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Tense Choice in Indirect Speech

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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„Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla úplný seznam citované a použité literatury.“

V Olomouci dne 12. 8. 2011

.....

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC(s)	adverbial clause(s)
ACC(s)	attributive content clause(s)
CIS	composite indirect speech
ERS	embedded reported speech
IS	indirect speech
non-rest.	non-restrictive
NRS	non-embedded reported speech
OC(s)	object clause(s)
P/P INF	present/past infinitive
PasP	past perfect
PasT	past tense
PREF. NO.	preference number
PresT	present tense
RC(s)	relative clause(s)
rest.	restrictive
S(s)	supplement(s)
SC(s)	subject clause(s)
SCompl(s)	clause(s) in the function of subject complement
wrt	with respect to

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1.	DIRECT VS. INDIRECT REPORTED SPEECH	4
1.2.	STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF INDIRECT REPORTED SPEECH	6
1.3.	REPORTING VERBS.....	10
1.4.	DEIXIS	13
1.4.1.	<i>General Issue</i>	<i>13</i>
1.4.2.	<i>Person Deixis.....</i>	<i>14</i>
1.4.3.	<i>Tense as a Deictic Phenomenon and Indirect Speech</i>	<i>15</i>
1.4.4.	<i>Tense in Indirect Speech: Backshift.....</i>	<i>19</i>
1.4.5.	<i>Modal Verbs in Indirect Speech.....</i>	<i>21</i>
1.4.6.	<i>Time Adverbials</i>	<i>23</i>
1.4.7.	<i>Tense and Time Adverbials in Indirect Speech.....</i>	<i>28</i>
2	PRINCIPLES AND HYPOTHESES	32
2.1.	FACTORS IN OPTIONAL AND OBLIGATORY BACKSHIFTING	32
2.2.	BACKSHIFT IN COMPOSITE INDIRECT SPEECH	38
2.3.	MODE OF RESEARCH.....	43
2.4.	HYPOTHESES.....	46
3	RESEARCH: EVALUATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES	59
3.1.	QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN AND DISTRIBUTION	59
3.2.	EVALUATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES	68
3.2.1.	<i>Tense Choice in Simple Indirect Speech.....</i>	<i>68</i>
3.2.2.	<i>Tense Choice in Composite Indirect Speech.....</i>	<i>91</i>
4	CONCLUSION	127
	APPENDIX 1.....	137
	APPENDIX 2.....	138
	APPENDIX 3.....	147
	APPENDIX 4.....	154
	RESUMÉ	156
	REFERENCES.....	162
	ARTICLES FROM <i>THE LONDON TIMES</i> ONLINE (ART)	165
	ANOTACE	168

LIST OF TABLES

Embedded and non-embedded reported speech in a sample of 1,441 tokens.....	7
Frequency of tense forms in NRS in a sample of 100 clauses.....	8
List and frequency of reporting verbs in a sample of 327 tokens with CIS.....	12
Formal representation of tense forms in indirect speech.....	20
Formal representation of modal auxiliaries in indirect speech.....	22
Time expressions in indirect speech in a sample of 118 tokens.....	26
Choice of tense forms in clauses with time expressions in a sample of 99 tokens.....	30
Tense choice wrt the type of clauses in indirect speech in a sample of 766 clauses....	48
Position of object clauses in indirect speech (IS) in a sample of 505 clauses.....	48
Tense choice wrt the type of object clauses in a sample of 505 clauses.....	50
Tense choice wrt the type of relative and adverbial clauses.....	51
Tense choice in clauses on which time clauses depend in a sample of 47 clauses.....	52
Tense choice wrt passive voice, progressive aspect and the verb <i>be</i>	54
Basic tense changes in reported speech.....	137

1 Introduction

The thesis is intended to investigate what tense forms native speakers select in indirect reported speech and how the particular tense choice can be explained. The main tool for this research is questionnaires that were completed by native speakers in Great Britain. The study thus focuses on British English, although there is no evidence that the problems vary across different varieties of English.

