoscis*, and then switches for the next clause into English. The passage then switches back to Latin for the indirect account of the offer of proof. Clearly, the boundaries of code-switching are not always the boundaries of the reported speech.

In these records, then, the treatment of reporting speech does not seem to conform to our intuitions from current usage. The words of the defendant are often presented in a direct speech form, suggesting to the modern reader a *de dicto* interpretation. But this assumption doesn't seem to hold as consistently for contemporaneous readers. At least, the depositions do not require interpreting the utterances *de dicto*; rather, they often seem to utilize a *de re* reading of the reported context.

The strict present-day divisions between direct and indirect speech are not yet in place, then, and some of the usage is puzzling to a modern reader. In three of the six cases from the papers outlining cases to be heard by the consistory court at Exeter from 1615-1629, for example, the Latin entries switch into English, but are then phrased in such a way that they incorporate both the direct and indirect speech forms and pronouns. Thus, in Text (9):

(9) *Consistory Court of the Diocese of Exeter 1629*³⁴

Thou art or shee is (Loquendo ad *dictam* Ionn^{am} weeks seu de eadem) a whore, and thou art or shee is my husbandes whore, meaning & naming her husband James Oxenham of South Tawton, ...and he doth keepe thee or yo^w or her as common as the high waie, et vterius (loquendo ad *dictam* Ioannam Weeks seu de eadem) thou art or shee is a drunkard, and thou fellest or she fell drunke from thine or her horse in Ockhampton markt

[Thou art or she is (speaking to or about the said Joanne Weeks) a whore, and thou art or she is my husband's whore, meaning and naming her husband James Oxenham of South Tawton, and he does keep thee or you or her as common as the

highway, and further (speaking to or about the said Joanne Weeks) thou art or she is a drunkard...]

As the parenthetical Latin phrase tells us, the represented speech is spoken to or about the said Joanne Weeks, a mode which doesn't correspond to our modern conception of speech reporting. The double pronoun construction "thou art or she is a whore" blends direct and indirect speech. Scribal commentary is also included: "meaning & naming her husband James Oxenham of South Tawton." The implication of verbatim speech created by the switch to English is undercut by these intrusions.

The focus, then, seems to fall not on an exact rehearsal of the words spoken, but on conformity to a template of defamatory speech. A 1647 book by one John March entitled "Actions for Slauder," might help us see what such a template might be like. The book attempts to detail just what constructions were actionable in the local courts and which were not. March presents instances like the following:

(10) Actions for Slauder (1647)³⁵

Dickes a Brewer brought an action against Penne for these words "I will give a pecke of Malt to my Mare, and leade her to the water to drinke, and shee shall pisse as good beere as Dickes doth brew," adjudged the words were not actionable, because impossible, and therefore there could be no scandall to the plaintiffe.

Dickes the Brewer has not been the victim of slander, according to March, because the accusaion against him was an impossible charge and therefore was not legally actionable under defamation law. March's distinctions can seem hair-splitting. He adjudged, for example, that calling a woman a "bawd" was not actionable, but saying that she "keeps a

bawdy house” is actionable; and that saying that a man steals from the church is not actionable, but saying that a man steals from *a* church is actionable, because *the* church is an abstract institution, and *a* church is a specific place. Adhering to the model of defamatory speech, therefore, serves as the critical factor for the defamation cases. In one report of a case, for example, the commentator offers analysis of the syntax of the defamatory remark:

(11) *Common Pleas 1600*³⁶

Si le paroll ust estre for she woulde have layne with me la puissoit issint estre intende, mes icy les parollx sont in le conjective and woulde have lane with me etc.

[If the words had been, for she would have lain with me, then it could have been so intended, but here the words are in the conjunctive: and would have lain with me etc.]

Certain words matter more than others, it seems. The grammatical words in Text 11 assume a great deal of importance because they are relevant to the classification of the words as defamatory. The faithful reporting of certain key words seems to be the essential legal object, therefore, more than adherence to verbatim reporting of the slanderous utterance. In many cases, it is even explicit that the words are *not* exact, and this does not seem to preclude the use of direct speech forms. Thus, reported speech is often prefaced or followed with disclaimers like the one in Text 12:

(12) *Kirk Session Records: St. Andrews, Scotland 1561*³⁷

...Newertheles wyliam mortoun of cambo oppinlie in ye public essemble manest boistit and Iniurit the said minister in ye pulpot saying thir wordis following or

siclyik in effect My brothir is and salbe vicar of crayll quhen thow sal thyg thy mayt fals smayk I sall pul ye owt off ye pulpot be the luggis and chais ye owt of yis town

[Nevertheless William Mourton of Cambo openly in the public assembly menaced, threatened and injured the said minister in the pulpit saying these words or suchlike in effect My brother is and shall be vicar of crayll when thou shal beg your food false rogue I shall pull you out of the pulpit by the ears and chase you out of this town]

The direct speech is introduced with the phrase “siclyik in effect,” warning us that the representation may not be exact. The voice of the disclaimers is uncertain; it is not clear whether they are attributed to the witness assessing the reporting of the speech event or added by the scribe assessing the witness’s report.

The records do not offer much assistance in interpreting the discourse, either. Speech is most often not distinguished from the rest of the text by punctuation, though the Durham records sometimes use virgules to set off passages of direct speech, as in Texts 6 and 7 in chapter 1, and the Essex records sometimes employ parenthesis not around the reported speech, but around the indicator of direct speech, “saith shee.”

(13) *Essex local Quarter Sessions 1645*³⁸

...Margaret the wife of the said Edwards said to this Informant (*videlicet*, That a Company of yo^w had brought a Popish Preist to towne; but (*saith shee*) the King is a coming now, and then wee shall haue a course taken wth. yo^w & such as yo^w are: Or words to the like effect./

However, this punctuation does not entirely disambiguate the levels of discourse. Does the reported speech end with the virgule, making the clause “Or words to the like effect” part of the direct speech? Or does the reported speech end with the colon, cutting it off after “such as you are”? If so, are the next words attributable to the Informant, the witness for this record? Or are they added by the scribe? The presentation of direct speech contains ambiguity because of the failings of the apparatus to clearly distinguish the levels of discourse.

The conflation of levels is especially pronounced in Text (14):

(14) *The Consistory Court of the Diocese of Exeter 1629*³⁹

Thou or he (Loquendo ad dictum Iohannem Slocombe seu de eodem) didst or did pisse or make water in the widdowe Tylles backside, and thou didst shewe me or he did shewe me (the said George Baily) thy pricke or his pricke, and saidst or said, this pricke hath fuckt Ioan Pecke many tymes (meaning thereby that the said Iohn Slocombe was and is a man of dishonest life and Conversacion and that he had the carna<l> knowledge of the bodie of the said Ioane Pecke

[Thou or he (Speaking to or about the said John Slocombe) didst or did piss or make water in the widow Tylle's backyard, and thou didst show me or he did show me (the said George Baily) thy pricke or his pricke, and saidst or said, this pricke hath fucked Joan Pecke many times (meaning thereby that the said John Slocombe was and is a man of immoral life and conversation and that he had carnal knowledge of the body of the said Joan Pecke]

These embedded levels of discourse are arduous to untangle without the aid of quotation marks; the charge here is that George Baily has defamed John Slocombe by saying that

he has heard Slocombe boast about having sex with Joan Pecke. The deposition begins in the voice of the witness giving the pronouns of both direct and indirect speech, is interrupted by the Latin clarification as to whom was being spoken to or about, switches to the reported speech of George Baily, who in turn reports the speech of John Slocombe, and then switches to the voice of the clerk who explains the remark. When the clerk translates the meaning of the statement, he includes the denotative meaning of the phrase, that he is claiming to have carnal knowledge of Joan Pecke, but also the connotative meaning of the phrase, that the utterance of these words implies that he is a man of dishonest or immoral life and conversation. The clerk's assessment of the phrase, then, does not hinge merely upon the meaning derived from its words, but also upon the meaning of its words in context. This supports the idea that reporting the content of an utterance (the sense) assumes primary importance for the records and that reporting its form (the words) is secondary: that knowing the exact words of what was said is less important than knowing the implications of those words for the claim of defamation.

This is by no means to argue that the depositions are carelessly constructed or imprecise. They can be extremely precise about matters which the clerk deems important. Notice the Exeter scribe's precision in Text 15.

(15) *Consistory Court of the Diocese of Exeter 1615*⁴⁰

...That about the ~~Las~~ ende of Maye Last past he this deponent goeing ~~from~~
 {along of the street in} Tottnes Towne towardes the bridge of Tottnes *articulate*
 did heere these wordes of anger and malice passt betweene the parties *articulate*,
videlicet the Libellate Amey Nyell sayd vnto the ~~articulate~~ Libellate Walter
 Weaver Sirra ~~doest~~ remember thou callest mee whore yea quoth the *said* Walter

Weaver, If thou call mee knave Ile call thee whore, w^{ch} wordes the said Weaver did speak in greate anger and mallice, ~~and with a purpose to discredit in the pre~~ Et reddit *causam scientie* sue quia *presens* fuit also then and there Elinor Tuckeninge, and at Least twenty other persons whose names he cannott nowe declare because he tooke noe such particular notice of them vt dicit et *aliter*. nescit *deponere*. vt dicit./

[That about the end of May last past he this deponent going along the street in Tottnes town toward the bridge of Tottnes already said did hear these words of anger and malice pass between the parties already said, namely the already said Amey Nyell said unto the already said Walter Weaver Sirra remember thou callest me whore, yes said the said Walter Weaver, If thou call me knave I'll call thee whore, which words the said Weaver did speak in great anger and malice And he reports this matter of his own knowledge because he was present also then and there Elinor Tuckeninge, and at least twenty other persons whose names he cannot now declare because he took no such particular notice of them as he says, and he knows nothing more to testify as he says]

The scribe changes ‘articulate’ to ‘Libellate’ in the sixth line because, technically, the latter term is more appropriate for a named individual who is a party in the case at hand. In present-day English the distinction is erased; both terms are rendered by the editor as “already said.” The scribe is also careful with the reporting of the time and place, and meticulously reproduces the Latin formulas justifying his testimony as an eyewitness and that he has told the whole truth. His care reveals which particular issues were necessary to clarify in a defamation case. For an insulting statement to be defamatory, it must be

uttered in a public place in the presence of others with intent to discredit. Thus, the matters that must be established are 1) public setting of the alleged remark, 2) intent to attack the integrity of the victim's good name and, finally, 3) the character of the remark: is it truly a slander against reputation. Careful mirroring of form on the part of the witness's reported speech, then, is less important to the case than the confirmation of the elements above. This is perhaps a necessary outgrowth of the instability of memory in recollecting words and the inconsistency of scribal representation of levels of speech.

A partial explanation for the differences in the conception of direct speech in these depositions may lie with their nature as recorded gossip. The prevalence of slander cases in the church courts testifies to the fact that mediations of petty rivalries and disputes between neighbors were becoming more and more a function of these courts.⁴¹ In that light, the cases become a way to stop loose tongues and negotiate the damage done to one's "good name" by a slanderous remark. For women especially, "good name" was highly valued. The fact that 60-70 percent of the defamation cases brought to the church courts were brought by women (70 percent of whom were married) is evidence that these cases provided an important way for women (and especially housewives) to seek justice against maligners and slanderers.⁴² Hence, what mattered for the purposes of record was that slandering words were said, and not the exact way in which they were said.

(16) *Consistory Court of Exeter 1618*⁴³

...videlicet I have heard somme saye, that thou art a bastard, or I have heard saye that thou art a bastard, or somme saye, thou art a bastard: & but w^{ch} of these particular wordes the said Adrian Sweete vttered then and there vttered, he this

deponent doth {not} otherwise remember, but he sayth, that is certayne That the said Sweete sayde vnto Poweninge aforesaid these wordes, {with somme of the former, or of the same meaneinge:} thou art a bastard:...

In (16), the speaker elaborates at length as to how the exact words are not known, but that the meaning is the same.

1.2 Interpretation

This sample of slander cases, then, does not suggest a strict interpretation of speech reporting based on verbatim representation, but rather reveals signs of an alternative perspective on faithfulness in quotation, perhaps necessitated by the inaccuracies of memory. Practices of recording and comments by the scribes indicate that the deposition cases often lay priority not on strict faithfulness to word-for-word reporting but on faithfulness to a legal standard of defamation. The exact words are less important for the purposes of the case than its conformity to the particular phrases and words adjudged defamatory. We find in the depositions that the witnesses represent the speech and the scribe reports it in a manner consistent with the conventions of defamation. The cases present the alleged slanderous utterances in directly reported speech, often employing code-switching for the depiction of the defendant's words. Unlike present-day direct speech, however, the form does not require *de dicto* reporting. Instead, extrapolating the phrasing of the original utterances from the reported direct speech admits the *de re* ambiguity. We know only that the speaker said something like the reported utterance, and that the witness's characterization of the remark is faithful within the acceptable bounds of defamatory discourse.

2. Sermons

Sermonic texts mingle written and spoken language in distinctive ways. A sermon purports to be the written record of a spoken discourse: the recorded words of a preacher to his congregation. Yet sermons circulated in written form need not have been ever delivered as they were written, and many of them seem unlikely candidates for oral delivery. Some functioned as exemplars, serving as model sermons for other clerics to borrow from. Others appear to be extended meditations on a spiritual or biblical theme, often translated from Latin sources.⁴⁴ Crucially, though, for an analysis of speech reporting such as this one, most employ extensive quotation from biblical sources and patristic authorities in order to illustrate their points and assert legitimacy. It is the manner in which quotation generates authority that makes these sermons particularly relevant for this study.

The use of quotations from authorities, in fact, served to define a particular genre of sermon which emerged in the late 12th and early 13th century in Western Europe. This genre was labelled variously: (1) the “modern sermon,” by its contemporaries such as Thomas Waleys in *De modo componendi sermones* (1340), who contrasted it with the “ancient” sermon, (2) the “university sermon” a term which reflects the origin of the form at Paris and Oxford, (3) the “thematic sermon” emphasizing the way that scriptural texts were used as central organizing “themes” to these sermons, and (4) the “scholastic sermon.”⁴⁵ I will follow Siegfried Wenzel in using the final term which suggests both a location of origin (the university), and the formal characteristics associated with the modes of scholasticism. The term should not suggest elite listeners, however; scholastic sermons were not restricted to scholastic listeners, but also delivered before popular audiences.

The scholastic sermon is characterized by the desire to support all claims with scriptural or patristic sanction, and to organize the material with divisions and

subdivisions. The sermon is based on a theme (*thema*) which was usually a word or phrase from Scripture, though it could also come from a liturgical text. The selection of a single word or phrase as focusing point diverges from the “ancient” style of sermon making which typically explicated an entire passage of scripture. From this theme, the preacher derives a number of meanings which are expressed in divisions of the theme (*divisio* or *partitio thematis*).

On the one hand, the principles underlying the construction of the scholastic sermon place emphasis on the literal importance of words. The sermon is built around a single word or string of words, spinning meanings and contexts for the word or phrase. This format necessarily places a good deal of importance on the precise words of Scripture, since it assumes that the preacher’s energy can be effectively devoted to such a long explication of a single word or phrase. The construction of complex etymologies, for instance, was evidently a frequent part of preachers’ dilations (as we see in contemporaneous satirizations of forced etymologies).⁴⁶ Just as this practice of explication made faithfulness to the words of Scripture critical, though, the sermon served to recontextualize the word, removing it from its precise lexical context and assembling a new interpretive structure with the given word as cornerstone. In this sense, strict faithfulness is compromised, because a sermon’s focus upon a single word directs the listener to that word and not to the larger sense of the scriptural passage under consideration.

John of Wales is an important example of a medieval scholar who discussed the ways to use Biblical authority properly.⁴⁷ According to him, preachers support their divisions in three ways. When the words being scrutinized appear in the writings of the authorities, and when the meanings of no words are twisted to make the quotation apply, the authorities are said to be in “real” and “verbal” agreement with the division. When the concepts rather than the words appear in the texts cited, the authorities are said to be in “real” agreement only. And when the authorities employ the words of theme and

division but the meaning of the words has been twisted to force a fit for the quotation, the authority is only in “verbal” concord. For John of Wales, the first concord is most desirable, the second is acceptable, and the third is meaningless. The propriety of citing authorities and the importance of doing it correctly were essential to sermon writing. Because *auctores* are always Latin sources, moreover, quotation becomes intricately linked to translation, as we see in the next section.

2.1 Censorship, authority and the vernacular

Biblical quotation was an especially heated issue in England in the late medieval period, because of its relation to translation. The political implications of translation were weighty; John Wycliffe’s attempt to provide editions of Scripture in the vernacular led to ecclesiastical alarm over the possibility of unlearned men interpreting scripture and, in consequence, subsequent suspicion of any activities which might loosen clerical control. Scriptural translations were prohibited, and a widespread inhibition of English religious texts ensued. The close of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century in England, in fact, is typically regarded as a time of censorship and repression of all vernacular texts – which are tainted by the sin of association to vernacular renderings of Scripture. The censorship was codified in Article 7 of Bishop Arundel’s Constitutions of 1407-1409, which forbade anyone to make or possess any written translation of a text of scripture into English.⁴⁸ In the widest sense, as Anne Hudson explains, this could extend even to single verses translated in written form.⁴⁹ The wording of the seventh Constitution, she points out, proscribes the translation of any text of the Scripture into English by way of *libri, libelli, aut tractatus* (book, pamphlet, or treatise). This injunction appears to have extended to any text which involves a passage of translated biblical material. William Lyndwood’s gloss in his *Provinciale* explains that the article should apply to the composition of any treatise using scholarly material and including biblical translation, and to any book or pamphlet using translations of biblical texts. The

enforcement of Arundel's Constitutions was uneven, but famous extreme cases of implementation include prosecutions for, for example, possessing *The Canterbury Tales*.

The publication and circulation of vernacular sermons was hampered by the milieu of suspicion towards religious texts in English. The preference for Latin in sermon collections, even collections of sermons that were delivered in the vernacular, suggests that publication may have been inhibited by the fear of heresy.⁵⁰ And the paucity of surviving manuscripts suggests that Arundel's Constitutions had a markedly repressive effect on the public availability of sermon collections.⁵¹ Many of the surviving English sermons are translations from Latin sources, and even those which can be found only in English often employ Latin in their Biblical quotations.

Theories of quotation, therefore, are closely linked to those of translation because they address issues of representing words (*verba*) or sense (*res*), or surface vs. content fidelity. John Wycliffe, for example, provides a lengthy assessment of the problems of translating scripture in the preface to his translation of the Bible, and concludes that translating the sense (sentence) is more important than remaining strictly faithful to the words:

First it is to knowe þat þe beste translating is, out of Latyn into English, to translate aftir þe sentence and not oneli aftir þe wordis, so þat þe sentence be as opin eiþer in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro þe lettre; and if þe lettre mai not be suid in þe translating, let þe sentence euere be hool and open, for þe wordis owen to serue to þe entent and sentence, and ellis þe wordis ben superflu eiþer false.⁵²

Wycliffe's "translation" of the Bible is in fact two translations: the first, a literal rendering of the words and the second, a closer rendering of the sense of the words.⁵³

The relation between words and sense is important to medieval scholars, particularly as it concerned scriptural translation. Hugh of St. Victor asserts that the two things to be looked for in Genesis are the *veritas rerum gestorum* (truth of the events) and the *forma*

verborum (form of the words).⁵⁴ According to Hugh, we know the truth of the events through the form of the words, but when the truth of events is known, we may more easily know the truth of words. Attention to the hermeneutics of quotation, then, means examining the hermeneutics of translation.