From the syntactic point of view, the indirect reported speech which I am concerned with in the thesis is a subordinate unit that consists of one or more dependent clauses. Both cases are illustrated by the following examples:

- [1] Jill **said** the payment was due yesterday (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 155).
[2] Mr Arar **said** that he was held in a tiny cell and tortured into confessing that he had trained in a terrorist camp in Afghanistan (Art120).¹

For analyzing tense forms and tense,² it is necessary that reporting verbs be in the past or past perfect tense³ because in this case backshift of tenses in indirect speech is triggered most frequently. In other words, reporting verbs in the past or past perfect tense make time references in indirect speech change “according to the time of the reported utterance” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1029). In indirect speech the past and past perfect tense offer several possibilities of interpretation (Selucká 2008, 21). In sentences with more complex structures, such as [2], these forms are discussed most. As regards indirect speech in general, however, conditions under which the present or present perfect is selected are also considered.

In the past, linguists dealt mainly with indirect speech underlined in [1]. The aim of this thesis is also to explore sentences like [2]. In doing so, it is however inevitable to consider principles that are valid in indirect speech in general. Besides basic rules included

¹ The abbreviation Art120 stands for the article published in *The London Times* online newspaper from which the example is taken. The list of all articles which contain examples used in this study is given on pages 165-167. The examples are used especially for illustrating findings presented in Selucká (2008), in which the examples were analyzed. For a detailed description of the research carried out in Selucká (2008) see Note 8.

² Unlike the “abstract concept” of tense, a tense form is a “concrete verb form,” realized by “a morpheme (e.g. the past tense morpheme), an auxiliary (e.g. *will*) or a combination of these (e.g. *would*)” (Declerck 1995, 3).

³ The category of progressive and simple aspect of verbs is not distinguished. If it is, it is mentioned together with the tense.

in nearly all grammar textbooks (see Appendix 1), it is essential to know in what situations backshift is optional. Quirk et al. (1985, 1027), for instance, state that backshift is not necessary when “the time-reference of the original utterance is valid at the time of the reported utterance” and that the past tense is favoured over the past perfect “when the context makes the relative time references clear.” Apart from instances like [2], the questionnaires mentioned above are focused on tense choice in indirect speech that is in the form of one dependent clause. Their evaluation will therefore provide information on tense choice in examples like [1], which is determined by factors in optional and obligatory backshifting.

As regards sentences like [2], Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156) clarify that a non-backshifted tense cannot follow a backshifted one in indirect reported speech with “more than one level of embedding.” This principle is quite general. When investigating the issue in the corpus of sentences taken from the articles published in *The London Times* newspaper, it was revealed that this rule does not always need to prove right unless semantic and grammatical properties of verbs and the type of subordinate clauses are considered (Selucká 2008, 52).

In sentence [3] the indirect speech consists of three dependent clauses with two levels of embedding. The underlined clause is a temporal clause with a clear time specification, in which, according to Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123), the past tense is often favoured over the past perfect. However, this may not apply to tense forms in clauses dependent on time clauses.

[3] She **told** the jury that she had been travelling back to Loughborough in March when her daughter told her what the teenager had said (Art 57).

Unlike Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123) are concerned with the impact of grammatical properties of verbs and the type of subordinate clauses on tense choice in indirect speech. As for time clauses, they also argue that sentences with time clauses which contain verbs in the past tense most frequently give preference to the past tense over the past perfective (123). The analysis of the corpus of sentences described in “Backshift in Indirect Speech” has revealed that the number of the past perfect in time clauses is not insignificant. The ratio of the past perfect to the past tense in time clauses is 15:28.

In Selucká (2008, 45-46), I also focus on sentences with time expressions (for example *tomorrow*) in which the past perfective (33 occurrences out of 99) appears almost as frequently as the past simple tense (38 occurrences out of 99). To what extent these hypotheses hold valid and how this issue is perceived by native speakers will result from the evaluation of the questionnaires.