2.2 The records

The following study examines 180 late Middle English sermons to see how they treat quotations and represented speech. The texts are taken from edited sermon collections of Mirk's *Festial*, the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, the sermons of British Library MS Royal 18 B. xxiii, the sermons of British Library MS Harley 2268, the Wycliffite sermons, and a few additional sermons which do not appear in medieval manuscript collections.⁵⁵

The quotation practices of Middle English sermons do not fit easily into present-day punctuation conventions, as modern editors have found. Veronica O'Mara has discussed the problems of treating quotation in editing sermons. In her editorial practice, she italicizes the biblical and patristic Latin quotations used by the preachers, and uses inverted commas to mark the preachers' English translations which often follow. After translating, though, the preacher often continues in English following the same patristic source, or combines the citation with glossing and commentary of his own or borrowings from other authorities. O'Mara points out that readers of her anthology might normally expect "quoted" passages to be surrounded by inverted commas, but that the sermons combine the voice of the patristic authority with the preacher's own voice:

In cases where I have identified the sources it is clear that the relevant attribution is correct; however, in other cases the sources have not been identified, or the passage is such a mixture of direct speech and the preacher's personal comment, or hearsay, that it would be misleading to give the whole passage the status of 'quotation'.⁵⁶

The sermons present an amalgam of voices, blending text and commentary, analysis and analysis. This is manifested differently, moreover, in each sermon collection. The preachers in the MS Royal use quotations from church fathers and juxtapose their own opinions. Wycliffe, in his English sermons, leaves his patristic quotations unattributed so that the listener assumes that their opinions are identical to his.⁵⁷ Only a few manuscripts attempt to distinguish in the text between the Latin sources, the English translations and the English commentary,⁵⁸ and many of the preachers freely mixed commentary into the Biblical and patristic quotations. The four sermons of Harley 2268, for example, (all possibly the work of Benedictine abbot Thomas Spofford) depict the Biblical or patristic quotations with interspersed comments in the preacher's voice:

- (17) For, as he says of hymself, *Ego sum panis viuus, qui de celo descendi. Si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane, uiuet in eternum*, Iohannis 6, 'I am', says he, 'brede of lyf þe qwyk descendyd downe' –3a! als þis day –3a! als þis day, 'from heuyn into þe blyssyd wambe of Mary'. 'And qwa þat etys worthyly of þis brede', says he, 'he schall lyue euyr wythowtyn ende'.⁵⁹

In passage (17), the excerpt from John's gospel is presented first in Latin, though the discourse is initiated with an English discourse marker "For" and quotative phrase, "as he says of himself." The passage then presents the English translation, with another English inquit phrase, "says he," inserted after the two introductory words. Then, in the middle of the translation, the preacher inserts an enthusiastic outburst, "–3a! als þis day –3a! als þis day," to emphasize for his audience the pertinence of the quotation. This intrusion heightens the oral feeling of this passage and creates a sense of immediacy to the text. The punctuation in the edited text clarifies for the modern readers the boundaries of the interjection, but a reader of the manuscript will not find the preacher's commentary set off in any way from the words of Jesus.

The Annunciation/ Passion sermon in the Harley 2268 contains a three-line passage which the preacher attributes to Gregory, but which does not appear in the source which he is discussing.⁶⁰ Similarly in (18) from the BL MS Royal 18 B.xxiii,

- (18) All-be-it, as Seyne Austyne seyþ *and* bereþ wittenes, De Doctrina *Cristiana*, þat no man may vndirstond dewliche þe sotilte of holywritte, neþelesse men of esye vndirstondynge mowe haue dyvers *and* holy conseytys, by þe wiche þei may amende hure owne liffe *and* þryftelich teche oþur.⁶¹

There is no place in *De Doctrina Christiana* where Augustine makes a statement like this one. The work does examine how to interpret scripture for others, and therefore tacitly suggests the difficulty of interpreting, but this passage is the work of the preacher and not of Augustine. (19) and (20) provide further examples from the MS Royal sermons:

- (19) 3e shall vndirstond þat Seynt Gregore, ij^o *Moralium*, seyþ þat þer arn ij þinges þat a man shuld þenke on þe wiche shuld drawe synne from man *and* to cause man to crie God *mercy*.⁶²

- (20) “O, þou wikked man!” seyþ Seynt Barnard...”⁶³

In (19), the editor, Woodburn O. Ross, comments that the preacher is summarizing rather than quoting Gregory’s words in the cited passage from the *Moralia*, and corrupts their meaning in the process.⁶⁴ In (20), Ross notes that the text constitutes a paraphrase rather than a quotation of Bernard, even though it is presented in the text as such. These examples show a looser relation of the preacher to the authority than present-day quotation allows. Incorrect references are also not uncommon.⁶⁵

The sermons also combine quotations; Sermon 11 in the MS Royal, for example, begins with multiple Biblical fragments run into one passage (John 6:57, Matthew 12:44, Luke 11:24). The preacher, who may have lifted the entire thing from a secondary source, seems to believe that they constitute one passage, and speaks about them as though they do.⁶⁶ Other sermons present examples of run-on quotations as well; the sermons for the Nativity (40) and the Epiphany (39) have as many as 5 scriptural

quotations stacked upon one another.⁶⁷ The authority of scriptural wisdom, therefore, is sometimes accessed through citations which present an amalgam of sources.

The transitions between Latin and English and direct and indirect speech are also unmarked and often present abrupt shifts.

(21) I fynd in þe gospels of Mathei, Mathei 22, how a doctour of þe lawe come onto Cryste and askyd hym qwath was þe grete comaundement in þe lawe, and Cryst answeryd and sayde þat þe fryst was to loue God wyth all mannys harte and all hys sawle and all hys wyll; þe secunde to loue hys neyghbore, *In his ergo duobus mandatis vniuersa lex pendet et prophete*, ‘In þis twa comawndementis’, quath Cryst, ‘hengys all þe lawe and prophetys’, swa þat 3e may se þat vndyr þir twa is contenyd qwath seruyse þu awe to þi God.⁶⁸

In (21), the voice of the preacher begins the passage and declares the source, Matthew’s gospel. He reports the doctor of law’s voice in indirect speech – indicated by the past tense verb “was”) and reports Christ’s answer. Christ’s answer, however, begins in indirect speech when he states the two greatest commandments and then shifts to Latin for a direct assertion of their authority. This Latin assertion moves seamlessly to an English translation (marked in the edited text with quotation marks, but unmarked in manuscript), and then continues with a clause which is not part of the translation. The text switches easily between different languages and modes of reporting, and the preacher does not construct framing devices to set off the different parts of the discourse. This is true not only for rehearsed scriptural messages, but also for his own commentary. Preachers did not always distinguish between patristic instruction and their own interpretations of it:

(22) But þe prophett telleþ, sewyng a-pon “Who shall suffre hyme,” “None but he þat is sory for is synne *and* he þat will haske mercy *with* a contrite herte *and* a meke.”⁶⁹

In the second sentence of (22), as the editor points out, the preacher is not quoting or paraphrasing the words of Psalm 129, but is extrapolating from the words of the Psalmist and dilating upon what he sees to be the message of the Psalm.

These examples also show the great extent to which quotation practices are closely tied to translation practices. Since most of the quotations are from Latin source material, investigating the conception of faithfulness in quotation means, in part, investigating the conception of faithfulness in translation. Both quotations and translations represent the voice of another, dropped into a secondary context. As discussed in 2.1, the anxieties surrounding translation spill over into the treatment of quotations. One manifestation of this anxiety is the preacher's frequent inclusion of the Latin source for Biblical quotations. Not all of the sermons reproduce the Biblical Latin, however. Mirk's *Festial*, for example, includes very few Latin quotations. And particular audiences influence the choice of the vernacular; sermons explicitly for nuns often presented the English translation without the Latin text.⁷⁰

The attention paid to translations of the Latin quotations is also instructive. Often the translations are faithful to the point of being slavishly literal, reproducing Latinate syntax and preserving Latin words. One thorny issue for Middle English translation can be found in the Latin ablative absolute construction, which has no syntactic equivalent in English. Trying to translate it literally sounds stilted (e.g. "The chew toy having been dropped, the baby cried.") Rendering it into more idiomatic English – called "resolving" the construction – risks transgressing the desire for strict fidelity, however (e.g. "The baby cried because he dropped the chew toy.") The prologue to the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible endorses resolving ablative absolutes in order to translate "openly," i.e. to render the English understandable to a native speaker unfamiliar with Latin.⁷¹ H. Leith Spencer comments, however, that "In practice, it was a brave man who would 'resolve' an ablative absolute."⁷²

Many sermons, in translating, provide a pair of English words in place of a single Latin word in the source quotation. This well-known practice of doubling might stem from one of two causes, with differing implications. One possibility is that the preacher thought that the Latin word suggested multiple senses in English and the copiousness was an attempt to translate better the sense of the Latin word. The second possible reason, in the case where the first word is an English borrowing of a Latin word, is that the doubling pairs a loan word with a native word to clarify it. The first probably illustrates the desire for copiousness in the following example:

(23) ...saying þus, *Sponsabo te michi in fide*, ‘I schall bynde þe or wedde þe to me in þe takyng of fayth and lele trowth’.⁷³

In (23), the preacher offers “bynde þe or wedde þe” where the Latin reads simply *Sponsabo* and “of fayth or trowth” where the Latin reads *in fide*. The preacher here is possibly attempting to present the reader with a clearer sense of the meaning of the Latin words; he finds the word *spondeo* to incorporate the concepts of both binding and wedding, and the word *fide* to incorporate both faith and truth. Paradoxically, if the primary reason for the doubling is to present the reader with a more accurate translation in order to make the English rendering more self-sufficient, then the presence of doubled phrases in places where the original was clearly terser serves to highlight the imprecisions of translating, and the *contingency* of the English translation. In other words, the preacher’s attempt to present a clearer sense of the words of the Latin original also makes clear that he regards a single English word as insufficient and suggests that the doubling is used for clarification.

The second reading, when the doubled words present foreign-native pairs is suggested by (24):

(24) For þe fryst may be þat is wrytyn, *Actorum 15, Discernit Deus, fide purificans corda*, ‘Owre lord God discernis and knawys, purgyand and clensand manys sawle by trowth’.⁷⁴

In (24), the sermon translates *discernit* with “discernis and knawys,” and *purificans* with “purgyand and clensand.” The preacher offers for *discernit* the loan word “discerns” paired with the Old-English derived “knows”(even though the MED does record English attestations of *discern* from the late fourteenth century).⁷⁵ Presumably, the preacher provides both words because the borrowed Latin word might still be unfamiliar to his audience or be helped by further explanation. “Purify” also appears in the MED with late fourteenth-century attestations, but the preacher avoids choosing it and selects “purgyand and clensand” instead. This preacher’s copiousness must be an attempt to elaborate the word for his English listeners.

Similarly, sermons provide examples of two separate translations in their attempts to represent the Latin:

- (25) *Fides tua te saluam fecit* vbi supra: þe wordys þat I haue takyn at þis tyme to preche of are þe wordys of Cryst wrytyn in þe gospell of þis daye and þis feste, and were sayde onto þis gloriys woman, Mary Mawdelyn, qwath tyme scho kome to seke remedy and heele of hyre greuous woundys of synne be stedfast trowth of releuyng, saying to hyre on þis wyse, ‘Woman, þi trowth has made þe saf’, or ellys, ‘þi trowyng was þi sauynge’.⁷⁶

In this passage from the Harley 2268, the first English translation, “Woman, þi trowth has made þe saf,” presents a vocative “Woman” which is not in the Latin that he quotes. The second English translation, “þi trowyng was þi sauynge,” reconstructs the quotation into two gerunds for more felicitous aesthetic effect: “thy believing was thy saving.”

Does the primacy in these dual translations, therefore, belong to the English or the Latin? Should we read these passages as Latin citations with English renderings appended to make them more accessible to the audience? Or should we see them as English citations given with their accompanying Latin counterparts in order to sound more authoritative? The doubled words and the overly literal translations in the more scholarly sermons suggests the former: that the preacher attached priority to the Latin and

provided an English version in which he attempted to approximate the Latin words and syntax as closely as possible. Other sermons use Latin in ways that seem like mere adornment to the text, however. Preachers whose sermons were heavily laden with Latin were sometimes accused of showing off. And there are numerous sermons that merely invoke the Latin source, but do not provide the quotations in full. Quotation (26) is from the *Speculum Sacerdotale*:

(26) And when he come nye to the 3atis of helle, he criede with a gret voys sayinge:
 ‘Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et cetera.’ He seyde: ‘Vndo youre 3atis, 3e prynces, and the kynge of ioye schal entre in.’⁷⁷

The Latin quotation of Christ breaks off in the middle, though the English provides the entire speech. This practice is probably a feature of the written manuscript: the scribe saving paper by abbreviating a passage which would have been expanded in oral delivery. If the intended readers were clerics, the scribe could take for granted that they would fill in the blanks. Yet abbreviating Latin citations has the visual effect of privileging the English on the written page. The emphasis falls textually not upon the truncated Latin, but upon the vernacular rendering. It is even possible that the *et ceteras* were occasionally delivered by preachers, either because they were ignorant or forgetful of the source, or because they were adopting a clubby “of-course-we-all-know-this” attitude. A parody of this practice in the morality play *Mankind* suggests that the *et ceteras* may sometimes have been delivered orally as well:

“Corn servit bredibus, chaffe horsibus, straw firybusque.”

This is as moche to say, to yowr lewde undyrstondinge,

As: the corn shall serve to brede at the nexte bakinge;

“Chaff horsibus,” et reliqua,

The chaff to horse shall be goode provente;

When a man is for-colde, the straw may be brent,

And so forth, et cetera.⁷⁸

The final line of this passage of faux exegesis mocks the practice of abbreviating explications with *et ceteras*. If the contexts for the *et ceteras* in the sermons were always silently expanded by preachers, the final line of the above passage would present no joke.

Faithfulness in translating must also be balanced with attention to the rhetorical features of the source. The translations often reveal a penchant for the aesthetically pleasing turn of phrase which both highlights the preacher's skill with words and makes the text easier for audiences to remember.⁷⁹ This can be seen in:

(27) *Rosa cito decressit*, 'þe rose fatys in a day',...*Lilium putrescit*, 'þe lily rotys sone away',...*Olyua semper virescit*, 'þe olyue is grene and lastys allway'.

In (27), the translation selects words which rhyme in English to capture the Latin rhyme. Maintaining the rhyme seems to be more important than representing the exact words of the original, as does the metrical pattern of the translation: *putrescit* is translated as "rotys sone away," even though the Latin word does not have the temporal implications of "soon." Faithfulness in this instance implies fidelity to the rhyme of the Latin proverb and only loose fidelity to the sense of the words.

We see from these examples that verbatimness, then, does not seem always to be the aim of the English translations which deviate from the Latin source texts in numerous small ways. The following examples show us parts of the discourse which are particularly unstable.

(28) And trewly, says þe haly doctour Seyn Gregorie, ope þe same place, *Quot in se ergo habuit oblectamenta, tot de se inuenit holocausta*, 'As many', says he, 'lustys and lykyngys scho had to synne, so many d[e]uowte sacryfyse fand scho and so turnyd þe nownbyr and þe multitude of synnys into vertu'.⁸⁰

(29) ...and we þus do, as I haue schewyd, concludand þan þat I fynd wrytyn, *Tobie 2, Filii sanctorum sumus, et vitam illam expectamus quam Deus daturus est hys, qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo*, 'We are', says he, 'þe sonys of haly sayntys', þat is to say, and we þus lyue, and als I haue schewyd, and 'we abyde þat lyf þe

qwylk owre lorde God is to gyue þame þe qwylk neuyr chawngys þe trowth þat þai awe fra hym', þe qwylk is lyf aylastand, vnto þe qwylk lyf he bryng 3ow and me þat for vs deyde on þe rode tre. Amen.

In (28), the “says he” inquit clause is inserted into the English with no precedent in the Latin, and in (29), an inquit clause and another discourse marking phrase (“þat is to say...” etc.) interrupts the translation of the quotation. These discourse markers do not seem to count, somehow, as part of the citation; they are inserted into the English versions as though they were not perceived to threaten the integrity of the original. This corresponds to what I found in the study of verbs of speaking in Chapter 1; these verbs play a marginal role in the context of the discourse, functioning peripherally in the text.

2.3 Interpretation

The sermons in this sample make frequent use of reported speech and quotation more generally. Constructed according to the generic norms of the scholastic sermon, they continually seek sanction from scriptural and patristic sources, and this sanction comes in the form of quotations. Quotation practices in the sermons, however, reveal a perspective on faithfulness which does not always place verbatim fidelity as the highest end. First, the preachers do not always have their sources altogether straight. Examples abound of quotations which are not quite right: paraphrases rather than direct quotations, mistaken attributions, loose citations. This imprecision, which may stem partly from the composition practice of integrating pieces from primary and secondary sources, seems to be so fundamental as to be part of the preachers' conception of direct reporting. The evidence indicates that the writers attempted to be as faithful as possible, but that the levels of fidelity expected were not those of absolute precision that present-day readers expect from quotations of written sources. Second, in light of the restrictions of Arundel's Constitutions, the preachers were under political pressure to approach vernacular translation warily. The sermons, consequently, give quotations in Latin and

render them into English either in slavishly literal ways or in ways that perform more overt interpretation, so as to avoid censure. The passages that do translate Latin quotations into English also reveal other pressures upon the preacher: rhetorical reasons to avoid strict adherence to the literal. Thus, each of the following serve as motivation for less-than-verbatim translation: rhyme in proverbs, focus upon a single word in explication, and the desire to expand copiously upon the text. Direct speech in the sermons serves as a form for preachers to cite Biblical and theological precedents and support. The conventions of directly reporting speech, then, admit an understanding of faithfulness which is not limited to verbatim accuracy.

3. Conclusion

Slander depositions and sermons are two text types which have particular cause to employ reported discourse. Slander depositions rely upon the witness's report of the defendant's words to present the alleged crime. Sermons rely upon the preacher's report of Scripture and the opinions of the Church Fathers to present a theological message. In both cases, quotation is closely tied to code-switching and translation. The slander cases are in Latin with English quotations, and the sermons are in English with Latin quotations. Also in both cases, quotation occurs in direct and indirect speech with some sliding between the two.

The pressures upon the speech reports vary between the text types. Both genres are speech-based texts, but quotations within depositions are written renderings of spoken utterances, and quotations in sermons are citations of written authorities. Both genres labor under the limitations of memory, but sermons have an external source with which to compare a preacher's quotations, whereas witnesses generally report utterances in depositions with no other historical trace (except perhaps other depositions and trial records). Slander depositions have the unique feature that a witness's report is being

tacitly compared to a legal standard of defamation, and this serves as inducement for the quotation to conform to such a legal definition. And sermons have unique demands placed upon them by the desire of ecclesiastical power structures to regulate and contain lay access to holy writ. Thus, although these two genres place an unusually high premium upon faithfulness in quotation, both also entail specific pressures that serve to militate *against* verbatim quotation, rather than in favor of it. A witness's account of a defendant's speech is only useful if the speech is legally actionable. And sermons are expected to function within a regulated space for scriptural translation/quotation which provides strict penalties for transgression. If there is an unspoken pressure for quotations to be faithful, therefore, these pragmatic constraints of genre provide converse pressures to compel faithfulness to other ideals. And these conflicting constraints tug at the conception of "faithfulness," pulling it away from a strictly verbatim understanding.

Contemporary models of direct speech are divided, as we saw in the work of current linguists. But direct speech in present-day English, even if it does not compel verbatim reporting in everyday language, still maintains a conception of fidelity to the words of the original utterance in more formal settings like the courtroom and in citations of written texts. This verbatim assumption, though imperfect in realization, informs the way that direct speech is perceived, as is evident in usage manuals' assessments of quotation. This study finds not the absence of a sense of verbatim reporting but rather a greater acceptance of non-verbatim quotation in late medieval sermons and slander depositions than in their present-day equivalents.

This acceptance, I argue, is linked to the less-determined systems of marking speech and distinguishing between direct and indirect speech. In a textual environment where direct discourse is not governed by quotation marks, writers do not distinguish it as categorically from indirect discourse. While I do not wish to portray a straightforward cause-and-effect relationship between the absence of quotation marks and the understanding of quotation, I do suggest that the systems of representing speech are tied

to the conception of speech representation, and that they are mutually influential. The clean separation in present-day English is more blurred in late Middle English. The oppositions which describe our present-day distinctions between the two, therefore, are not yet fully in place. The *de re / de dicto* dichotomy, for example, does not always divide neatly the modes of reported speech in these texts. Many of the instances of direct speech seem to claim only a *de re* fidelity to the original material. These texts reveal that the hermeneutics of quotation in late Middle English texts both creates and is created by the pragmatics of speech marking.

NOTES:

¹ Ann Raimés, *Keys for Writers*, 3rd edition ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), 376.

² T. F. Husband and M. F. A. Husband, *Punctuation: Its Principles and Practice* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1905), 122.

³ See Deborah Tannen, *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, ed. John Gumperz, vol. 6, *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Monika Fludernik, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1993), Meir Sternberg, "Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Dialogue," *Poetics Today* 3, no. 2 (1982), Herbert H. Clark and Richard J. Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations," *Language* 66, no. 4 (1990) and Elizabeth Wade and Herbert H. Clark, "Reproduction and Demonstration in Quotations," *Journal of Memory and Language* 32 (1993).

⁴ Deborah Tannen, "Introducing Constructed Dialogue in Greek and American Conversational and Literary Narrative," in *Direct and Indirect Speech*, ed. Florian Coulmas, *Trends in Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986), Tannen, *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, 101.

⁵ Fludernik, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction*, 22.

⁶ Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations," and Wade and Clark, "Reproduction and Demonstration in Quotations," .

⁷ Patricia Mayes, "Quotation in Spoken English," *Studies in Language* 14, no. 2 (1990): 331.

⁸ Michael Toolan, "Review: *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction*," *Language and Literature* 3, no. 3 (1994), Mick Short, Martin Wynne, and Elena Semino, "Reading Reports: Discourse Presentation in a Corpus of Narratives, with Special Reference to News Reports," in *English Via Various Media*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Diller, Erwin Otto, and Gerd Stratmann (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1999), Elena Semino, Mick Short, and Jonathan Culpeper, "Using a Corpus to Test a Model of Speech and Thought Presentation," *Poetics* 25 (1997), Mick Short, Elena Semino, and Jonathan Culpeper, "Using a Corpus for Stylistics Research: Speech and Thought Presentation," in *Using Corpora for Language Research*, ed. Jenny Thomas and Mick Short (London: Longman, 1996) , Collins, *Reanimated Voices: Speech Reporting in a Historical-Pragmatic Perspective* .

⁹ Short, Semino, and Wynne, "Revisiting the Notion of Faithfulness in Discourse Presentation Using a Corpus Approach," 328.

¹⁰ Merja Kytö and Terry Walker, "The Linguistic Study of Early Modern English Speech-Related Texts: How "Bad" Can "Bad" Data Be?," *Journal of English Linguistics* 31, no. 3 (2003).

¹¹ See Florian Coulmas, "Reported Speech: Some General Issues," in *Direct and Indirect Speech*, ed. Florian Coulmas, *Trends in Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986), 13 for discussion of cultural differences and Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations," for discussion of generic differences.

¹² Lourens J. de Vries, "Some Remarks on Direct Quotation in Kombai," in *Unity in Diversity: Papers Presented to Simon C. Dik on His 50th Birthday*, ed. Harm Pinkster and Inge Genee (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications, 1990).

¹³ Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy, 2nd ed., *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000 [1960]), 27-28.

¹⁴ Banfield, "Narrative Style and the Grammar of Direct and Indirect Speech," 5, Barbara Hall Partee, "The Syntax and Semantics of Quotation," in *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, ed. S. Anderson and P. Kiparsky (New York: Holt, 1973), 414, Coulmas, "Reported Speech: Some General Issues," 3.

¹⁵ Partee, "The Syntax and Semantics of Quotation," 415.

¹⁶ "lettre (n.)" Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn and Robert E. Lewis, eds., *Middle English Dictionary, Online Version in Middle English Compendium* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001).

¹⁷ Book III, 395c-e, Plato, "Republic," in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 396.

¹⁸ Anne Hudson, "Miracle Plays," in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997 [1978]), 97-106.

¹⁹ Erick Kelemen, "Drama in Sermons: Quotation, Performativity, and Conversion in a Middle English Sermon on the Prodigal Son and in a *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*," *ELH* 69 (2002): 10.

²⁰ Culpeper and Kytö, "Data in Historical Pragmatics: Spoken Interaction (Re)Cast as Writing," , Hope, "Second Person Singular Pronouns in Records of Early Modern 'Spoken' English," 84.

²¹ Moore, "The Treatment of Direct Speech in Early Modern Slander Depositions," .

²² Bridget Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), and Helmholz, *Select Cases on Defamation to 1600*.

²³Helmholz's texts are a collection of cases on the private law of defamation and include no criminal cases. Cusack does include some cases from the Star Chamber, but these are proportionally overwhelmed by the other records.

²⁴ One Yorkshire deposition (though not a slander case) that Cusack cites, for example, used the Chancery form in the formulaic part of the text (*i.e.* the voice of the clerk), but used the local Northern form in the direct speech part of the text (the reported voice of the witness). "The said Thomas Sayth that the said Christoffer... after the said sir Iohn Bulmer. Sayd lyes then thy handd in thy swerd to me" Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader*, 104. My underscore indicates the *-th* ending of the Chancery form and the *-s* ending of the northern form.

²⁵ Schendl, "Mixed Language Texts as Data and Evidence in English Historical Linguistics," 65.

²⁶ Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader*, 31.

²⁷ Helmholz, *Select Cases on Defamation to 1600*, 16-17.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁹ Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader*, 18.

³⁰ Helmholz, *Select Cases on Defamation to 1600*, 60.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

³² *Ibid.*, 24.

³³In the texts taken from Helmholz, I have reproduced his translations of the depositions, on the principle that his legal Latin is superior to my own. I reproduce, therefore, his substitution of "thou" pronouns with "you" pronouns, even though the original pronouns employed should, of course, be considered in language work.

³⁴ Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader*, 28.

³⁵ March, 48.

³⁶ Helmholz, *Select Cases on Defamation to 1600*, 92.

³⁷ Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader*, 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴¹ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 82.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 302.

⁴³ Cusack, ed., *Everyday English 1500-1700: A Reader*, 25

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- ⁴⁴ H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 34.
- ⁴⁵ Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 62; G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450*, ed. G. G. Coulton, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1965 [1926]), 312.
- ⁴⁶ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period C. 1350-1450*, 328.
- ⁴⁷ Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. XXIII*, vol. Original Series, 209, *Early English Text Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), see Introduction, xlvi, and 225, and 364n.
- ⁴⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 3:245.
- ⁴⁹ Anne Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), 148; Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70, no. 4 (1995): 829.
- ⁵⁰ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period C. 1350-1450*, 225, 29.
- ⁵¹ Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, 182.
- ⁵² Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, vol. 38, *Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997 [1978]), 68.
- ⁵³ For a discussion of issues of authority and Wycliffite translation, see Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- ⁵⁴ G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 69. See also Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 87.
- ⁵⁵ Edward H. Weatherly, ed., *Speculum Sacerdotale, Edited from British Museum Ms. Additional 36791*, vol. 200, *Original Series* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936); Theodor Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial, Edited from Bodl. Ms Gough Eccl. Top. 4, with Variant Readings from Other Mss.*, vol. 96, *Original Series* (London: Early English Text Society, 1905); D. M. Grisdale, ed.,

Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F. 10., vol. 5 (Leeds: 1939); Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. XXIII*; Veronica M. O'Mara, ed., *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, vol. 13, *Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series* (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, 1994); Veronica O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, vol. 33, *Middle English Texts* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002).

⁵⁶ O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, 77-78.

⁵⁷ Sabine Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching: Rhetoric for Listeners in Sermons and Poetry*, vol. 34, *Scriptoralia* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1991), 102.

⁵⁸ Anne Hudson, "A Lollard Sermon-Cycle and Its Implications," *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971), Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, 291-2.

⁵⁹ O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, 80.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 86, 147n. For other examples, see Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. XXIII*. See page 373, note to 278, line 13; page 375, note to 287, line 26; page 377, note to 309, line 25; page 378, note to 319, line 33; page 380, note to 327, line 12.

⁶¹ Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. Xxiii*, 33, 344n.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 156, 356n.

⁶³ *Ibid.* See note on 360 to quotation from Bernard, 199.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* See note on 356. For another example of a preacher summarizing Gregory rather than quoting him, see 264, line 15 and note on 372.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* See page 368 notes to 246, line 37 and 247, line 20.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 347n.

⁶⁷ Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching: Rhetoric for Listeners in Sermons and Poetry*, 82.

⁶⁸ O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, 117.

⁶⁹ Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. XXIII*, 27, 343n.

⁷⁰ O'Mara, ed., *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, 162.

⁷¹ Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, 68.

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- ⁷² Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, 123.
- ⁷³ O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, 117.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.
- ⁷⁵ See MED, *discernen* (v), (3).
- ⁷⁶ O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, 108.
- ⁷⁷ Weatherly, ed., *Speculum Sacerdotale, Edited from British Museum Ms. Additional 36791*, 119.
- ⁷⁸ David Bevington, ed., *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), 905.
- ⁷⁹ Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and Its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978), 66.
- ⁸⁰ O'Mara, ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library Ms Harley 2268*, 109.

Chapter 3: Reported Speech in Literary Texts

As we have seen, neither medieval authors nor scribes were bound by uniform conventions of marking speech; rather, they used multiple systems, entailing varying degrees of precision. Since premodern texts could assume greater and lesser levels of definiteness in regards to marking speech, then, authors had some degree of choice in the methods that they employed or did not employ. Early medieval texts evince a certain degree of “slipping” between indirect and direct discourse: passages which begin in indirect discourse switch to direct discourse midstream.¹ Stylistically resembling the historical present tense in Romance languages (and in English), the slipping from indirect to direct discourse in the middle of a passage of narrative can create emphasis in an account, an emphasis that Gerald Richman argues can make this slipping artful rather than accidental.² And if the distinctions between direct and indirect discourse could be collapsed for aesthetic effect in early medieval texts, can ambiguity in the marking of speech be used purposefully for the same reason in late medieval texts? My research suggests that some late medieval poets do exploit the fact that the onset and termination of speech need not be clearly marked.

This conclusion has not been the usual one of editorial scholars. Norman Blake asserts that medieval punctuation methods would have permitted multiple readings of texts, but stops short of saying that these multiple readings might have been intended by authors:

It is a pleasant irony that our age which is so keen to exploit ambiguity in its own literature should seek to limit its operation in texts of earlier ages. *I do not mean by this that medieval writers were trying to exploit ambiguity, but simply that their punctuation would have allowed their*

audiences to understand what they had composed in rather diverse ways
[italics mine].³

And Mary-Jo Arn states this position still more strongly: “It is an insupportable assumption that, just because an author is in our opinion great, any possible ambiguity in his work is intentional.”⁴ Blake and Arn caution that possible ambiguity does not imply purposeful ambiguity, and this is indeed an important distinction. Authorial intention is a delicate subject, as previously discussed, and becomes increasingly so as we consider texts from earlier periods. Claims as to what an author was thinking are always speculative, and as such are only of limited value. But since we cannot know the intention of an author, we must rely upon the effect, or possible effects, of the existing texts. Interpreting texts necessitates that we bear in mind the possible readings that arise from a text, and scrupulous editing of texts necessitates that we not block any of these possible readings. As far as we can tell, most writers of the late medieval period use the systems of speech marking only to set off the represented speech in their texts as clearly as they deemed necessary, and not with a eye to any demonstrable effect. Nevertheless, as this chapter shows, some poets seem to mark speech in such a way that ambiguity as to the speaker or to the boundaries of the speech creates a double reading which is significant. And our scholarly caution should not forbid us from considering that this double reading, if not demonstrably intended, is at least intrinsic to the literary project.

Literary scholars have long been interested in the possibilities of productive ambiguity.⁵ Ambiguity, in fact, is often a literary/rhetorical strategy rather than a communicative one, because it would seem to work counter to conventions of clarity. In his list of cooperative principles of communication, Grice’s second maxim of manner is “Avoid ambiguity,” and indeed much communication does not benefit from multiple possible interpretations.⁶ Although there are reasons why ambiguity might be exploited as a communicative strategy, it is generally a feature to be avoided: an impediment to communication. Its presence in a literary form suggests either that the author is either too

careless or unskilled enough to avoid the ambiguity, or that the author has invoked a multivalent interpretation for some purpose.

This chapter examines the works of three late medieval English poets, selected for their close attention to poetic and rhetorical forms. The poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland and the anonymous poet of British Library, Cotton Nero A.10 use reported speech in ways that encourage reading for the aesthetic possibilities of purposeful ambiguity. Here I examine their works, generally in edited texts, and consider the ways that modern editors have added interpreting levels of punctuation to speech marking and the effect that this practice has had upon our reading of the texts. Even though the citations that I make from edited texts contain editorial punctuation, I will often ask the reader to look past the punctuation – to study the works beneath it. With each poet's work, I pursue the ways in which speech marking operates, and then the significance of this less-determined speech marking for their poetic and rhetorical ambitions.

1. Poet of Cotton Nero A.10

British Library, Cotton Nero MS A.10 contains the poems *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, *Patience* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and is generally considered to present the work of a single author – usually called the *Gawain*-poet or the *Pearl*-poet. The works of the *Gawain*-poet serve as a good example of the aesthetic effects of ambiguity in speech marking because of the deliberate and painstaking poetic craft demonstrated in the construction of the poems. *Pearl*, for example, contains rhymed alliterative verse with controlled stanzaic patterns and meticulous poetic repetition of particular words or phrases through different sections of the poem. This poem evidences such an extraordinary degree of formal control as to make clear that the ambiguities of speech marking can hardly be accidental. Ross Arthur examines the philosophical and semiotic

ideas which developed after Augustine about the multivalency of signs and asserts that the development of word analysis and signs with multiple meanings had created a very sophisticated understanding of ambiguity by the latter fourteenth century. He states: “the *Gawain*-poet was intensely concerned with the productive possibilities of controlled ambiguity.”⁷ The controlled ambiguity of signs that Arthur observes can also be found in relation to other aspects of the text; this research pursues it with regard to questions of voice.

The four poems in the manuscript pursue different poetic projects: *Pearl* is a dream vision presenting a meditation on beauty, virtue and heaven, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is a narrative presenting a dilemma of morals and honor, and *Patience* and *Cleanness* are homiletic discussions of biblical passages and the ways that they exemplify and instruct on particular virtues. Although they each have different objectives and employ different techniques, all of the poems in the manuscript confront questions of moral goodness and present their deliberations in sophisticated and complex poetic form. Since an integral facet of this complexity can be found in the poet’s negotiation of the textual layers of discourse, the hermeneutic and poetic implications of speech marking become particularly relevant to our critical understanding of the poems. In *Patience* and *Cleanness*, the speech marking helps to construct the homiletic insights of the poems; in *Pearl*, it acts together with the formal structure to emphasize the semantic shifts which the poem invokes to teach salvific lessons; and in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, it helps to construct Gawain’s subjectivity, taking the reader through his thoughts and logic while simultaneously providing clues for us to evaluate the moral dilemma. I will argue that the *Gawain*-poet employs less-determined techniques of speech marking to construct the homiletic insights, moral dilemmas and narrative frames of the poems and to assist the reader narratively and rhetorically in their interpretation.

1.1 Switches between direct and indirect speech and narrative

First, it will be helpful to consider some examples of shifting which occur in the poems of Cotton Nero A.10, and classify the kinds of discourse shifts that the texts illustrate. The poems contain passages which shift quickly in and out of direct speech as a method of reporting intruding voices. These quick intrusions of voice produce a vivid aural effect, as in these instances from the first hunting scene in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:

(1) Þe hindez were halden in wiþ ‘Hay!’ and ‘War!’ (SGGK 1158)⁸

and then:

(2) What! Þay brayen and bleden, bi bonkkez þay deʒen (SGGK 1163)

In (1), the intrusions of voice present the exclamations called out while hunting, and in the second, the exclamation mimics the surprised sound of the dying hinds. This dynamic of brief intrusions of direct speech is employed in the hunting scenes to underscore the fast pace of the endeavor, and the abruptness of the interjection mirrors the abruptness of the activity. This same technique is used in the later hunting scene as well:

(3) Þise other halowed ‘Hyghe!’ ful hyʒe, and ‘Hay! Hay!’ cryed,
Haden hornes to mouthe, heterly rechated (1445-6).

and

(4) Quat! hit clatered in þe clyff, as hit cleue schulde,
As one vpon a gryndelston hade grounden a sythe.
What! hit wharred and whette, as water at a mulne;
What! hit rusched and ronge, rawþe to here (2201-4).

The sounds in (3) are again the cries of the hunters, and the sounds in (4) imitate the noise of the grindstone whetting the blade. In their edition, Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron put quotation marks around the voiced sounds in (1) and (3), but do not punctuate the sounds in (2) or (4); J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon, on the other hand,

add exclamation points to these passages but not quotation marks or capital letters.⁹ Andrew and Waldron's editorial decision to punctuate some of these intrusions as direct speech but not others creates a division between the texts based on the source of the noise. For example, the interjections in (4) are lexical representations of non-human sounds, so they are not treated as speech. Marking some aural intrusions and not others, however, treats different "voices" in different ways, and masks the fact that the poet uses many kinds of sound representation. Consider the onomatopoeic verbs in (5):

- (5) He hurtez of the houndez, and þay
 Ful 3omerly *zaule* and *zelle* [italics mine](1451-2).

The categorical differences between an onomatopoeic verb and an interjected word of direct speech are less pronounced in the absence of quotation marks, just as the categorical differences between an interjected word of direct (human) speech and an interjected word directly depicting (non-human) noise are less pronounced. These distinctions that operate in our current system of quotation marks are not yet in place for the *Pearl*-poet, and the indeterminacy of what one might call the "direct-speech-ness" of his interjections leave him freer to switch between different (including non-human) voices.

The category boundaries also seem to be looser regarding clause-length switches into direct speech:

- (6) Bot the burde hym blessed and 'Bi þis skyl' sayde:
 'So god as Gawayn gaynly is halden...' (1296-7)

The 'Bi þis skyl' preface to the direct speech does not conform to modern conventions of direct speech – it serves as a brief intrusion of direct speech before the verb and the onset of the main passage of direct speech. Similarly in line 2068, there is a line of interjected speech as Gawain declares his own intentions:

- (7) His haþel on hors watz þenne,
 þat bere his spere and launce.

‘Þis kastel to Kryst I kenne’:

He gef hit ay god chaunce (2065-9).

The discourse switches briefly to the voice of Gawain, in its narrative description of his activity. These short clips of represented speech are not jarring in the manuscript, where they are not set apart with quotation marks. Sliding between the third person account of his actions and the first person of Gawain’s voice, the discourse smoothly integrates Gawain’s subjectivity into his narrative description. The narrative accounts of speaking also shift into speech without marking:

- (8) And al godly in gomen Gawayn he [Lord Bertilak] called,
 Techez hym to þe tayles of ful tayt bestes,
 Schewez hym þe schyree grece schorne vpon rybbes:
 ‘How payez yow this play? Haf I prys wonnen?
 Haue I tryuandely þonk þurȝ my craft serued?’ (1376-80)

The discourse moves from the host’s indirect reporting of the hunt, as he “techez hym” the tales, to a direct question about the end of the bargain: “How payez yow this play?” Switching to direct speech highlights the dramatic value of this question, as the reader waits to hear what Gawain will reveal to the host.

The poet also moves easily not only between direct speech and narration, but between indirect and direct speech.

- (9) And he nay þat he nolde neghe in no wyse
 Nauþer golde ne garysoun, er God hym grace sende
 To acheue to þe chaunce þat he hade chosen þere.
 ‘And þerfore I pray yow displese yow noȝt
 And lettez be your business, for I bayþe hit yow neuer
 To graunte.
 I am derely to yow biholde
 Bicause of your semblaunt,

And euer in hot and colde
 To be your trwe seruaunt.' (1836-1846).

In this passage, the indirect account of Gawain rejecting the lady's gift changes to a direct report of his diplomatic attempt to avoid offense. The verb chosen to indirectly report his rejection is “nay” probably a form of the verb *naiten* ‘to deny’ (*MED*, v(2)). But this form of the verb is identical to the interjection *nay* ‘no’ and might therefore approximate aurally the negative with which Gawain begins his speech, a brief overtone of direct speech. The switches into direct speech (or the suggestion of speech), then, occur at moments of emphasis – Gawain's initial rejection and then the socially dextrous conclusion wherein Gawain must preserve the lady's feelings.

1.2 Direct speech and markedness

Switching from indirect to direct discourse (an effect encouraged by the ambiguous marking of speech forms) seems to be a feature of narration designed to heighten the audience's sensation of closeness to the action at particularly dramatic points, analogous perhaps to the use of “historical present” verbs. But, just as Kiparsky discusses and rejects the “vividness” premise for HP verbs (that the historical present is primarily used for increased vividness),¹⁰ so we might reconsider the direct-speech transitions. First, though the direct speech does seem to create a sense of immediacy, it is not clear that this increase in vividness is a necessary attribute, even in these examples. Also, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* contains switching in the reverse direction: from direct to indirect discourse:

- (10) ‘Inoz,’ quof Sir Gawayn,
 ‘I þonk yow, bi the Rode’
 And how the fox watz slayn
 He tolde hym as þay stode (1948-51).

Gawain speaks first, and his thanks are presented directly, whereas the host's recounting of the hunt is presented indirectly. Can this be explained as an attempted decrease in vividness? The hunt would generally be considered the more vivid event. Instead, it seems more meaningful to complicate this conception a bit, focusing on *emphasis*, which may or may not intend to amplify vividness. Just as the switches from indirect to direct speech serve to create end-emphasis, so in this passage, the narrative's pull back from direct to indirect speech serves to emphasize the first two lines, rather than the tale of the hunt which the reader has already heard. This construction of syntactic methods for narrative emphasis can be better explained by the model of markedness.

Roman Jakobson defines markedness in "The Grammatical Concepts of the Russian Verb":

The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain (whether positive or negative) property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A.¹¹

This concept of the opposition between grammatically marked and unmarked forms has been borrowed and extended to many branches of linguistics and narrative systems, and Suzanne Fleischman applies it productively to the tense switching between past and present tense verbs which occurs in medieval texts.¹² The primary complication to the model of marked and unmarked forms is the act of determining which form is the marked one, and which the unmarked one. Fleischman points out that though in most spoken language the unmarked form seems to be the present tense and the marked form the past tense, in narrative language, the past is the unmarked form of discourse and the present the marked form. But she goes on to qualify (and this is the crux): "Any context or subcontext may set up its own norms in contrast to those of the larger context: a figure in relation to the ground."¹³ It is this distinction that makes the conception of markedness

more appropriate than vividness as a criterion: the switched form acts in response to a contextually-defined norm, and as such serves as a grammatical tool for the poet to emphasize particular aspects of the narrative.