Besides principles discussed in grammar books, in the last thirty years there have been linguists who have tackled various aspects of tense in indirect speech, contributing their papers to scholarly journals. Their opinions and ideas are considered throughout the thesis. In doing so, I will pay particular attention to the theory formulated in Declerck (1990 and 1995) who, among other things, deals with tense choice in indirect speech which consists of two or more dependent clauses with respect to the type of subordinate clauses.

As far as the structure of the thesis is concerned, Chapter 1 focuses on clarifying basic problems connected with the issue of tense choice in indirect speech. In this chapter, the possibility of deriving direct speech from indirect speech (and vice versa), structure and function of indirect speech that consists of one or more dependent clauses, the impact of reporting verbs on tense choice in indirect speech and the issue of deixis (especially tense and time adverbials) are discussed. Chapter 2 deals with principles governing backshift in indirect speech consisting of one or more dependent clauses, stating under what conditions backshift is optional. The chapter also describes what modes are most suitable for research into the issue of tense choice in indirect speech. Finally, hypotheses resulting from the research carried out in Selucká (2008) are formulated.

Chapter 3 is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the way of designing the questionnaire, its organization, method of completion and distribution. This section is also concerned with subject-specific problems, which a researcher has to take into account. In the second section, the questionnaires are evaluated and their content is analyzed. Throughout the second section, moreover, the results obtained from the questionnaires are confronted with the hypotheses and with principles of optional backshifting in indirect speech that is in the form of one dependent clause. In doing so, the hypotheses are either confirmed or contradicted.

1.1. Direct vs. Indirect Reported Speech

Reported speech is used for reporting people's words and thoughts both directly and indirectly. Typically, direct speech "conveys, or claims to convey, the exact words of the original speaker" (Coulmas 1986, 2), whereas "indirect speech gives only" the "content" of the original utterance (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1023). The underlined parts in examples [4] and [5] refer to direct and indirect speech respectively:

- [4] i. He **said**, 'I have/had no immediate details on whether there are/were any casualties.' [direct speech: VERSION 1]
ii. He **said**, 'I don't/didn't know if anybody was killed or injured.' [direct speech: VERSION 2]
iii. He **said**, 'Well...erm...*unfortunately*, I have/had no immediate details on whether there are/were any casualties.' [direct speech: VERSION 3]
- [5] He **said** [that] he had no immediate details on whether there were any casualties (Art26).⁴ [indirect speech]

This chapter deals with the (im)possibility of deriving direct speech from indirect and vice versa. Because indirect speech conveys only the content of the original utterance, it is very difficult (or rather impossible) to find the exact direct speech equivalent to a particular indirect speech example. Provided that example [5] is given and the reporter does not know the exact wording of the original utterance, there are a lot of direct speech versions that can correspond to the indirect speech in [5]. In example [4] I mention three versions which differ in grammatical structures, but which have the same informational content.

The grammatical structure of the direct speech in [4]i follows the structure of the indirect speech. The direct speech in [4]ii does not make use of the structure used in its indirect speech correspondent. The direct speech in [4]iii includes expressions typical of spoken language, such as fillers (*erm*) and hesitators (*well*), which (as well as Yes/No short answers) are not generally present in indirect speech (Alexander 1988, 290). In addition,

⁴ Example [5] is taken from Article No. 26 in *The London Times* online newspaper. This example is provided with three direct speech correspondents (see example [4]) containing verbs in all tense forms that the original speaker could possibly use, compared to tense forms in the indirect speech in example [5]. The three versions are not however exhaustive, for we do not know the exact words of the original speaker.

[4]iii contains the evaluative adjunct *unfortunately*, which does not need to be necessarily reproduced in indirect speech, as illustrated by example [5]. This issue is discussed in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 773) who claim that it is “uncommon for evaluative adjuncts to be retained in reported speech,” for “they are not a central part of what was said and thus liable to be omitted.”