Markedness has two applications for the questions of voice: the poet can use marked forms to alert us to the presence of voice, and he can use voice-switches as a way of marking the text and creating emphasis. We can see the possibilities of creating emphasis by using speech-transitions to mark text if we consider an editorial crux in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:

- (11) Þus þay meled of muchquat til mydmorn paste,
 And ay þe lady let lyk as hym loued mych;
 Þe freke ferde with defence, and feted ful fayre--
 ‘Þa3 I were burde bry3test’, þe burde in mynde hade.
 Þe lasse luf in his lode for lur þat he so3t
 boute hone,
 Þe dunte þat schulde hym deue,
 And nede3 hit most be done.
 Þe lady þenn spek of leue,
 He granted hir ful sone’ (1280-1289).¹⁴

In this passage, the lady pretends to love Gawain and he resists her. She thinks to herself that though she might be the loveliest of women, still he would resist her because of his coming ordeal. She then asks for leave to go, which Gawain quickly grants her. This is not, however, how the primary editors have interpreted the passage; their editorial decisions indicate other readings. Andrew and Waldron, following R. Morris and Israel Gollancz, emend the text and change the pronouns: “þa3 ho were burde br3test þe burne in mynde hade.”¹⁵ Emending the passage attributes the thought to Gawain rather than the lady (“burne” as opposed to “burde”) and eliminates the switch in deictic markers (“ho” instead of “I”), removing the brief intrusion of direct speech. This intrusion has clearly

proven muddling for modern editors, but it is perhaps intended to emphasize something. If we read 1281-2 as narration describing the scene, then the voice is objective, informing the audiences that the lady is *pretending* to love Gawain. The changed pronouns in line 1283, then, can be read as marked forms, clues to a switch into direct reporting of thought, done for emphasis. This would make sense, if we also attribute 1284-1287 to the thoughts of the lady. Norman Davis seems reluctant to do this, and assert that taking line 1284 as part of the lady's thought would create a serious flaw in the handling of the plot because the story has given her no opportunity to know that Gawain is obliged to face the blow from the Green Knight.¹⁶ It seems more likely that the lady has been let in on the secret, that her husband has made her a co-conspirator in the project to test/trick Gawain. So her knowledge of the coming blow from the Green Knight would not be a flaw, only her revealing of it to the audience. If we read this as a marked passage, however, then we can interpret it as a clue to the audience – a hint which lets them know more than Gawain about the situation at hand. This reading, moreover, is completely consistent with the narrative clue to the audience in 1281 that the lady was being deceptive (*let lyk as hym loued mych*), and consistent with the fact that the lady decides to leave the room. Dropping hints to the audience of Gawain's imperfect understanding of the situation and the lady's possible knowledge of Gawain's ordeal seems plausible, and makes good rhetorical/narrative sense. And if we read 1283 as a switch into direct reporting of thought, then it seems reasonable that the direct thought would carry over in 1284-7. Reading this passage as direct speech marks it in contrast to the preceding narration, a markedness which has the effect of emphasizing the section from 1283-7 – showing that this passage presents a departure from the previous discourse in dropping clues to the reader about the actual state of the relationship between Gawain and the lady. The concept of markedness can be used in interpreting passages which switch between voices; it can help us to more clearly understand some passages which have puzzled editors.

Understanding which forms constitute marked ones for the poet allow us to determine which elements the poet considered worthy of emphasis. At the same time, we need to remember that editors add markedness of their own, and that the addition of quotation marks adds a marking layer onto the text which highlights certain passages.

Consider the following from *Pearl*:

(12) ‘“Er date of daye hider arm we wonne’

So watz al samen her ansvar soʒt” (516-7).

The string of quotation marks that introduces this passage presents the speech of the unemployed men, spoken by Christ, presented by Matthew, spoken by the Pearl Maiden. The massed quotation marks point to a complicated verbal dynamic, and they serve to distance us from the words far more than the poet's method of simply stating the speaker after the words, without reminding us of all the layers of embedding. The editing marks this embedded speech far more than the internal linguistic features, which highlight different elements. In Jonah's long repentance speech to God in *Patience* (305-336) he has a section of quoted discourse in which he reports his previous speech within the direct report of his current speech:

(13) ‘And ʒet I sayde as I seet in the se boþem:

“Careful am I, kest out fro þy cler yʒen

And deseuered fro þy syʒt; ʒet surely I hope

Efte to trede on þy temple and teme to þyseluen” (313-6).

This embedded speech is surrounded with double quotation marks, making the distinction between speech and speech within speech into ground and figure. But without the quotation marks, levels of speech are not the key to figure and ground; that primary sense of markedness resides in the verbs. The passage is largely characterized by past tense verbs: “Lorde, to the haf I cleped” (305), “I calde” (307), and “I am wrapped” (317). And this serves to mark the end of the speech, as Jonah switches to present tense verbs, “I wot” (330), and finally, “I dewoutly awowe” (333). The final verbs of Jonah's speech tip

the reader off to a type of speech differing from the early part: a speech act in which Jonah makes a vow using first-person present tense verbs. For the medieval audience, this style-shifting into the tropes of the courtly oath, the pledging of troth to a lord, would certainly have been a distinctive transition – Jonah's pledge is an action, and a significant one in a feudal society. So, the marked forms of the poet's discourse, the verb-switching and speech-transitions, point to a different set of emphasized sections of text than do our current conventions of marking.

The poet also seems to employ some level of play with the marking of direct speech in contrast to indirect speech. A degree of artfulness characterizes the slipping between direct and indirect speech, giving the reader samples of the perspectives of different characters. For example, in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, the text provides small intrusions of voice:

(14) Til Mezelmas mone
 Watz cumen wyth wynter wage;
 þen þenkkez Gawan ful sone
 Of his anious uyage (532-535).

The word ‘anious’ (‘troublesome’) in line 535 seems to voice Gawain’s way of thinking about the journey. It is possible, of course, that the narrator agrees that the trek will be troublesome, but the bias of the word together with its use in a construction governed by the verb “þenkkez” suggests that the judgment of the voyage's troublesomeness is Gawain’s. This bias reflects differing degrees of knowledge between the poet and character because the poet knows the outcome of the journey.

Modernist works display an artful slipping similar to this, termed free indirect style,¹⁷ which is not the same thing. Voloshinov draws a distinction between free indirect style and medieval shifting when he asserts: “No clearly marked boundaries between direct discourse and indirect discourse existed then. The Old French storyteller was as yet unable to separate the figures of his fantasy from his own ‘I’.”¹⁸ *Sir Gawain and the*

Green Knight, though, depends upon the difference in knowledge between the characters and the poet (or narrator), so the poet could clearly separate the figures in the tale from his own voice. It does seem, however, as though premodern texts do not have the same boundaries between direct and indirect discourse. Florian Coulmas warns against confusing a disarray of points of view with free indirect style in his analysis of the two.¹⁹ The direct/indirect slipping in the works of the *Gawain*-poet does not seem to be a disarray of points of view, but it cannot be termed free indirect style in the modernist sense. My own speculation is that free indirect style as it functions in modern texts developed after a division between direct speech and indirect speech became more fixed with the spread of the convention of quotation marks to mark direct speech, and serves as a reaction against the clear constraint of the direct/indirect dichotomy. For free indirect style to be possible, therefore, direct speech and indirect speech must be clearly distinguished, and premodern texts do not present evidence of such levels of distinction.

Nevertheless, one does not need the term “free indirect style” to see that the works of the *Gawain*-poet clearly present an artful indeterminacy of voice. In the following passage, for example, Gawain praises the boar which the hunters have killed:

(15) And praysed hit as gret prys þat he proued hade,
 For suche a browne of a best, þe bolde burne sayde,
 Ne such sydes of a swyn segh he neuer are (1630-3).

The narration “þe bolde burne sayde” would seem to be a verb of speaking indicating that the preceding and following clauses are direct speech. They sound very much like direct speech, in fact, voicing the praise of Gawain for the beast rather than the narrator's objective description of the hog. But the pronoun in 1633 prevents the editor from marking it as direct speech. I suggest that this is a case of artful slipping between direct and indirect speech: Gawain's opinion is voiced, without a meticulous reporting of his words.

The artful slipping hypothesis also provides reasonable solutions to important debated textual points. In one interpretative crux, the narrator describes Gawain going to confession after keeping the girdle from the host and before going to the Green Chapel. He says that the priest "...asoyled hym surely and sette hym so clene/ As domezday schulde haf ben diȝt on þe morn" (1883-4). Gollancz comments that Gawain makes a sacrilegious confession and that the poet is unconscious of the fact. Davis contradicts him, "This is unacceptable. A poet so concerned with Gawain's piety and attention to religious observances could not fail to 'notice' sacrilege...the poet evidently did not regard the retention of the girdle as one of Gawain's [sins], which required to be confessed."²⁰ Yet it is hard to believe that the poet would not consider Gawain's retention of the girdle and breaking of his word to Lord Bertilak a sin. And Gawain cannot have confessed this, because restitution and penance would have required that he restore the girdle to the Lord (a detail which would have disrupted the progression of events). Rather, I propose that the perspective of these lines is not the objective narrator's, but is a slip into the thought of Gawain. Gawain believes that he has made a full confession, or perhaps is reassuring himself that he has, and the passage can be read in this regard as giving voice to the inner judgments of Gawain. This sort of artful slipping is a way that the *Gawain*-poet plays with the fluidity of the presentation of direct and indirect discourse, using indeterminate marking for aesthetic effect.

1.3 Indeterminate speakers in *Pearl*

Up to this point, I have addressed the fluidity between direct, indirect speech and narrative, and the ways that this allows the poet to employ switching for effects of markedness. Now, I will turn to a particular study in the aesthetic and rhetorical possibilities of ambiguities in speech marking in *Pearl*, to show just how fundamental issues of speech marking can be for the poet's ambitions. One feature of *Pearl*'s formal structure is the use of concatenation – stanza linking by means of words repeated from

the last line of one stanza in the first line of the next, linking stanzas in each fit. The poem's frequent practice of switching speakers at the stanza breaks creates a momentary indeterminacy for the initial words of the stanza. Consider an example in (16):

(16) '...Oþer ellez a lady of lasse aray;
Bot a quene!– hit is to dere a date.'

'þer is no date of Hys godnesse,
þen sayde to me þat worthy wyȝte,
'For al is trawthe þat He con dresse...' (491-495)

The voice changes at the stanza break (the empty line between stanzas is editorial, and the stanzas are differentiated in the original only by rhyme scheme and by the concatenation words²¹), and the new speaker is not explicitly identified until several words into the speech. This has several effects. The fact that there are no speech markers until the second line of the second stanza means that the transition to the new speaker is unstated for the first words. In a linear reading or listening experience, the words are still attributed to the previous speaker, and not until the new speaker is identified does the reader realize there has been a transition of voice, and reassess the speaker of the lines. I suspect that the reader will often catch onto the switch in speaker as it is happening (and a listener would potentially have the modulation of the reader's voice as a cue), but the poetic construction presents a flash of ambiguity until the discourse clarifies that the switch has indeed occurred. The unmarked switching of voice creates a blurring in the voice of certain words for the listener/reader. The poet uses this technique repeatedly: of the 22 entries of a new speaker into the text, 17 (or three-quarters) of them occur at the stanza break. And every one of the abrupt speaker switches which change the voice from one to the other without a prior "he sayde" clause occur at the stanza break. This implies that the stanza break is a salient way of marking

the discourse of the text as well as the meter, and it results in these unmarked switches which occur at the words of concatenation linking the stanzas.

If we further consider the poet's play with semantic variation, the fact that he chooses multi-valent words introducing them in their worldly senses and shifting to their spritual senses, we see the force of an indeterminate speaker. In (16), for example, the Maiden takes up the Dreamer's word *date* from line 492 in order to shift his terms from the earthly conception of rank to a heavenly one. The Dreamer uses the words in reference to the courtly hierarchy, telling the Maiden that she is too young to become a queen, and the Maiden gently corrects him, pointing out that the hierarchy of God is not the hierarchy of man. She repeats his word *date*, recontextualizing and redefining it. The poet employs this semantic sleight of hand repeatedly, redefining "jueler," "blysse," "cortaysye," "maskellez," "neuer þe les," and "motelez."

The repetitions of concatenating words by a new speaker can change the form and purpose of the word as well as its meaning. (17) is taken from the facsimile, to show the difference in layout between this example and the last:

(17) lyk to þe quen of cortaysye
 Cortayse quen þene sayde þat gaye
 knelande to grounde, folde vp hyr face
 makelez moder & myryest may
 blessed bygyner of vch a grace (f44v-45r)

In this transition, the concatenating word moves from being an element of the Dreamer's definite description ("the queen of courtesy") to the Maiden's direct address of Mary ("courteous queen"); the Maiden redirects the purpose of the words in order to shift the terms of their discussion. In fact, by switching to prayer and deferring to a higher power in 435, she exercises a form of authority over the Dreamer through her ability to control the direction of dialogue and the function of the terms of their discussion. She asserts in this the benevolent authority of a teacher, underscoring the pedagogical operation of

repetition and imitation: two of the most-frequently emphasized techniques for learning right thinking and speaking in classical and medieval rhetorics.²² Moreover, the repetition had other functions in Christian rhetorics, since the Augustinian model for conversion was pedagogical: teaching the potential convert a new set of terms with which to view the world.²³ This is exactly the Maiden's technique as she begins with the Dreamer's words and then recontextualizes them in the system that she wishes to reveal to him. The pedagogical and conversionary functions of *Pearl*, then, display themselves in the structure of the concatenating words, and the transitions of voice.

The other aesthetic aspect of the repetition of 'cortaysye' lies with its referential power at the moment of transition. When the narrator utters the word 'cortaysye', he intends to invoke its courtly connotations, but the Pearl-maiden reclaims the spiritual sense of the word by using it to refer to the Virgin Mary. The utterance 'Cortayse quen', then, serves as a moment of transition before the audience has confirmed that the voice is that of the Pearl-maiden. Because the vocative precedes the inquit clause which assigns it to the Pearl-maiden, the blurring between the termination and onset of direct speech is marked so as to promote momentary uncertainty followed by clarification. During this moment of indeterminacy, the word refers to *both*: backwards to the narrator's usage, and forwards to the maiden's explanation.

Since the onset and cessation of direct speech does occur so habitually at stanza breaks, the cases where the speaker breaks in the middle of the stanzas become marked: most notably the end of the Maiden's last speech which trails into section XVII. The carry-over disrupts not only the pattern of ending speech at the stanza breaks, but also the overarching structure of the poem with regard to voice: the first four sections are an internal monologue of the Dreamer, and no speech occurs until the first line of section V. If the structural parallel between the beginning and end of the poem held strictly,²⁴ the speech would stop at the end of XVI, leaving the last four sections of the poem as internal

monologue. This is almost, in fact, what happens, except that the Maiden's last speech carries over four lines into the beginning of XVII:

- (18) 'If I þis mote þe schal vnhyde,
 Bow vp towarde þys bornez heued,
 And I anendez þe on þis syde
 Shal sve, tyl þou to a hil be veued.'
 Þen wolde I no lenger byde,
 Bot lurked by launcez so lufly leued,
 Tyl on a hyl þat I asspyed (972-9).

This closing bids the Dreamer to go, that she will “sve” (“follow”) him for a moment with her eyes until he has reached the hill. Similarly, her speech, which should end at the beginning of XVII, “follows” the Dreamer into the next section for several lines, to be sure that he is safe. The poem achieves this effect by establishing a regular pattern of breaking off speech at stanza breaks and setting up mirrored features in the opening and closing of the poem; the markedness of this cessation of direct speech depends upon the construction of the stanza breaks as the typical cessation point. The *Gawain*-poet uses speech marking, therefore, for complex formal structuring. The pattern by which he indicates and switches speakers becomes a poetic tool which aids in the construction of the poems.

1.4 Ambiguity in the closure of direct speech

The *Gawain*-poet also exploits the fact that the cessation of direct speech need not be clearly demarcated in a system without close-quotation marks and that it can become another site for possible ambiguity. In such a system, speech termination is recognizable by a switching of deictic markers (as previously discussed). But if there are no deictic markers, or if they have ambiguous reference, then the point of transition between direct

speech and narration is not always clear. Such is the situation at the end of *Patience*, with the cessation of God's direct speech and the onset of the narrator's conclusion:

(19) I may not be so malcios & mylde be handen
 For malyse is no3 to maytyne boute mercy w'ine [*]
 Be no3t so gryndel god man bot go forth þy wayes,
 Be preue and be pacient i payne and i joye
 For he þat is to rakel to renden his cloþez
 Mot efte sitte wⁱ more vnsoude to sewe hem togeder [**]
 Forþy when pouerte me enprecez & paynez ino3e
 Ful softly with suffrauce sa3ttel me bihouez
 forþy penaue and payne to preue hit i sy3t
 þat pacience is a nobel poyt þa3 hit displese ofte Amen (f90r).

This passage (cited from facsimile) instantiates how hard it can be to mark what an editor supposed to be the outer limits of a passage of direct speech, since it doesn't unequivocally indicate where God's speech ends and the narrator's begins. Andrew and Waldron put the inverted comma at the end of line 523 (where I have placed a single asterisk), leaving the next passage to be a passage of direct address from the narrator to the reader. In this interpretation, the passage becomes an exhortation to the reader, "Godman," about the value of patience. Gollancz, on the other hand, puts the inverted comma at the end of line 527 (where I have placed a double asterisk), making this sentence the conclusion of God's address to Jonah.²⁵ In this reading, God reviews the value of patience for Jonah and warns him about the consequences of the alternative. But both of these editorial decisions make the assumption that the poet intended the speech break between God and the narrator to be determinable, a conclusion which seems unsubstantiated. In every other passage of God's speech, the poet is careful to emphasize the termination point with the beginning of the next speech. For example,

(20) ...Nylt þou neuer to Nuniue bi no kynnez wayez?

‘Yisse, Lorde,’ quod the lede, ‘lene me Þy grace...’ (346-7).

The speech transition here is quite clear: the poet provides a direct address and an identification of the new speaker so as to leave the cessation point unambiguous. The ambiguity of the termination of God’s speech at the end of the poem, on the other hand, may play an aesthetic function: that the blurring between the voice of God and the narrator, and the uncertainty as to whether the passage addresses Jonah or the reader, create the possibility that the passage is intended to voice both alternatives. Robert Blanch and Julian Wasserman discuss the related problem of the indeterminate “3e” pronouns in *Patience*, and assert that the two possible readings of “3e” earlier in the poem in lines 123-4 refer either to Jonah, in which case the narrator joins with his character to create a character-narrator “community” of discourse which leaves the reader out, or to the audience, in which case the aside creates a narrator-reader community that excludes and distances the character from their conversation.²⁶ Blanch and Wasserman suggest that the dual interpretation of “3e” produces an interplay between the parts of the narrative in which the communities of character-narrator and narrator-reader overlap. The controlled ambiguity of pronoun reference which Blanch and Wasserman put forward corresponds to the controlled ambiguity of voice that I propose for the end of the poem. Interpreting the indeterminacy of voice as purposeful would allow us to construct a complex unification of narrator/God and reader/Jonah which set up the reader, by recognizing Jonah’s shortcomings, to identify both with and against him. The indeterminacy thus serves a pedagogical purpose, since merging the voice of the narrator with the voice of God, and conflating ourselves with Jonah help to establish the poem’s moral design – to instruct us in the value of patience.

In conclusion, the poems of Cotton Nero A.10 use less-determined methods of speech marking to assist in different aspects of their poetic projects. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, the narrative builds upon Gawain’s subjectivity in such scenes as his confession and his interaction with the lady. In these scenes, the poem exploits the

permeability of the barriers between direct, indirect speech and narrative to move between different points of view. This artful slipping constructs the reader's narrative experience of Gawain's moral dilemma: we can see his changing perspectives and yet have slightly more information than he does. In *Pearl*, the Dreamer's conversion is created in part through the semantic shifts in the terms of the discussion. The words of concatenation shift from their earthly senses to heavenly ones as they shift from one speaker to another. This technique provides the salvific lesson to the audience even as it does for the dreamer. In *Patience* (and also in *Cleanness*, though not discussed here), the construction of the homiletic exegesis is aided by the emphases established by a more fluid system of speech marking. In *Patience*, the ambiguity of the marking of the conclusion permits it to serve simultaneously as an address from God to Jonah and from the poem to the reader, creating a dual-framed discourse for the poem and broadening the domain of its lesson. In all the poems, the less-determined methods of speech marking assist in constructing the homiletic insights and epiphanies and aid the reader narratively and rhetorically in their interpretation.

2. Langland

William Langland's poem *Piers Plowman* presents a poetic project different from the *Gawain*-poet's, although similar in some respects. Examining it permits us to see other ways in which fluidity of speech marking and ambiguity in speech onsets and offsets can function to aid a poet's poetic objectives. For *Piers Plowman*, shifting boundaries between discourse types has a pedagogical function: it blurs the didactic monologues of the figures of the visions with the narrator's own perspective and illustrates the extent to which the narrator's perspective is a product of his interactions in the dream visions.

Examining *Piers Plowman* is a more formidable task because of the manuscript record of the text. *Piers Plowman* survives in over 50 manuscripts, grouped by Walter Skeat into three basic versions known as the A-, B- and C-texts (later accompanied by a “Z-text” of questionable authenticity), which are widely believed to represent different revisional stages of a text by a single poet.²⁷ These groupings are artificial, of course; there are, for example, six manuscripts of the A-text with C endings, and two textual traditions of the B-text. This chapter will look primarily at examples from the B-text, supplemented in some instances with discussion of the A- or C-texts.

In any of its versions, *Piers Plowman* is a difficult work that raises many interpretative problems. But its relative popularity (judging from the number of existing manuscripts) suggests that its fourteenth- and fifteenth-century audiences must not have found the inconsistencies and referential instabilities to be so great an obstacle as to make the text not worth reading. Some contemporary readers and scholars have suggested reading the shifting of meanings in the work as serving a rhetorical and aesthetic purpose,²⁸ and I propose that the shifting between direct speech, indirect speech and narrative could also serve these functions.

The poem describes several visions of a narrator known as Will in his search for what it is to lead the good life. He encounters a number of characters in the course of his visions who are a blend of allegorical figures, biblical figures and social types (usually identified by profession). Sometimes these categories can overlap; the allegorical figures Feith, Hope (or Spes) and Charitie, for example, are depicted by the biblical characters Abraham, Moses and the Good Samaritan (B-text Passus XVI through XVIII). The relations between the characters represents allegorical relations between figures; Wit, for example, is married to Dame Studie (Passus X.1), and Clergy to Scripture (X.155). Within the visions, the characters speak for many reasons – in order to instruct the narrator, for instance, or to instantiate a particular characteristic, profession or point of view. Since they do speak as representatives of various defined perspectives, one might

suppose that it would be essential to the compositional project to mark their speeches clearly, so as to keep these points of view distinct in presentation. But this doesn't seem to be the case; speeches start and stop in many cases with little or no marking, and the voices of the discourse sometimes blur together.

These assumptions about the consistency of the characterization and the separations between their discourses, then, do not hold strictly. Lavinia Griffiths says about the characters that “even once a proper name has been established, there can be no confidence that it will continue to refer to the same person.”²⁹ Similarly, David Lawton says in his discussion of the narrator, “A plurality of voices, by no means all self-evidently “his,” intersect in the subject of *Piers Plowman*.”³⁰ And Anne Middleton writes:

The evidence of revision corroborates this impression. The insertions and rearrangements in the text suggest that the integrity of the narrated event had primacy in Langland's imaginative enterprise over the fixed nature of actors, or the expository integrity of their arguments.

Expository passages are dropped or inserted, expanded or reduced, and essentially reworked to produce somewhat different arguments in both stages of revision. Narrative episodes are moved whole and reassigned to other speakers and actors, but their character as events – the point at which they begin and end and the general dynamic of the exchange – is scarcely ever altered and neither greatly elaborated nor reduced.³¹

Middleton argues here that passages have an internal integrity which is not dependent on their speaker. In other words, the fact that the different versions of the poem assign particular speeches to different characters indicates that the speaker of the passage does not always seem to matter, and the focus of the poem falls more generally upon the words themselves. I argue, further, that the less-determined system of speech marking helps to create this blurring of the narration and the discourse spoken by the characters, and that

this blurring emphasizes both the shifts in perspective that the dreamer undergoes in the course of his journey and the extent to which characters can be seen as aspects of the dreamer. This has a pedagogical purpose as readers are taken through the visions along with Will; the shifts in perspective that Will undergoes are also experienced by the reader. I will first examine the use and absence of speech marking in *Piers Plowman* and then discuss its implications for the poem.

2.1 Shifts Between direct and indirect speech

The poem makes quite a number of shifts from indirect speech to direct speech, most of which follow the pattern of the example below:

- (21) The kyng called a clerk –[I kan] noȝt his name–
 To take Mede þe maide and maken hire at ese.
 ‘I [wol] assayen hire myself and soþliche appose
 What man of þis [world] þat hire were leuest.
 And if she werche bi wit and my wil folwe
 I wol forgyuen hire þ[e] gilt, so me god helpe.’ (III.3-8)³²

This passage begins by presenting the king’s speech indirectly – he tells the clerk to get Mede and make her comfortable – and then switches to direct speech in line 5. Editors George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (and also A.V.C. Schmidt, in his edition³³) enclose lines 5 and 8 in quotation marks because the deictic pronouns shift the perspective of the second sentence. This passage, then, fits into our contemporary methods of marking without much difficulty.

One might compare this passage, however, to another which appears structurally the same:

- (22) Thanne I [kneled] on my knees and cried hire of *grace*;
 Preide hire pitously [to] preye for my synnes;
 and [ek] kenne me kyndely on crist to beleue,

That I myȝte werchen his wille þat wroȝte me to man.

‘Teche me to no tresor, but tel me þis ilke,

How I may saue my soule þat Seint art yholden.’ (I.79-84).

This section, as punctuated by Kane–Donaldson and Schmidt, depicts the speech first indirectly in lines 79-82, in saying that the dreamer prayed to Holichurche to pray for his sins and remember him to Christ, and then directly in lines 83-84, in urging her to teach him how to save his soul. But this division between indirect and direct speech seems arbitrary, since the passage could just as easily be marked as direct speech from the middle of line 80:

(22a) Preide hir pitously, “preye for my synnes;

and [ek] kenne me kyndely on crist to beleue...”

since the word ‘to’ in line 80 does not occur in many of the manuscripts.³⁴ Another potential reading, though less likely because of the conjunction, would divide the passage in the third line:

(22b) Preide hire pitously to preye for my synnes;

and “kenne me kyndely on crist to beleue...”

This seems a less probable interpretation, however, since this clause is joined to the former by ‘and’. In fact, the whole passage could even be read as indirect speech if a conjunction is understood before line 83 and lines 83-84 are read as parallel to the other clauses (*i.e.*, preye for... and kenne me... [and] teche me). The fact that the passage could be punctuated in several ways reveals the ambiguity of the switch from indirect to direct speech; the manuscripts do not make clear where such switches occur.

One central interpretative problem of these switches in discourse presentation concerns their representation of the fictional speech event. Understanding the relationship between clauses in a discourse can be critical for narrative clarity. In other words, how do the pairings of direct and indirect speech present what happened? Is the direct speech paired with the indirect speech as two depictions of the same utterance? In

this case, the discourse would switch to direct speech in order to represent the utterance more precisely. Or, is there temporal sequence – in other words, does the direct speech follow the indirect speech in the time of the narrative?³⁵ In this case, the text would switch to direct speech in the course of presenting the discourse. We can see this distinction through two examples:

- (23) Thanne mournede Mede and mened hire to þe kynge
to haue space to speke, spede if she myzte.
The kyng graunted hire *grace* wiþ a good wille.
'Excuse þee if þow kanst; I kan no moore seggen,
For Conscience accuseþ þee to congeien þee for *euere*.' (III.170-174).
- (24) Some seide þat he was goddes sone þat so faire deide:
Vere filius dei erat iste.
And some seide he was a wicche; 'good is þat we assaye
Wher he be deed or nozt deed doun er be taken.' (XVIII.68-70).

In (23), the indirect speech seems to refer to the same utterance given in the direct speech following: lines 173-174 ('Excuse þee if þow kanst...') give the king's words described in line 172 ("The kyng graunted hire *grace* wiþ a good wille"). It seems unlikely that the king granted her grace with a good will, and *then* uttered the words reported in 173-4. In (23), the switch to direct speech serves an amplifying function: it reports the speech described by the preceding line. In (24), however, the people gathered around at the crucifixion of Christ are discussing their interpretations of the event, and this discussion is represented both directly and indirectly. Line 68 presents an indirect statement which is paired with a quotation from Matthew depicting the utterance of the crowd ("Indeed this was the Son of God." Mt 27:54). But the indirect statement in line 69, "some seide he was a wicche," does not accurately represent the utterance quoted directly afterwards: "good is þat we assaye / wher he be deed or nozt deed doun er be taken." Though we presume that both of these two representations depict the opinions of a particular group in

the crowd, they are probably not intended to represent the same statement, as in (23). Although both (23) and (24) present the same outward form, a switch from indirect speech to direct speech, the relations between the two clauses functions differently for the organization of the discourse.

In his edition of the B-text, Schmidt tries to make the distinction between the shifts in (23) and (24) clearer with modern punctuation conventions; he puts a colon between the indirect and direct speech in (23) to indicate that they are parallel clauses, and a long dash between the indirect and direct speech in (24) to indicate that they are juxtaposed.³⁶ These punctuational interpretations are strictly editorial, though, and the manuscripts do not set off these switches in any particular way. Passages of indirect discourse simply move into direct discourse, for different reasons and with different effects.

Less common, but still possible, are transitions away from direct speech:

- (25) ‘Thanne are ye cherles’, [chidde Iesus], ‘and youre children boþe,
 And Sathan youre Saueour; [youre]self now ye witnessen.
 For I haue saued yowself and youre sones after,
 Youre bodies, youre beestes, and blynde men holpen,
 And fed yow wiþ two fisshes and wiþ fyue loues,
 And lefte baskettes ful of broke mete, bere away whoso wolde.’
 And mysseide þe Iewes manliche and manaced hem to bete
 And knocked on hem wiþ a corde, and caste adoun hir stalles... (XVI.121-
 128)

In this passage, which presents Christ excoriating and then assaulting the moneylenders in the temple, lines 121-126 are Jesus’s direct speech and line 127 is an indirect account of speech with two parts, “mysseide þe Iewes manliche” and “manaced hem to bete.” The first verb “mysseide” betokens spoken language, it could mean either “reproach” or “insult” and the sense is ambiguous here. It is unclear whether there is temporal

sequence between the direct speech and the following narrative – that is to say, whether this clause refers to the same utterance reported directly above, or to a continuation of this speech which is not given to the reader. The second verb “manaced” probably refers to a non-spoken threat, since most examples that the MED reports of *manacen* followed by an infinitive (MED sense 1b) are non-spoken threats, but could potentially refer to speech or merely evoke it, since the word is often used to refer to spoken threats. This passage moves from direct speech to narrative to reported action.

In a system without punctuation where these switches are less distinct, the poet has more freedom to move back and forth between direct and indirect speech and narrative. In Passus II.199, the text interjects a line of narrative into a passage of direct speech; the king’s words are interrupted by a clause narrating his command, which then employs a deictic pronoun “I” (200) indicating a switch back into the voice of the king:

(26) ‘Shal neuere man of þis molde meynprise þe leeste,
 But riȝt as þe lawe [lokeþ] lat falle on hem alle.’
 And comaunded a Constable þat com at þe first
To attachen þo Tyraunt; ‘for any [tresor], I hote;
 Fettleþ [Falsnesse faste] for any kynnes ȝiftes...’ (II.197-201).

Schmidt treats this passage slightly differently:

(27) ‘Shal nevere man of this molde meynprise the leeste,
 But right as the lawe loke[th], lat falle on hem alle!’
 – And comaunded a constable that com at the firste,
 ‘Go attachen tho tyraunts, for any [tresor], I hote,
And fettreth [Falsnesse faste], for any kynnes yiftes...’ (II.197-201).

Schmidt uses an alternate manuscript reading of ‘Go’ rather than ‘To’ in line 200,³⁷ and begins the direct speech at the beginning of the line: ““Go attachen tho tyraunts...”” The difference between these is not interpretationally significant, but suggests that the separation between direct speech and narration blurs in this passage. The indecision on

the part of the editors regarding the punctuation of this passage probably stems from our contemporary unfamiliarity with this syntax. It would be unusual in present-day texts to interject a single line of narration into a 14 line speech of the king with the conjunction ‘and,’ just as though it were an appended clause to the speech. The manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*, however, do not reveal the same level of separation between the narration describing the king’s words and the words themselves.

A similar example of narrative interjecting into speech can be found in Passus VI:
 (28) ‘Now by þe peril of my soule!’ quod Piers, ‘I shal aperie yow alle’,
 And houped after hunger þat herde hym at þe first.
 ‘Awreke me of wastours’, quod he, ‘þat þis world shendeþ.’ (VI.171-173).

The passage moves from direct speech to an indirect report of Piers’s shout, and back to direct speech. These transitions are not as abrupt without the quotation marks to separate them; an onomatopoeic verb like “houped” could blend easily into the words spoken by Piers. The lesser marking between modes of discourse allows the work to move more freely between them.

The fact that the divisions between modes of discourse are less clearly marked also corresponds to examples where they seem conceptually less fixed. Some words and phrases, for example, are incorporated into the text in such a way as to switch the voice of the discourse briefly.

(29) But as wilde bestes *with* wehee worþen vppe and werchen (VII.92)

“Wehee” here must be the sounds of the beggars (or beasts); the sound is integrated into narrative. Since these brief interjections into the narrative are not specifically marked as speech (though the differing script for the Latin words in the first example does set it apart from the surrounding narration), they present less of a departure from the immediate discourse.

2.2 Ambiguously-marked passages

We find in *Piers Plowman* a number of passages in which the speaker or the boundaries of the direct speech is not marked or marked ambiguously. There are also many speeches which are so extended that the reader cannot reasonably be expected to keep the speaker in mind, a feature which is more pronounced in *Piers Plowman* than in the works of Chaucer, the *Gawain*-poet and most other Middle English manuscripts. The B-text contains 32 direct speech passages of 25-50 lines and 22 speeches of more than 50 lines. In a long passage of speech, it can be easy to lose track of the speaker, to forget whether you are reading narration or represented speech.

As we saw previously, however, the poet can choose to clarify the passages if he desires. The poem makes repeated use of what I will call “reminder” speech markers: inquit clauses inserted into passage of direct speech which were already marked at an earlier line. In Passus XVIII, for example, Satan has a 22-line speech which begins with a usual speech-marking pattern: “‘Certes I drede me,’ quod þe deuel, ‘lest truþe [do] hem fecche....’” Inserted 15 lines into the speech is another marker: “‘...I rede we fle’ quod [þe fend], ‘faste alle hennes....’” This added clause serves to remind the readers that the passage they are reading is spoken by the devil. *Piers Plowman* contains many of these reminder clauses; I counted 29 in a reading of the B-text.³⁸ Of course, many of these examples serve other functions than solely as reminders of direct speech. ‘Þe fend’ appears in brackets because it appears as pronominal ‘he’ in thirteen of the manuscripts.³⁹ In the cases where it reads ‘quod þe fend’, the primary motivation for this clause could be metrical, since ‘fend’ alliterates with the rest of the line. But in the manuscripts where the clause reads ‘quod he’ the clause serves primarily to remind readers of the speaker. Of these 29 reminder inquit clauses, fifteen (roughly half) fit into the alliterative pattern for the line. Some of these alliterative cases occur in environments where the repetition of the inquit clause really doesn’t add to the narrative coherence:

(30) ‘Thow art welcome’, quod Conscience; ‘kanstow heele sike?’

Here is Contricion', quod Conscience, 'my cosyn, ywounded.

Conforte hym', quod Conscience, 'and take keke to hise soores...."(XX.356-358)

In this example, the speaker is set out clearly in line 356, and the inquit clauses in line 357 and 358 are unnecessary to remind the reader that Conscience is speaking. Here, we might look to the alliteration on [k] as the primary reason for the repeated clauses. Most cases, however, are not so clear-cut, and an inquit clause that occurs many lines into a passage of direct speech might reasonably serve both to alliterate and to remind us that direct speech is awkward in its purpose. These inquits inserted later in direct speech passages, then, function at least partly as reminders of the speaker of the direct discourse. Since reminder clauses *are* an option for the poet, how should the reader understand the many long passages of speech in the poem which do not contain them? I will address this question through the next several examples.

Some long passages present examples of textual difference between the A, B, and C forms of the text. If one accepts the contested claim that the C-text is Langland's revision of the B-text,⁴⁰ many of the differences between the manuscripts look like clarifications added to the text. A 55-line speech of Lady Mede in the B-text (III.175-229), for example, is changed in the C-text: it is lengthened to 63 lines (III.221-283) and a reminder clause is added in most manuscripts in line 256. In some cases, this reminder clause seems particularly peripheral, because it creates such a long line that the writing of it extends past the general right margin of the text. The scribe of BL Addl. 35157, for example, could only fit the clause by writing above the line:

(31) ¶ ffor sholde neue constience be my constable wer y akȳg – qd ^{mede}

Lady Mede's inquit clause seems primarily designed to recall to the reader's attention that the passage expresses a particular opinion, particularly because the opinion is rendered morally dubious by its association with Mede. BL Addl. 35157 reveals even a further attempt to create context for the speech of Mede; a later hand has added some

marginal commentary in secretary hand which states summarizing points like: “Meed is fauls of faith and ficle of tonge” and “the Pope reneth by corruption of Meed.”

Though we are inclined to see a hermeneutic and clarifying purpose in the reminding inquit added to Mede’s speech in the C-Text, the differences between the B- and C-texts do not always take the form of clarifying additions in the C-text. The C-text often has greater ambiguity rather than less, and narrative confusion rather than clarification. An ambiguously-marked passage in the B-text (XI.154-317), for example, corresponds to an ambiguously-marked passage in the C-text that continues for 287 lines (XII.89–XIII.28); the treatment of the excerpt in the text is different, but C-text marking does not really disambiguate the question of speaker. In both texts, the passage begins after the marked interjection of the character Trajan (‘Ye, baw for bokes!’) and ends with the quotation *ignorancia non excusat*. The B-version is characterized by Kane and Donaldson as primarily narration; they terminate Trajan’s speech after the initial passage with deictic first-person pronouns, and identify the extended passage from line 154 (beginning with “Lo! ye lordes...”) as a return to the voice of the narrator. To do this, they have to categorize a few other lines with overt markers as insertions of direct speech: another quotation from Trajan (171), and a passage from 192-196 as a quotation from God. Schmidt, on the other hand, marks the passage in the B-version as an extended monologue by Trajan, beginning with his initial interjection and continuing until line 318. The C-text version of this passage is treated by both Russell–Kane and Pearsall as an extended monologue of Rechelesnesse; a decision based on the single line at the closure of the speech (129): “Thus rechelesnesse in a rage aresenede clergie.” This line, however, does not clearly indicate the limits of Rechelesnesse’s answer – how far back should “thus” extend?

The reference of “thus” is a point of some editorial dispute. Modern editors have added some contemporary punctuation, which has meant designating a speaker for those lines. But this hides the indeterminacy of the onset and offset of Rechelesnesse’s speech

and the very identity of Rechelesnesse. To what extent is Rechelesnesse a separate character, and to what extent is he merely an aspect of the narrator? The division between these two is not always preserved in the poem, and the blurring of the speech conveys the blurring of the character and Will-the-Dreamer.⁴¹ The poet could have made the source of the passage clear, indicating the beginning and end of the speech, and adding reminder clauses if desired. But the only indications of perspective are attributions of biblical quotations and general commonplaces, which are clearly marked locally, with clauses like, “seynt Ion sethen saide hit of his techyng...” (XII.99) or “as Mathew bereth witsnesse” (XII.134) or “3ut conseileth Crist in comen vs all:...” (XII.168). It seems more important to the poet that the text indicate the authorities for particular lines than that it clarify the referential instabilities.

The C-Text passage, therefore, is not precisely the voice of Will or the voice of Rechelesnesse, but an amalgam of voices; the dream narrative is constructed through the shifting perspectives of dream characters, the dream narrator, the waking narrator, and external *auctores* (citations from culturally-sanctioned sources). And, though these perspectives in the work would seem to be separate, the blurring between the speakers in the text has the effect of blurring the divisions between the characters, the cited authorities and Will.

This contested passage, differently manifested in the B and C-texts and even between the differing modern editions of the B-text, is also interesting because it presents one of the few examples of an extremely long passage attributed to a character without a morally-positive valence. Most of the other speeches in the poem which exceed 100 lines are the words of characters who instruct Will: Conscience (III.230-330), Wit (IX.26-210), Dame Studie (X.13-139), Will (X.377-482), Ymaginatif (XII.29-168 and XII.170-276), Patience (XIV.104-273), Anima (XV.198-613), the Samaritan (XVII.134-298), and Conscience (XIX.26-198). With the exception of Will's own speech, these other extended monologues are all delivered for Will's edification by characters who advise

him. They are all pedagogical in purpose, and have a sermonic flavor (even including Will's speech – perhaps it constitutes his attempt at the genre?). They explicate biblical passages, provide typologies and elaborated metaphors and give moral lessons. It seems understandable, even obvious, that a reader will lose track of who is delivering some of these extended sermons or whether the poem has returned to narrative. Did Langland anticipate or even desire that readers have a blurred experience of the voices of the poem? The extended speeches suggest that it is at least possible that certain ambiguities of speaker may have been intended.

I will look at one final example of an editorial conundrum that emerges from the imposition of contemporary interpretational systems onto the text as it passes to us through less-determined manuscripts. The ending of the A-text poses an interpretive dilemma for the poem, because it leaves the reader with Will's assessment at XI.261-2 that he is no nearer to salvation and that if he is saved, he is saved by predestination: a puzzling conclusion for a poem that invites us to consider right action. This conclusion also serves as a particular site for editorial intervention into the interpretation of speaker. Skeat places lines A XI.250-end within quotation marks, indicating that they are the words of Will-the-Dreamer.

- (32) “...For Michi [vindicta], et ego retribuam;
 I shal punisshen in purcatory • or in þe put of helle
 Eche man for his misdede • but mercy it make.”
 “Ȝet am I neuere þe ner • for nouȝt I haue walkid
 To wyte what is do-wel • witterly in herte;” (Skeat XI.247-251)

The speech beginning on line 250 closes only at the end of Passus XI. Knott-Fowler and Kane reject Skeat's use of the quotation marks, breaking off the dream at line 257, and returning to narration:

- (33) ‘...For he seiþ it hymself in his ten hestis;
 Ne *mecaberis*, ne sle nouȝt, is þe kynde englissh;

For *Michi vindictam et ego retribuam*.

I shal punisshen in purcatory or in þe put of helle

Eche man for his misdede but mercy it make.'

— 3et am I neuere þe ner for nou3t I haue walkid

To wyte what is dowel witterly in herte,... (Kane, XI.253-259).

This is a significant difference since it inaugurates the final passage of the poem, which ends at the end of Passus XI.⁴² In Skeat's text, the poem ends within the dream, and in Kane's text, the poem returns to the framing perspective of the waking narrator: interpretations which are editorial. Míceál Vaughan examines the manuscript witnesses of the text and finds that some scribes also evince dissatisfaction with the ending of A at line XI.303.⁴³ Several A manuscripts add a final "John But" passus (U, I[J], and R), some append a C-text ending (T, Ch, H₂, W and Di[K]), and some scribes add quotative clauses like "quod I" at line 258 (W, Di[K] and M).⁴⁴ It is not clear, as Vaughan points out, who speaks the words, and whether the Dreamer awakens; scribes and editors alike have attempted to provide clarification, revealing their difficulties with these lines. I would add to this analysis that the ambiguity as to whether the Dreamer awakens has the result of blurring the dreaming Will with the waking Will, and therefore the conclusions of the dreaming Will blur into the framing narrative of waking Will. When the speaker of the lines at XI.258 says that he is no nearer than he was to salvation, and that if he is saved, he is saved by predestination (XI.261-2), he leaves us with a puzzling finale to the poem. Is this a product of his dream vision, or his post-dream analysis? Or do the two merge together in the telling? The kind of ambiguities which arise through the less-defined methods of speech marking avoid imposing an answer upon the text, and leave open the possibility of productive uncertainty.

In conclusion, William Langland's poem *Piers Plowman* raises a number of questions about salvation and moral authority. How are we to determine the ways that one should work towards salvation when we cannot even distinguish which passages

constitute the advice of whom? And yet, perhaps the source of the advice is not as important as the experience of Will in his dream visions and the models of living and thinking which he encounters. In this sense, the experience is more accurately dream-like: characters in dreams do blur together and our conclusions about them are always under revision.

The didactic and sermonic purposes of the poem are aided by the blurring of voices which stem from the less-determined methods of marking speech in early English texts. The allegorical dream figures in the poem are in a sense all aspects of the narrator (since they are his dream), and the discourse shifting between the characters and each other and the characters and the narrator allow us to see how the voices of one's teachers become one's own voice. As constructed by the ambiguities in voices and speakers, Will's journey is partly a journey of perspective, as seemingly external concepts and ideas are internalized and become part of his own thinking. As readers, we undergo this journey with him.

3. Chaucer

If the plenitude of *Piers Plowman* manuscripts posed complications for this study, the works of Chaucer multiply those problems because they are so numerous and various, as well as represented by many manuscript witnesses. This section cannot treat all of the works in detail; selected passages from several poems show us that Chaucer also employs speech marking for aesthetic and rhetorical effect.

Examining Chaucer's speech marking advances meaningfully a long-standing critical conversation about the narration of Chaucer's poems. George Kittredge provided an early reading of the *Canterbury Tales* as the dramatic monologues of each pilgrim narrator, a reading which has been so formative as to appear completely self-evident.⁴⁵ This point was extended further by E. Talbot Donaldson with his argument that *Troilus*

and Criseyde is narrated not by Chaucer but by a fictional persona.⁴⁶ In their wake, scholars have considered the narrative technique of Chaucer's work to be integral for interpretation. The Kittredge-Donaldson tradition has produced a variety of examinations of Chaucer's use of a narrator. Later studies disentangle the different aspects of the narrator in *Troilus and Criseyde*,⁴⁷ distinguish between the narrator and the poet in the *Canterbury Tales*,⁴⁸ and between the narrator and the dreamer in the *Book of the Duchess*.⁴⁹ Other analyses have focused on the ways that the narratives of Chaucer's poems are constructed and the effects of this construction.⁵⁰ All of these investigations, however, rest on the assumption that the voices of the narrators and pilgrims are clearly separated from each other and intended to be so.⁵¹ A counterargument to this position has also been made that despite Chaucer's interest in the possibility of a relationship between stories and their tellers, he had not developed the dramatic monologue as a consistent voicing of a character's internal or external narrative.⁵² I wish to propose a modification of the dissenting position which constitutes a third possibility – namely, that the poems do present the voices of different characters and narrators in a way that employs their subjectivity as an important narrative principle, but that these subjectivities are not always completely distinguished from one another, and that important shifting occurs in the perspective of the poems and in the figures being addressed.

Here I wish to show, then, that Chaucer uses ambiguous speech marking to achieve several aesthetic and literary ends. In Chaucer's poems, more than in those of Langland and the poet of Cotton Nero A.10, the primary result is artistic rather than pedagogical edification. For Chaucer, the ambiguous speech marking plays a role in his artistic project and his narrative one. The tales told by pilgrims (or poet) to pilgrims (or readers) can retain an interpretative plasticity which serves several narrative functions: creating emphasis within the tale, involving the reader in the particular professed opinions, and ventriloquizing different voices and subjectivities to diffuse the responsibility for opinions. I will look first at the effect of Chaucer's methods of speech

marking for the presentation of direct, indirect speech and narrative, and then consider the ways that the poems can exploit these methods for artistic and narrative ends.

3.1 Drawing distinctions: direct and indirect speech and narrative

Throughout Chaucer's works the less prominent marking of the onset and termination of speeches can result in a blurring between speakers (often occurring on two levels of discourse) and between multiple addressees. In particular, the voice of the speaker can shift smoothly into the narration of the poem – obscuring the distinction between a reported character's opinions and other more general opinions professed by the poem itself. In the *Canterbury Tales*, this technique operates on an additional level, because each tale is purportedly narrated by one of the pilgrims. These alternating narrators are indicated through the metatextual methods of marking sections in the text (such as rubrication headings) and through verbs of speaking which introduce the textual divisions of prologues and tales. Clauses containing verbs of speaking can serve as the transitions between a pilgrim's prologue and tale, as we see in the following examples:

(34) And with that word he, with a sobre cheere,

Began his tale, as ye shal after heere (*Introduction to The Man of Law's Tale* 97-8).

(35) And with that word he seyde in this manere (*The Parson's Prologue* 74).

In these examples, we can see how the transitions between a pilgrim's prologue and tale employ the same verbal clauses which mark a shift to direct speech within a tale. A tale's onset is often marked in manuscripts in just the same way as the onset of direct speech, whereas in modern editions these are treated separately: direct speech with quotation marks, but tales with none. The addition of modern punctuation therefore serves to create a division between narrating a tale and reporting direct speech where no such division exists in the source texts. Distinctions like this one which stem from models of speech marking create taxonomies – classifications of discourse types – which differ between

early manuscripts and in modern edited texts. Such taxonomies include two contemporary oppositions which are less apparent in premodern manuscripts: direct speech vs. indirect speech and the distinction between general opinions and individual thoughts.

I will first examine the divide between direct and indirect speech, a divide that is not as apparent in medieval manuscripts in the absence of quotation marks. Medieval manuscripts contain many examples which are not distinctly one or the other, and are problematic for modern editors.

(36) ...that they sayn

They trowe that no "Cristen prince wolde fayn

Wedden his child under oure lawe sweete

That us was taught by Mahoun oure prophete." (*The Man of Law's Tale* 221-224).

In this passage from the *Man of Law's Tale*, the clause "they sayn they trowe that" would seem to indicate indirect speech, but the deictic pronouns "oure" and "us" suggest direct speech. The editors of the *Riverside Chaucer* have punctuated it as direct speech. They choose to punctuate a similar passage as indirect speech, however:

(37) "Oon of the gretteste auctour that men rede

Seith thus: that whilom two felawes wente

On pilgrimage,..." (*The Nun's Priest's Tale* 2984-5)

Here, the phrase "seith thus" typically indicates direct speech, but the presence of "that" leads the editors to treat this as indirect speech. The boundaries between direct and indirect speech are not clearly pronounced in these examples; the text can shift back and forth between conventions characteristic of both of them. It can be difficult to decide, therefore, whether a passage presents the voice of a character as spoken by the character, or as represented by the narrator, as in the following:

(38) They seyden sothly, al by oon assent,

How that the goos, with here facounde gent,

“That so desyreth to pronounce oure nede,
 Shal telle oure tale,” and preyede “God hire spede!” (*The Parliament of Fowls*
 558-560)

This sentence shifts between indirect and direct reporting of the speech. The speech of the birds is first indirectly described and then directly presented, with no transition between these. One effect of this is that the narrative becomes more “speech-like” in some respects; or rather, it has fluid transitions to speech-like segments. Thus:

- (39) Somme seyde it was long on the fir makyng;
 Somme seyde nay, it was on the blowyng –
 Thanne was I fered, for that was myn office (*The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale* 922-924).
- (40) And these he swoor on ale and breed
 How that the geaunt shal be deed,
 Bityde what bityde! (*The Tale of Sir Thopas* 872-874)

These passages integrate speech-like phrases into the narrative. In (39), the clause “Some seyde” introduces utterances marked as indirect speech, but which sound oral in their construction: “nay, it was on the blowyng.” In (40), the indirect reporting of his oath becomes very speech-like in its exclamation, “bityde what bityde!” In these examples, the modern editors do not add quotation marks to passages which have some of the features of directly-reported speech. In other instances, they do enclose interjections of speech-like words with quotation marks:

- (41) I dar nat seyn, his strokes been so sore,
 But “God save swich a lord!” – I can na moore (*The Parliament of Fowls* 13-4).

The unpunctuated versions of these texts shift smoothly between direct and indirect speech without creating divisions between them in the text. This allows the text to slide into different voices, an effect which I will discuss further in the coming sections.

Finally, as in *Piers Plowman* and the works of the *Gawain*-poet, Chaucer's works employ sudden shifts between indirect and direct speech (usually in that direction) which can be characterized as artful slipping. (42) and (43) provide examples:

- (42) These wordes and swiche othere seyde she,
 And he weex wroth, and bad men sholde hir lede
 Hom til hir hous, and "In hire hous," quod he,
 "Brenne hire right in a bath of flambes rede" (*The Second Nun's Tale* 512- 515).
- (43) And than he tolde hym this and that,
 And swor therto that hit was soth –
 "Thus hath he sayd," and "Thus he doth,"
 "Thus hit shal be," "Thus herde y seye,"
 "That shal be founde," "That dar I leye" –
 That al the folk that ys alyve
 Ne han the kunnyng to discryve
 The thinges that I herde there,
 What aloude and what in ere (*The House of Fame* 2050-2058).

(42) presents a shift from the indirect commands of Almachius about Saint Cecilie to his direct decree. The shift presents his words more directly and lays emphasis upon the second half of the sentence, the part where he dwells upon how they should burn Saint Cecilie in a bath of red flames. (43) reports the speech (of a speaker identified only as "Frend") indirectly, but interrupts to show the phrases that he employs. This unusual syntactic construction interjects his voice into the narrator's voice that reports him. The presence of the direct speech serves to lend emphasis to his utterances, presenting little excerpts of the phrases that he uses to swear the truth of his account. Both (42) and (43) present examples of the kind of artful slipping between direct and indirect speech that we have already examined; they mark speech in ways that do not easily lend themselves to modern editorial quotation marks.

The second taxonomical distinction that is not as pronounced under premodern systems of marking is the opposition between speech and general opinions. The flexibility of manuscript marking allows for merging between representations of speech and represented opinions that cannot be quotations of a spoken or written statement. Thus, general opinions are presented with verbs of speaking and perspective-shifted deictics, such as

(44) This was the commune voys of every man:

“Oure Emperour of Rome – God hym see! –

A doghter hath that, syn the world bigan,

To rekene as wel hire goodnesse as beautee,

Nas nevere swich another as is shee....” (*The Man of Law’s Tale* 155-159)

“Voys” in this context has the sense of “opinion,” and it is glossed as such by *The Riverside Chaucer*. In present-day English, general opinions are typically expressed as indirect thought, especially when they are complex. In *The Man of Law’s Tale*, the “voice” of the common people intrudes into the narrative – using pronoun forms characteristic of direct speech or thought to shift the voice of the passage. Yet this passage is not a representation of a spoken utterance, since we do not think that all of the common people intoned all thirteen lines of this in unison. This passage falls somewhere in between direct and indirect speech, in fact, serving logically as indirect speech, but containing a deictic pronoun of direct speech. The manuscript does not set off the passage with anything more specific than the pronouns, which are less definitive markers than modern quotation marks; it does not have to decide whether the passage is indirect or direct speech. The contemporary editors, on the other hand, in deciding to modernize the punctuation, have to choose whether or not to add quotation marks. In this case, *The Riverside Chaucer* marks it as direct speech, a choice that is not altogether satisfying, since it prohibits the other reading.

Passages treated as direct speech which do not represent quoted spoken or written discourse include proverbial sayings:

(45) “...‘Unhardy is unseemly,’ thus men sayth.” (*The Reeve’s Tale* 4210)

and group speech:

(46) And everych cried, “What thing is that?”

And somme sayde, “I not never what.” (*The House of Fame* 2147-8).

Without the presence of the quotation marks, these would present smoother transitions between the voice of the poem or narrator and the voice of the collective opinion reported in the poem.

The intrusion of general opinions and collective voices which characterizes the manuscript text creates an impression of the base narrative as an amalgam of different sources and subjectivities rather than the consistent voice of a single character. This contradicts or at least qualifies the narrative arguments of scholars who regard Chaucer’s poems as carefully disentangling the respective voices. Barbara Nolan, for example, points out the importance of multiple voicing as a mode of argument in allegorical debate and in romance.⁵³ She relies upon a sense of “voice” which refers to a type of discourse or register and asserts that Chaucer constructs three different authoritative voices in the *General Prologue*: clerk, pilgrim and Host. In order to make this argument, however, she acknowledges that these voices blend together, to some extent, in her comments about “the poet’s startling shift from a clerk’s voice to a pilgrim’s” (159), and “Chaucer’s pilgrim voice as it mingles with the voices of the other Canterbury pilgrims” (163). Without disagreeing that the voices that Nolan distinguishes are valid descriptions of different aspects of the narration, I submit that the text presents not meticulously defined voices, but a blurring of different opinions and perspectives for just those reasons that propel her to describe three different aspects of the narrator in the Prologue. Further, I would open up her sense of “voice” from a term which suggests aspects of discourse to a term which invokes the perspectives of different characters and external authorities. The

narration of the Prologue contains the voices of the pilgrims as they enter the discourse, and the narrator ventriloquizes their diction and concerns.

The overlap among the different voices of a text can be instructive, permitting the text to bear multiple levels of meaning. In *The Manciple's Tale*, the last 44 lines of the tale are presented as the teaching of the Manciple's mother:

(47) But nathelees, thus taughte me my dame:

“My sone, think on the crowe, a Goddes name!

My sone, keep wel thy tonge, and keep thy freend....

My sone be war, and be noon auctor newe

Of tidynges, wheither they been false or trewe.

Whereso thou come, amonges hye or lowe,

Kepe wel thy tonge and think upon the crowe.” (317-319, 359-362)

The manuscript methods of distinguishing the speech – the initial verb, the pronouns, and the vocative ‘my sone’ – suggest a passage of direct speech but do not necessitate it. The verb ‘taughte’ which introduces the passage, can also be used to introduce a passage of indirect speech (as do most of the *Middle English Dictionary* quotations for *techen*). And the vocatives and pronouns of address can be read as not addresses to any particular person, but rather as a trope for the presentation of general axioms. Though the form of the end of the poem seems to be reported direct speech, the markers are not so strictly determined that they forbid a broader interpretation of the passage. The end of the poem could be read pedagogically, with a moral message clarifying how the reader should interpret and benefit from the tale. In fact, the manuscript does provide multiple contexts for the address, since the section above begins at line 309 with a vocative from the Manciple to the pilgrims:

(48) Lordynges, by this ensample, I yow preye,

Beth war, and taketh kep what that ye seye:

Ne telleth nevere no man in youre lyf

How that another man hath dight his wyf; (309-312)

The lesson, therefore, is given by the Manciple's mother to the Manciple, by the Manciple to the pilgrims, and by the tale to the reader. The manuscript methods of marking the speech invite all of these as possible readings, but the edited text inserts quotation marks which label the passage as reported speech within the Manciple's discourse. By interpreting the passage as the reported speech of the Manciple's mother, these quotation marks reduce the multiple readings of the manuscript.

3.2 Voices, addresses and ambiguity

We can see in the above passage from *The Manciple's Tale* the creative capability of shifting address. This form of ambiguity appears often in the *Canterbury Tales*, and while we cannot know Chaucer's intentions in this regard, we can examine the effect of forms. In the *Pardoner's Prologue*, the ambiguity of address serves a sermonic purpose. The Pardoner first addresses the pilgrims at the onset of the Prologue

(49) "Lordynges," quod he, "in chirches whan I preche,
I peyne me to han an hauteyn speche,
And ryngge it out as round as gooth a belle,
For I kan al by rote that I telle...." (329-332).

But as the Pardoner describes his sermons, he switches into reporting a sermonic speech to a hypothetical audience. This begins at line 352:

(50) "'Goode men,' I seye, 'taak of my wordes keep;
If that this boon be wasshe in any welle,...'"

Without quotation marks, this passage is not visibly apparent as speech-within-speech. The marker 'I seye' indicates that the Pardoner is reporting himself, but this clause can also serve as a marker of emphasis as well as of reported speech, and permits a reading in which the passage is also directed at the pilgrims. The vocatives within the Pardoner's sermon reinforce this possibility; they can be read as addressing both the hypothetical

congregation and the pilgrims who are standing in for that congregation. Although there is a sustained use of two vocatives, “Lordynges” and “Goode men,” the distinction does not necessarily serve as an impermeable divide between the two audiences, but permits the pilgrims to feel superior to the “Goode men” addressed, while at the same time inviting them to relax into identification with that audience of “non-Lordynges.” The Pardoner is both reporting his sermon and performing it. He reports it seemingly to present it as a trick, and to laugh at those who are taken in. But at the end of his tale, he cannot refrain from pitching his pardons and absolutions to the pilgrims. The reported sermon about the value of the pardons, then, becomes retrospectively a functional sermon. The less specific methods of marking the passage in the manuscript, in not predetermining that the passage is an embedded faux-sermon, allow the text to be read with both interpretations. The ambiguity as to the addressee creates a layered text which allows the tale to be both narrative and sermon.

Overlapping address can be a way of increasing vividness by pulling the audience into the tale. Shifting the focus of the addressing words from the company of pilgrims to the company of readers casts the readers as active listeners to the tales, each in his or her own degree. This is an especially effective narrative technique when the addressee may be characters within the tale, or pilgrims, or readers, or perhaps all of these. In the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, the Wife has a long speech in which she begins with a plea to the company and shifts to an address to the host:

(51) “...But yet I praye to al this compaignye,
 If that I speke after my fantasye,
 As taketh not agrief of that I seye,
 For myn entente nys but for to pleye.

 Now, sire, now wol I tell forth my tale....” (189-193)

In the course of the speech, she shifts to addressing a former husband:

(52) “....But herkneth how I sayde:

‘Sire olde kaynard, is this thyn array?

Why is my neighebores wyf so gay?...’” (234-6)

Her extended self-reported speech to her former husband lasts for 144 lines, certainly long enough for the reader to lose track of the context unless there are further speech markers. This passage does have a number of deictic pronouns, which, on the one hand, can make clear to the reader that she is still addressing her husband in an embedded speech. These pronouns, though, can also serve to recategorize the speech as a more general address to a straw man, the misogynistic husband:

(53) “Thou seyst some folk desiren us for richesse,
Somme for oure shap, and somme for oure fairnesse,... ’”

* * * *

“Thow seyst that droppynge houses, and eek smoke,
And chidyng wyves maken man to flee
Out of hir owene houses;... ’”

* * * *

“Thow seyst also, that if we make us gay
With clothyng, and with precious array,
That it is peril of oure chastitee;...’” (257-8, 278-280, 337-9)

The deictic *thous* in these lines refer on the one hand to her husband, but the opinions attributed to them are so widely held (the second and third are derived from scripture), that they also potentially shift the grounds of address. In attributing to her husband a number of socially accepted truisms, the Wife rhetorically makes any reader who holds these opinions into the addressee. Essentially, the Wife creates a second level of address for this passage, casting the pilgrims and the readers in the place of her husband, and invoking a rhetorical male listener/reader whom she is addressing. This effect, however, depends upon the fluidity among addressees created by the less determined speech markers. The passage ends with a final shift to the pilgrim audience with a vocative at

line 379: “Lordynges,....” In the manuscript absence of clarifying punctuational marks, the Wife’s deictic pronouns can serve a broad rhetorical purpose as well as a narrow referential purpose. The interplay of voices is blurred even further by the intrusions of other perspectives into the passage – short quotations from Paul, Ptolemy, and her husband. These embedded voices continually shift the grounds of the discourse, and leave the reader less apt to distinguish completely between the levels of speech and embedded speech.

In summary, then, the less determined methods of marking speech allow the discourse of the tales to move easily between passages of address. In the absence quotation marks, there is no punctuational distinction between an address from a character to another (speech within a tale’s narrative), from a character to the group of pilgrims (speech within the framing narrative), from a character to the readers (speech outside of the narrative), and from the tale (poet or narrator) to the readers (speech directed outside of the tale). There is also no punctuational distinction between these speeches and passages which rhetorically address a character within the narrative,

(54) O Sowdanesse, roote of iniquitee! (*The Man of Law’s Tale*, 358)

A figure outside of the narrative,

(55) O Sathan, envious syn thilke day (*The Man of Law’s Tale*, 365)

An apostrophic figure,

(56) O brotil joye! O sweete venym queynte! (*The Merchant’s Tale*, 2061)

or a historical figure,

(57) O moral Gower, this book I directe

to the and to the, philosophical Stroude (*Troilus and Criseyde*, 1856-7).

These passages reveal the smoothness with which Chaucer can move in and out of sections of address, yoking together speeches that come from different sources and are directed to different figures and audiences. The greater plasticity of the medieval methods of marking allow Chaucer rhetorical freedoms in speech and address forms.

3.3 Voice and *The Merchant's Tale*

The Merchant's Tale affords a case where the issue of who is speaking has been an important critical question, and one where an examination of speech marking can assist in our understanding. As we saw with respect to *Piers Plowman*, the speaker can matter less in some cases than the text's ability to invoke authoritative perspectives. Artful ambiguity in speech marking in *The Merchant's Tale* provides a perspective of the tale as a site for shifting authority. An extended passage at the beginning of the tale, for instance, presents a site where the use of quotation marks is controversial:

(58) "Noon oother lyf," seyde he, "is worth a bene,
 For wedlock is so esy and so clene,
 That in this world it is a paradys."
 Thus seyde this olde knyght, that was so wys.

And certainly, as sooth as God is king... (MerT 1263-7)

The Riverside Chaucer, through its quotation marks, defines the first sentence as a direct utterance of "this olde knyght," and the lines following 1266 ("And certainly...") as *not* direct speech. This editorial design conceals an extensive amount of critical debate as to the speaker for these lines (1267-1392). It also conceals the *absence* of speech markers in the original manuscript, leaving the question of speaker less certain.

This passage, often referred to as "the Marriage Encomium," presents inconsistencies when one tries to pin it down as direct or indirect speech. First of all, whose thoughts do the lines depict? On the one hand, they contain a celebration of marriage which clearly contradicts the Merchant's own dim view of matrimony expressed in his prologue (which occurs in 23 of the 52 manuscripts⁵⁴). This fact has been used to assert that the speech is the character Januarie's. Since the passage is in the present tense, which would suggest direct speech, it may possibly continue Januarie's speech in lines 1263-1265. Yet, compared to the rather simplistic utterance attributed to him – "wedlock is so esy and so clene,/ That in this world it is a paradys," – the style of rhetoric is too

elevated for the old knight.⁵⁵ On the other hand, neither does the voice resemble the same mocking narrator who says “Thus seyde this olde knyght, that was so wys,” in what Donaldson calls “as near to a sneer as poetry can come.”⁵⁶ And the positions expressed within the Marriage Encomium are not always internally consistent, as we would expect them to be if the narrator was voicing the passage.

More likely, the Marriage Encomium should be read as a presentation of general truths, *sententiae*, on the subject of marriage.⁵⁷ This would explain the use of the present tense which would characterize an abstract discussion. It would explain the inconsistencies of viewpoint, since *sententiae* could invoke an amalgam of perspectives. It would also provide a possible explanation for the rhetorical nature of the informal/ singular pronouns ‘thou/thee’ (in contrast to the formal/ plural pronouns ‘yow/ye’ used in the remainder of the tale for unspecified address) which are used repeatedly, if inconsistently, in this passage to evoke and address a male listener contemplating marriage. In the passage, the second and third person pronouns alternate – switching between a narrative account of Januarie and a rhetorical address with second person singular pronouns. In lines 1270-1292, the imaginary male contemplating marriage is mentioned in the third-person in terms which sound like Januarie, referring to the man “oold and hoor” (1269). The string of anaphoric references is evidently lost by the narrator after his switch to direct speech in lines 1296-1307, because he then adopts the second person for a more general address: “A wyf wol laste, and in *thyn* hous endure,/ Wel lenger than *thee* list, paraventure” (1317-18, italics mine). After then switching back to third-person pronouns in lines 1340-1358,⁵⁸ he reverts to the second person to address the potential husband again in lines 1360-1, which continues in 1377-1388. In this last section we find further evidence supporting the rhetorical nature of the informal second-person pronoun: it occurs in a near-quotation (though not indicated as such in the text) of scripture: “Love wel thy wyf, as Crist loved his chirche” (1384). The use of informal

second-person pronouns in this passage, then, could be seen as a rhetorical device, in emulation of Biblical and other rhetorical styles.

This stream of muddling pronoun references in the Marriage Encomium illustrates the seeming haphazard which characterizes the use of direct address in the *Merchant's Tale*. In the course of the tale, the narrator addresses Marcian, the perilous fire, the enemy in one's household, the traitorous servant, Januarie, Damyan, Ovid, and the audience (pilgrims and/or readers). As discussed in the previous paragraph, the narrator addresses the audience with the 'yow/ye' second person formal/plural, in deference to either the audience's "courtesye," or else its multiplicity. The address at line 2350: "Ladies, I prey yow not that ye be nat wrooth;/ I can nat glose, I am a rude man," has been used to justify the claim that Chaucer was thinking not of the mostly-male pilgrims, but of the more courtly audience in front of him.⁵⁹ And yet the closing to the tale appeals to this mostly-male audience: "Now, goode men, I pray yow to be glad./ Thus endeth heere my tale of Januarie;/ God blesse us, and his mooder Seinte Marie!" (2416). The narrator also addresses the audience in a general rhetorical manner and not always honestly, as in May's visit to Damyan which ends "This purs hath she inwith hir bosom hid/ And wente hire way; ye get namoore of me." (1944, italics mine). This feature of pointing to what is or is not present in the narrative occurs also, in line 1963, "How that he wroghte, I dar nat to yow telle," in which the narrator again metalinguistically points out his omission of the prurient detail in a clause of address.⁶⁰ The embedded address, then, communicates the narrator's content: a trick, considering that the metalinguistic forms pretend to be a commentary on the story and not a part of the story. Thus, we see again that the unspecified second-person pronouns which address the audience prove ultimately elusive with respect to the identity of the audience, or the referent of the addressing pronouns.

Chaucer, then, sometimes uses the feature of direct address in an indeterminate fashion. In the absence of a morphologically distinctive vocative case in English, these

blur together. We see this in 1732-1741, where Chaucer switches from the ‘thou/thee’ pronouns which address Marcian, to “Asseye it *youreself*, thanne may ye witen/ If that I lye or noon in this matiere” (1740, italics mine) which addresses the audience. While modern editors mark direct speech with quotation marks, they do not mark direct address. Our clues to direct address come through the pronouns and through the “O” invocations.

The Merchant’s Tale illustrates the power of indeterminate speech marking. The Marriage Encomium passage at the beginning of the tale presents a passage of ventriloquized authorities, sewn together and expressing a patchwork of opinions. We can see in this passage how indeterminate methods of speech marking can create genres outside of our contemporary methods of marking. The quoted authorities here come thick and fast, too thickly to mark them all overtly. And indeed it seems less important in the context of the tale to demarcate one voice from another than to understand that these are authoritative positions and opinions worthy of public consideration. Further, the addresses in the text invoke a changing direction. They refer variously to different audiences – the vocatives often indicate subjects from line to line – emphasizing how the audience as well as the voice can be unfixed.

Chaucer’s speech marking importantly participates in the narrative and aesthetic projects evidenced in his poems. The interpretive flexibility of less-determined speech tags permits the narrative to shift among different modes of discourse, addressees and speakers. Where the poems shift between modes of discourse, we see the artful slipping of speech representation that characterizes other Middle English poetry. This artful slipping elides the boundary between direct and indirect speech to create emphasis in discourse by shifting the grounds of the narrative to present an event in a different form.

Shifting among addressees redirects the discourse between different audiences, and this can serve both rhetorical and pedagogical purposes. In obscuring the object of address, as we saw with respect to the prologues to the *Pardoner’s Tale* and the *Wife of Bath’s Tale*, *The Canterbury Tales* can use ambiguous vocatives in particular passages to

direct messages covertly at pilgrims, readers and characters within tales. This permits a tale to instruct one audience by seemingly instructing another, or criticize one audience in order to criticize another. This shifting, therefore, vitally contributes to *The Canterbury Tales*' project of deferring responsibility for language and shifting blame for falsifications, fabrications and inappropriateness among poet, pilgrims, characters and ultimately to readers.

Shifting among speakers allows the poems to integrate different subjectivities into a single seamless discourse. Chaucer does, as previous critics have claimed, employ the voices of his pilgrims and characters to present different perspectives in the poems. But these voices are not always clearly distinguished from one another, and the indistinctness of the marking of their speech indicates the blurring of their identities in the narrative. *The Merchant's Tale*, for example, presents an extended passage where the voice shifts between different authorities, placing the weight of the narrative not upon the consistency of a single speaker, but upon the combined authority of the fused opinions, however inconsistent.

4. Conclusion

This chapter examines the work of three late fourteenth-century poets to investigate whether literary works were able to employ the more flexible methods of speech marking and the less determined boundaries between direct and indirect speech and narrative in a purposeful way. Chaucer, Langland and the poet of Cotton Nero A.10 illustrate how ambiguous or shifting speech marking can play a role in the arsenal of medieval poetic technique. Other poets might have been focused upon; Thomas Malory, for example, often uses narrative shifts in perspective in his works. Most texts, of course, have no motivation to mark speech indistinctly; indeed, the desire for coherence would compel them otherwise. Yet, some rhetorical and poetic projects are aided by productive

ambiguity, and we find that these works take advantage of the tools of artful indeterminacy. Examining the ways that these poets exploits speech marking to realize aspects of their poetic ambitions allows us to see how powerful fluid systems of discourse ordering can be. As we have seen, the alternate methods of organizing levels of narrative employed by premodern texts can contain a richness which we lose by overlaying modern punctuation conventions onto less-determined manuscripts.

NOTES:

¹F. Th. Visser discusses passages of indirect speech which shift to direct speech: F. Th. Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, Part II: Syntactical Units with One Verb (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), 781. The term "slipping" was coined by Gertrude Schuelke in Gertrude Schuelke, "'Slipping' in Indirect Discourse," *American Speech* 33, no. 2 (1958). It was used by Johan Kerling, "A Case of 'Slipping': Direct and Indirect Speech in Old English Prose," *Neophilologus* 66, no. 2 (1982), and Gerald Richman, "Artful Slipping in Old English," *Neophilologus* 70, no. 2 (1986).

² Richman, "Artful Slipping in Old English," and Gerald Richman, "The Stylistic Effect and Form of Direct Discourse in Old English Literature" (Ph.D., Yale University, 1977).

³Blake, *The English Language in Medieval Literature*, 67.

⁴Mary-Jo Arn, "On Punctuating Medieval Literary Texts," *Text* 7 (1994): 171.

⁵ William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, 3d [Rev.] ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1953 [1930]).

⁶ See H. Paul Grice, "Logic and Conversation," in *Syntax and Semantics*, ed. Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 45-6.

⁷ Ross G. Arthur, *Medieval Sign Theory and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 9. Also see Robert W. Hanning, "Sir Gawain and the Red Herring: The Perils of Interpretation," in *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in Its Contexts 700-1600* (Norman: Pilgrim Books, 1982).

⁸ All citations to the poems of Cotton Nero A.10 are from Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, eds., *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, York Medieval Texts, Second Series* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), unless otherwise specified.

⁹J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, eds., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2nd, ed. Norman Davis ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

¹⁰Paul Kiparsky, "Tense and Mood in Indo-European Syntax," *Foundations of Language* 4 (1968).

¹¹Jakobson, "Shifters, Verbal Categories and the Russian Verb," 136.

¹²See Suzanne Fleischman, "Discourse Functions of Tense-Aspect Oppositions in Narrative: Toward a Theory of Grounding," *Linguistics* 23 (1985); and her expanded version, Suzanne Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction* (Austin:

University of Texas Press, 1990), esp. Chapter 2: "A Theory of Tense-Aspect in Narrative Based on Markedness."

¹³Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction*, 55.

¹⁴I have used the Tolkien and Gordon edition here; Andrew and Waldron's is more emended.

¹⁵See R. Morris, ed., *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, vol. OS 4 (London: Early English Text Society, 1864), and Sir Israel Gollancz, ed., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (London: Early English Text Society, 1940).

¹⁶See note for lines 1283-5, Tolkien and Gordon, eds., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 110.

¹⁷The expression *style indirect libre* was coined by Bally, "Le Style Indirect Libre En Français Moderne," 549ff.

¹⁸Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, 150.

¹⁹See Coulmas, "Reported Speech: Some General Issues," .

²⁰See note in Tolkien and Gordon, eds., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 123.

²¹See the facsimile: Israel Gollancz, ed., *Pearl, Cleanness, Patience and Sir Gawain: Reproduced from Ms Cotton Nero A.X.*, vol. 162 (The Early English Text Society, 1923).

²²See, for example, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV 19-21, for a list of rhetorical figures of speech involving repetition.

²³For Augustine's pedagogy, see Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, ed. D. W. Robertson (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), 119, 34, 35, 43.

²⁴See Britton Harwood, "Pearl as Diptych," in *Text and Matter: New Critical Perspectives of the Pearl Poet*, ed. Robert J. Blanch, Miriam Youngerman Miller, and Julian Wasserman (Troy: Whitston, 1991), in which he argues that the structure of *Pearl* forms two halves of 10 groups each. He claims that the poem "appears to double back after the tenth group" (61).

²⁵Israel Gollancz, ed., *Patience*, 2nd ed. (London: 1924).

²⁶Robert J. Blanch and Julian N. Wasserman, *From Pearl to Gawain: Forme to Fynisment* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 113-4.

²⁷See George Kane, *Piers Plowman: The Evidence for Authorship* (London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1965). Most argue that the order of revision is A-B-C; See Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, "Piers Plowman," in *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Also, George Kane's Introduction to George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson, eds., *Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best, Piers Plowman: The B-Version* (London: The Athlone Press, 1975),

especially section III: "The Archetypal B Manuscript." Arguments for alternate orderings have been made by Jill Mann, "The Power of the Alphabet: A Reassessment of the Relation between the a and B Versions of Piers Plowman," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 8 (1994); John Bowers, "Piers Plowman's William Langland: Editing the Text, Writing the Author's Life," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 9 (1995); and Anne Hudson, "The Variable Text," in *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism*, ed. A. J. Minnis and Charlotte Brewer (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992).

²⁸ Mary Carruthers, *The Search for St. Truth: A Study of Meaning in Piers Plowman* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 44; and E. Talbot Donaldson, *Piers Plowman: The C-Text and Its Poet, Yale Studies in English. V.113* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1949), 70.

²⁹ Lavinia Griffiths, *Personification in Piers Plowman, Piers Plowman Studies* 3 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), 6.

³⁰ David Lawton, "The Subject of Piers Plowman," *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 1 (1987).

³¹ Anne Middleton, "Narration and the Invention of Experience," in *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1982), 96.

³² All quotations from Kane and Donaldson, eds., *Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best, Piers Plowman: The B-Version*. Sigla used to refer to the manuscript witnesses to textual points are also from the Athlone Press editions and are itemized in the Appendix. Most are sigla to the B-version of the text; others are specified.

³³ William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London: Everyman, 1995).

³⁴ Kane and Donaldson list the manuscripts which omit "to" as WCrYOC²CLM, p. 246.

³⁵ William Labov and Joshua Waletzky, "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience," in *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts: Proceedings of the 1996 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, ed. June Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), 29; Susan Ehrlich, "Literary Texts and the Violation of Narrative Norms," *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7, no. 1-4 (1997).

³⁶ Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, 45,309.

³⁷ “Goo” found in F, “:oo” found in R William Langland, “Will’s Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best,” in *Piers Plowman: The B Version*, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: The Athlone Press, 1975), 267.

³⁸ Passus IV line 137 (appears in WHmYOC²CBLMRFH: Kane doesn’t include); Passus VI lines 23, 230, and 259; Passus VII line 122 (om. in GF); Passus XI lines 380, 383, and 387; Passus XII lines 23 (om. in GFCot), and 295; Passus XIV line 325, 326, and 334; Passus XVII lines 48, 78, 89 (in WHmLRFYCB), and 198 (om. WHmCrGYC²BMLC); Passus XVIII lines 309 and 409; Passus XIX lines 209, 419, 451, 383, and 253 (only in WHmCrLMF); Passus XX lines 188, 268, 322, 357, and 358.

³⁹ MSS WHmCrGYOC²CBLMRF. See page 624.

⁴⁰ A contested claim. See note 1.

⁴¹ See Pearsall’s discussion of his editorial decisions in Derek Pearsall, “Theory and Practice in Middle English Editing,” *TEXT* 7 (1994): 122.

⁴² Skeat does provide a Passus XII under the heading “‘Supplement to Piers Plowman’, Part I Text A,” and Kane and Knott-Fowler include a Passus XII in their Appendices.

⁴³ Míceál Vaughan, “The Endings of *Piers Plowman A*,” in *Suche Werkis to Werche: Essays on Piers Plowman in Honor of David C. Fowler*, ed. Míceál Vaughan (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 226, 28.

⁴⁵ See George Lyman Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry: Lectures Delivered in 1914 on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), 155. Kittredge also draws a clear distinction between Chaucer and “the Dreamer” in *The Book of the Duchess*. He states that the first-person narrator of *The Book of the Duchess* is as much of a fiction as one of Chaucer’s pilgrims Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry: Lectures Delivered in 1914 on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University*, 48.

⁴⁶ From his essay “Chaucer the Pilgrim” (1954) reprinted in E. Talbot Donaldson, *Speaking of Chaucer* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1970).

⁴⁷ Derek Brewer, “The History of a Shady Character: The Narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde*,” in *Modes of Narrative: Approaches to American, Canadian and British Fiction*, ed. Reingard M. Nischik and Barbara Korte (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990), Bernard F. Huppé,

"The Unlikely Narrator: The Narrative Strategy of the *Troilus*," in *Signs and Symbols in Chaucer's Poetry*, ed. John P. Hermann and Jr. John J. Burke (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1981), John Stephens, "The Uses of Personae and the Art of Obliqueness in Some Chaucer Lyrics," *The Chaucer Review* 21, no. 3 (1987).

⁴⁸ Donald R. Howard, "Chaucer the Man," *PMLA* 80, no. 4 (1965); H. Marshall Leicester, Jr., "The Art of Impersonation: A General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*," *PMLA* 95 (1980); Judith H. Anderson, "Narrative Reflections: Re-Envisaging the Poet in *the Canterbury Tales* and *the Faerie Queene*," in *Refiguring Chaucer in the Renaissance*, ed. Theresa M. Krier (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

⁴⁹ Martin Stevens, "Narrative Focus in the Book of the Duchess: A Critical Reevaluation," *Annuaire Mediaevale* 7 (1966).

⁵⁰ Ian Bishop, "The Narrative Art of the Pardoner's Tale," *Medium Aevum* 36 (1967).

⁵¹ Charles A. Owen, Jr., "Fictions Living Fictions: The Poetics of Voice and Genre in Fragment D of the *Canterbury Tales*," in *Poetics: Theory and Practice in Medieval English Literature*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Suffolk: Brewer, 1991).

⁵² See Spearing, "Narrative Voice: The Case of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*"; A. C. Spearing, "A Ricardian 'I': The Narrator of 'Troilus and Criseyde'," in *Essays on Ricardian Literature in Honour of J. A. Burrow*, ed. A. J. Minnis et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); David Lawton, *Chaucer's Narrators* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Stephens, "The Uses of Personae and the Art of Obliqueness in Some Chaucer Lyrics," ; Derek Brewer, "Orality and Literacy in Chaucer," in *Mündlichkeit Und Schriftlichkeit Im Englischen Mittelalter*, ed. Willi Erzgräber and Sabine Volk (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1988), and Brewer, "The History of a Shady Character: The Narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde*."

⁵³ Barbara Nolan, "'a Poet Ther Was': Chaucer's Voices in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*," *PMLA* 101, no. 2 (1986).

⁵⁴ John Manly and Edith Rickert, eds., *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, vol. III (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 376.

⁵⁵ Asserted by Donald Benson, "The Marriage 'Encomium' in the Merchant's Tale: A Chaucerian Crux," *The Chaucer Review* 14, no. 1 (1979): 54.

⁵⁶ from Donaldson, *Speaking of Chaucer*, 37.

⁵⁷Benson, "The Marriage 'Encomium' in the Merchant's Tale: A Chaucerian Crux," 51.

⁵⁸ Here, in fact, the speaker uses the second person pronoun to address marriage: "O blisful ordre of wedlok precious,/ Thou are so murye..." (MerT 1347).

⁵⁹ Bertrand Bronson makes this claim, suggesting that the nuns were out of earshot and that the Wife of Bath would not have required an apology in Bertrand H. Bronson, "Afterthoughts on *the Merchant's Tale*," *Studies in Philology* 58, no. 4 (1961): 586.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the Merchant's purposeful silence, see Karla Taylor, "Chaucer's Reticent Merchant," in *The Idea of Medieval Literature: Essays in Honor of Donald R. Howard*, ed. James Dean and Christian Zacher (Newark: Delaware, 1992).

Conclusion:

Pragmatic Palimpsests

Contemporary editions of late Middle English texts routinely add quotation marks to assist readers in disentangling reported discourse. These quotation marks are helpful, and I do not want to make the claim that they should be avoided in editing medieval texts. We depend upon editions to make certain interpretative decisions which make historical texts amenable to our contemporary practices of reading. This research shows, however, that adding punctuation to designate passages of reported discourse creates pragmatic palimpsests or texts which combine medieval lexical content with modern interpretative apparatus. If we practice appropriate rigor in our scholarly reading, we must consider the pragmatics of the medieval manuscript, and allow this consideration to inform our understanding of medieval writing.

Pragmatic strategies for reporting discourse in medieval manuscripts take two basic forms: strategies that employ the visual organization of the manuscript page, and strategies that employ its lexical content. When we examine the physical appearance of manuscripts, we find that scribes engaged in *compilatio*, ordering the content of the manuscript through marginalia, rubrication and punctuation. The manuscript record reveals that one aspect of a text which they found important to mark was the appearance of quotations. Quotations were important to designate, however, not because they represented a shift in modes of discourse – as in present-day practices – but because they constitute *sententiae*, the voices of *auctores* who could confirm the truth behind the

words. One shift in the ordering of the *mise-en-page* occurred in the sixteenth century, when printers and compositors began adding punctuation marks like parentheses to distinguish modes of discourse, therefore; and another happened in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when inverted commas went from marking *sententiae* to marking reported speech. These shifts are parallel to an evolution in the conception of authority, a change from a conception of truth which resides in people, to one where truth is located in texts. Marking *sententiae* is a way for the text to connect to the truth of an authorized person, grounding the words in the authority of an individual. Marking reported speech, on the other hand, is a way for the text to authorize the truth of the words, to assert that this representation is lexically faithful. The transformation happened slowly, as print and widening literacy gradually pulled the cultural pendulum further away from the values of an oral society.

Owing to the instability of manuscript methods of marking and the collaborative nature of manuscript production, early writers of English had to distinguish modes of discourse with the words of the texts themselves. Lexical items like vocatives, interjections, and especially verbs of speaking were coopted for the purpose of marking reported speech. Through their frequent repetition and pragmatic strengthening, certain quotatives were partially grammaticalized in premodern discourse, serving a discourse organizational function. We can see this partial grammaticalization in the usage of the verb “to say,” and in the adverb “videlicet” within the genre of defamation depositions. These usages can be instructive for the understanding of grammaticalization, because they show that grammaticalization provides one pragmatic strategy for speakers and writers to fulfil communicative needs, but that other pragmatic solutions – in this case,

punctuation and type faces – could lessen the need for the grammaticalized form. In our reading of medieval texts, therefore, it is important to read these repeated words not as infelicitous stylistic choices, but as grammatical signposts.

Further, although medieval manuscripts did have particular strategies for designating reported discourse, they also differ from present-day texts because these strategies were optional. In other words, medieval texts did not have to employ any methods of marking speech, and those they did use were less restrictive in the ways that they functioned. It would be odd, therefore, if medieval texts approached their reported discourse in the same way as modern writers and readers do. I find on the contrary that the verbatim assumption which present-day English professes to apply to written direct quotation does not seem to function as strictly in premodern texts. Premodern texts demonstrate an awareness of faithfulness in reporting, but the inability of copyists to reproduce works exactly, the absence of recording equipment, and the feebleness of the apparatus for precisely denoting reported speech all create a culture in which strict faithfulness was not a viable prerequisite for direct speech reporting. The premodern reporting of direct speech in written language may have been more like present-day practices for oral reporting: the form of direct speech only indicates that the speaker intends to perform the utterance which she is reporting, and not that she will capture every word. Defamation depositions and sermons in late Middle English reveal the contradictory pressures that different genres put on speech reporting, and present a conception of quotation which may profess adherence to *de dicto* ideals, but doesn't require it.

When we read the canonical texts of late fourteenth-century English literature, we often make many assumptions about the works which derive from our experience of their edited forms. Recognizing the pragmatic strategies of speech marking in the manuscript versions of literary texts hones our understanding of the rhetorical techniques open to premodern English poets. The *Gawain*-poet, William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer all work within the blurriness of Middle English marking of reported discourse and their works are enriched by considering the interpretative possibilities of an artful use of indeterminate voice. The poems of the *Gawain*-poet use the shifting subjectivity of less-determined practices of assigning textual voices to instruct the reader in the semantic and conceptual shifts necessary for moving from a courtly reality to a heavenly one. Langland's *Piers Plowman* presents a dream narrative where the blurring in speech marking corresponds to a blurring between Will and the allegorical figures of his dream; the obscurity involves the reader in his redemptive journey. Chaucer's poems dextrously engage the shifting relationship between the addressee and the addressed, using the inconclusive forms of speech reporting to compel passages to serve two masters – to articulate perilous linguistic matter while profiting from speech reporting norms which transfer responsibility for the content.

In enclosing direct speech with quotation marks, then, we do not do medieval texts an unqualified service. By acknowledging the subtle ways in which medieval writers used their own systems of speech marking, we come to a richer sense and a deeper appreciation of their written and literary legacy.

If þu haue mich in þe mynde . and unachandise . lene it
 for þou hast no good ground . to geve þee þis a wastel
 But if it were þis in tonge . or ellis þis in alle hondes
 for þe good þat þou hast geuen . bigamial þis falschede
 And as longe as þou leneþ þe . þat . þou yeldest noȝt out boðleþ .

When if þou wite neede to wiche . ne whom to restreue
 þey it to þe þyshop . and bid hym of his gre
 wiche it hym self . as best is for þe wile
 for he schal answere for þee . at þe here some
 for þee and for many mo . þat man schal þene a sekemur
 what he leneþ þou in leue . leue þou noȝt oȝer
 and what he leueþ of oure lordes good . to leue þou þe oȝer

Bula **W**hen bigynner Eldon . for to go to churche
 and lene hym to byschop . his coue to churche
 and geuen þe wiche . þat hym good wiche
 and aske at hym þis þat . what þat he wiche

To holy churche quod he . for to here masse
 and oȝer 7 wiche be churche . and oȝer nameore

I have good ale somþ quod he . Eldon wiche assaye

Iustice out in þe mynde quod he . and hore oȝer

I have penny and wones quod he . and a pound of galleat
 and a ferrynge boon at fenel fees . for fastynge dayes

I have god Eldon in . and geue oȝer affe
 Cesse þe souresesse . out on þe benche
 wiche þe wiche . and þis wiche hore
 wiche þe wiche . and wiche of his wiche
 wiche þe wiche . and hore þe wiche

Figure 1: Cambridge, Trinity College
MS B.15.17 (W), f28v

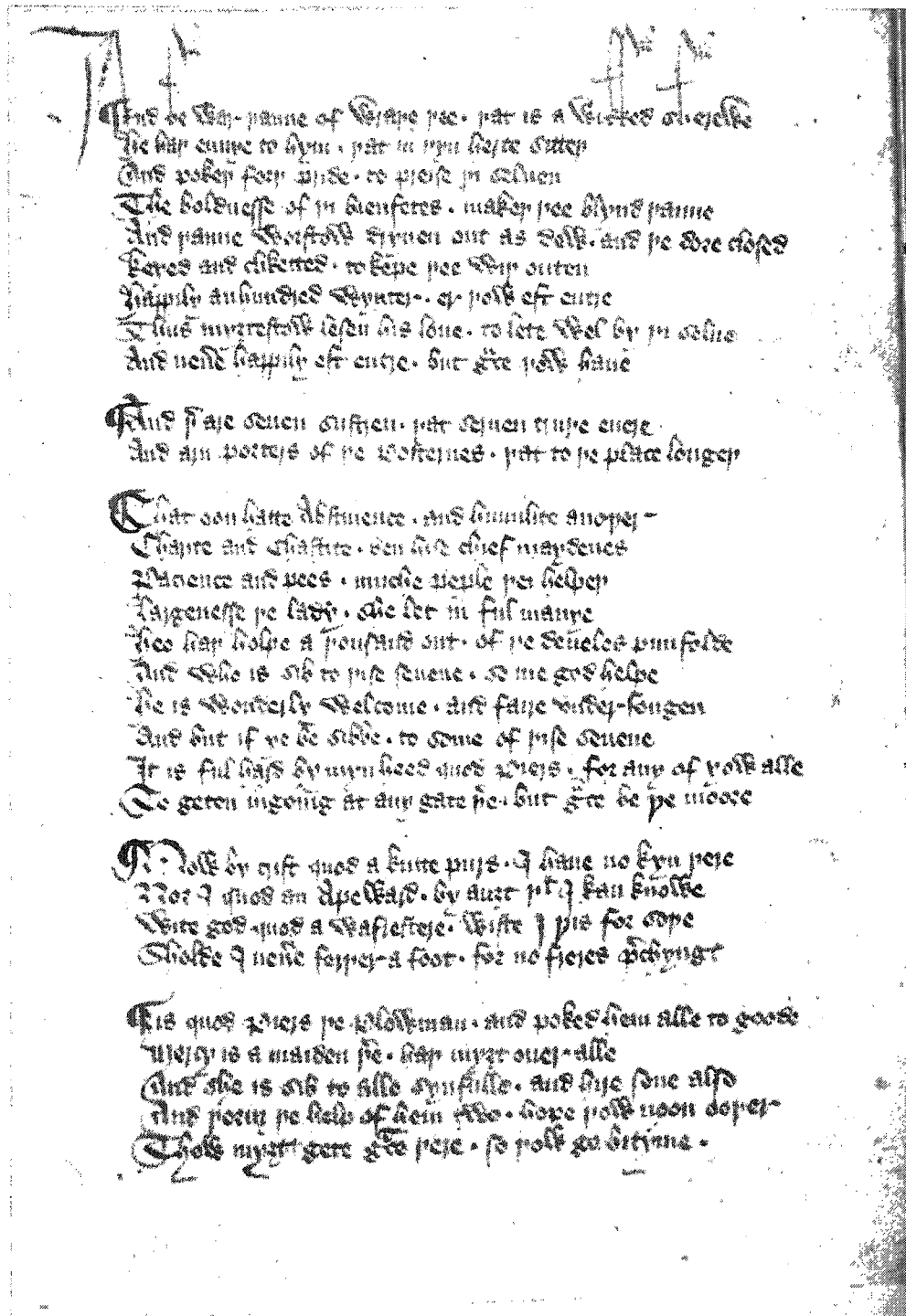


Figure 2: Cambridge, Trinity College
MS B.15.17 (W), f34v

23

Therewithin pat lady / she lette out ful arraye.
The hip delivred a polycow / othe of p' dencly's powfulde.
E she is next by sibbe p' gabeno / so me god helpe.
E she will bechepeh Wollome zell / z' the zell hudy forge.
E but see ben sibbe / q' p' s' / to stuns of p' s' gabeno.
E y' p' s' / by my hedd / for ouy of zoll alle.
Eo p' s' in passage / at ouy gate / but s' to be p' ouy.
A: by cressit q' a e' uacopy s' / y' have no leu / p' s' /
A: y' / q' an apellard / by alleht / pat y' tuald.
A: Wolke w' d' a' gessas' / p' y' v' s' / f' s' /
Wolke y' uoid a' fove / for the' / for no' f' p' s' /
p' s' / q' p' s' / p' s' / p' s' / p' s' / p' s' /
p' s' / a' g' d' a' p' s' / a' g' d' a' / p' s' / a' g' d' a' /
The y' s' b' l' e' to' c' y' n' f' u' l' / e' w' y' s' h' / s' o' u' s' a' l' p' /
E p' s' h' / p' h' e' l' p' e' o' f' h' e' u' i' t' h' o' / h' o' p' e' s' / n' o' u' o' p' i' /
E p' s' h' e' g' a' t' h' e' p' e' p' / b' y' w' o' p' / s' a' o' h' y' t' y' m' e' s' /
E p' s' h' e' p' a' u' l' q' a' p' a' y' d' e' n' / p' a' t' e' n' t' y' b' e' n' o' t' h' o' l' l' e' m' o' /
E w' i' l' l' e' s' o' f' o' u' c' h' / m' y' l' o' y' / w' e' p' / s' / s' h' o' p' i' s' / h' e' l' e' s' /
E y' p' s' a' s' o' u' m' o' n' / d' o' m' i' n' / m' / p' s' / e' u' p' i' n' a' y' / l' i' d' y' / t' h' e' n' d' a' /
E o' y' e' p' s' a' u' / p' s' / s' h' / m' / c' y' r' e' s' / p' e' d' / t' h' e' w' e' n' d' e' /
E p' s' h' e' p' a' / w' i' l' l' b' i' s' / t' h' e' y' / b' u' t' t' h' e' h' a' d' d' e' a' g' e' d' a' / p' s' / h' u' i' s' / p' o' t' /
E w' o' l' d' e' f' a' l' l' e' p' a' o' u' y' f' o' o' t' e' / i' n' u' o' f' o' l' l' / d' e' s' / n' a' y' z' e' /
E p' s' p' e' s' / p' l' o' t' t' h' i' n' a' u' / p' o' / b' y' s' e' p' t' / p' e' e' o' f' / e' a' u' e' /
E h' a' b' e' a' u' h' a' l' f' / u' e' q' o' t' o' e' z' y' o' / b' y' p' s' h' y' z' e' / t' h' e' y' o' /
E h' e' s' s' e' y' h' e' y' d' / y' h' a' l' f' / a' n' o' / e' a' y' s' o' l' t' h' e' r' / a' p' e' /
E w' o' l' d' e' w' o' u' l' d' e' / t' h' z' o' l' l' / e' / p' s' / t' h' e' y' z' o' l' l' r' e' a' d' i' n' g' /
E p' s' t' h' e' y' a' l' o' n' g' / l' e' n' g' t' h' / q' a' l' a' d' y' / w' i' t' a' s' f' l' a' y' z' e' /
E w' h' a' t' s' h' a' l' t' / t' h' e' w' o' m' e' n' / t' h' e' y' c' h' e' n' p' e' s' / t' h' e' y' l' e' s' /
E s' i' n' n' e' e' h' i' l' l' / w' o' l' d' e' p' a' u' l' q' p' e' c' / s' / f' o' r' t' h' e' s' t' / o' f' / t' h' e' a' u' /
E z' e' e' l' o' b' e' l' y' / l' a' d' y' s' / w' o' z' o' n' g' / l' o' n' g' / f' p' u' s' / p' s' /
E l' o' k' e' z' e' e' h' a' v' e' s' y' l' l' / e' a' y' d' a' l' / t' o' w' o' l' d' e' / t' h' a' u' / t' p' o' t' i' o' n' /
E s' o' m' a' l' l' e' c' h' e' s' t' p' h' i' s' / f' o' r' / e' c' h' a' p' e' l' e' r' s' / e' c' h' y' e' d' i' s' / t' o' / h' o' u' o' u' r' /
E z' e' e' h' e' d' i' s' / e' c' h' e' d' e' l' e' s' / w' e' l' l' u' / e' s' f' l' e' x' z' e' e' s' p' u' o' /
E w' a' t' e' r' d' o' y' / e' c' o' p' u' l' e' z' o' l' l' / e' z' / d' o' n' n' e' y' / e' a' z' o' u' p' / d' o' l' l' e' r' s' /
E n' a' d' y' / e' s' / n' a' k' e' d' o' / n' e' s' a' y' h' e' d' e' h' o' l' l' p' e' y' h' e' y' o' /
E c' a' s' t' e' y' o' n' / h' e' u' / d' o' y' s' / e' a' c' o' u' n' d' i' n' g' / z' o' l' l' c' y' o' l' l' y' s' /
E f' o' r' y' s' h' a' l' l' / l' e' u' e' h' e' u' h' / f' l' e' d' o' / b' u' t' i' f' m' y' / l' o' u' d' e' / f' a' y' l' o' /
E w' e' p' s' t' o' l' l' / e' h' e' a' d' / t' o' p' e' h' e' / e' / t' o' p' o' o' r' e' /
E s' o' l' o' n' g' e' r' / a' s' y' l' l' o' / f' o' r' p' s' / l' a' y' / l' o' b' e' / i' n' / h' e' u' o' /
E a' l' l' m' a' n' y' / o' f' m' e' / y' w' e' m' e' a' / e' s' y' s' t' / l' o' b' b' y' u' /
E t' h' i' l' l' h' e' l' p' e' / t' o' / t' h' e' / w' o' l' d' e' / / t' o' / w' e' y' u' s' / e' z' o' n' y' / f' a' c' e' /

Figure 4: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 201 (F), f23r

I go well w of my flosse now yt p sup dte
 I have be rde of 2^o compus & I can
 goe wtt ptt ptt in ptt
 I goe in compas & ptt of my gny cund
 wor f ptt do noy nce I have do goe w god
 I goe ptt nce I mde ptt of my up dte cody cund
 to have ptt & momey of my self & w ptt ptt
 to ptt me from att ptt ptt ptt
 ymde to come q cund od & m cunde ptt ptt
 do ptt and my ptt ptt of my dte

John
 John

I goe wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt

now ptt

now ptt

I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt

now ptt

now ptt

I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt

now ptt

now ptt

I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt

now ptt

now ptt

now ptt

now ptt

I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt
 I goe a ptt ptt wtt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt ptt

now ptt

now ptt

now ptt

now ptt

John
 John

Figure 5: Macro Manuscript, f126r

APPENDIX:

Sigla for cited manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*

I. Manuscripts in the A-Tradition

- Ch Liverpool, University Library, MS Chaderton; F.4.8
 H² London, British Library, MS Harley 6041
 J New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Ingilby M 818
 K Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 145
 M London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 687
 R Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poetry 137
 T Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.14
 U Oxford, University College, MS 45
 W The Duke of Westminster's Manuscript, Eaton Hall

II. Manuscripts in the B-Tradition

- W Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.17
 Hm San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 128
 Hm² II 209-III 72a (in two separate fragments bound with Hm)
 Cr Robert Crowley's three impressions of 1550 (Cr^{1,2,3} cited as Cr when agreeing)
 G Cambridge, University Library MS Gg. 4.31
 Y Cambridge, Newnham College MS 070 (Yates-Thompson MS)
 O Oxford, Oriel College MS 79 (defective at XVII 97-344, XIX 283-361)
 C² Cambridge, University Library MS Ll. 4.14

- C Cambridge, University Library MS Dd. 1.17
- B London, British Library MS Additional 10574 (Bm); Oxford, Bodleian Library 814 (Bo); London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A xi (Cot); (cited as B when agreeing; Bm defective after XX 356). B is a 'conjoint' MS, preceded by C Pr-II 128 + A II 86-198
- L Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 581
- M London, British Library MS Additional 35287
- H London, British Library MS Harley 3954 (conjoint MS, B Pr-V 125 followed by AV 107-XI=A-MS H³)
- R London, British Library MS Lansdowne 398; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 38 (contains Pr 125-I 140, II 41-XVIII 4412, XX 27-end)
- F Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 201
- Ht San Marino, Huntington Library MS 114 (a conflated text of A, B and C)
- S Tokto, MS Takamiya I; formerly Sion College MS Arc. L. 40 2?E. (A modernized text)

III. Manuscripts in the C-Tradition

- A London, University of London Library MS S.L. V17
- D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 104
- D² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 145
- U London, British Library, MS Addl. 35157
- O London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.10
- E Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 656
- H² London, British Library MS Harley 6041
- K Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 171
- N London, British Library MS Harley 2376
- Z Bodleian Library MS Bodley 851

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