The impossibility of deriving the precise direct speech version from a particular indirect speech example is an important assumption in the field of research into reported speech. Above all, it has an impact on the choice of the most appropriate mode of research, which cannot be based on comparing indirect speech with its corresponding direct speech version unless the latter is unambiguously given. This mode of research could be employed if we had a sufficient amount of direct and indirect speech pairs, which are difficult to obtain for non-native speakers.⁵ This is one of the factors that make the analysis of tense in indirect speech a complicated issue and the choice of an appropriate mode of research difficult. For this reason, some linguists like Salkie and Reed (1997) do not presuppose the original utterance at all, fully relying on contextual knowledge.

In practice, however, language users are more interested in deriving indirect speech from direct than in the reverse transformation. They need to know how to report events and actions and to make use of the original speakers’ statements. In general, it is not so difficult to derive indirect speech from direct. Comrie (1993, 108) talks about two changes: “the shift of deictic centre”, which is discussed in Chapter 1.4, and the reporter’s adaptation of the original speaker’s utterance. In indirect speech, the reporter is free either to omit some information or add something new from his/her point of view and “on the basis of his knowledge about the world” (Coulmas 1986, 3).

Omission and addition of information on the part of the reporter are in accordance with Comrie’s (1986, 267) claim that there are “several indirect speech correspondents to a given direct speech example,” for every reporter has different information about the situation and general knowledge. The former case applies to, among others, evaluative adjuncts like *unfortunately* in example [4]iii. On the other hand, the reporter can introduce additional information in indirect speech, which can cause confusions (Coulmas 1986, 2-6). In example [6], for instance, it is not clear whether the italicized expression *educated* was said by the original speaker, namely Abu Ibrahim, or whether it belongs to the reporter’s knowledge of Abu Ibrahim’s personal life.

⁵ The most appropriate mode of research into reported speech, more specifically into tense in indirect speech, is discussed in Chapter 2.3.

- [6] Abu Ibrahim **explained** that he had become/became engaged two months ago to an *educated* young woman (Q11).⁶

For analyzing tense and tense forms in indirect speech, this issue is of great significance because the new information added by the reporter from his/her perspective can lay more emphasis on the reporting utterance rather than on the original one, which may influence tense choice in indirect speech. In general, it is not the emphasis on the reporting utterance that is studied by linguists in connection with tense choice in indirect speech. Linguists are predominantly concerned with the opposite phenomenon—the emphasis on the original utterance. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 157), for instance, claim that the backshifted version is favoured over the non-backshifted one⁷ if both options are possible and “the focus is on the original utterance.” Moreover, the thesis is based on the results of the research into indirect speech in *The London Times* online newspaper articles, carried out in Selucká (2008),⁸ which presupposes a reporter who strives for reporting recent news as faithfully as possible, preserving the entire content (and form) of the original.

1.2. Structure and Function of Indirect Reported Speech

Indirect speech generally occurs in two syntactic structures: embedded and non-embedded (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1024). The embedded reported speech (ERS), further referred to only as indirect speech, is exemplified by [5] and [6]. These examples

⁶ The abbreviation Q11 refers to sentence No. 11 in the questionnaire I designed and let native speakers in Britain complete to verify or refute hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2.4 and to obtain data that will be confronted with principles described in Chapter 2.1. The questionnaire is attached in Appendix 2. The indirect speech in examples that come from the questionnaire is provided with all tense forms from which native speakers could choose.

⁷ Backshift of tenses in indirect speech is discussed in Chapter 1.4.4. It is however necessary to note that the time of the situation in the reporting frame introducing indirect speech in this study is always past.

⁸ For the research carried out in Selucká (2008), I compiled a corpus of sentences by reading articles in *The London Times* online newspaper. I read 191 articles (written by 108 reporters) from which I compiled 1,441 instances of indirect speech (Selucká 2008, 8). All instances were used for analysis only marginally. Out of 1,441 instances, I selected those that contain indirect speech introduced with a reporting verb in the past or past perfect tense (Condition 1) and that consists of more than one dependent clause (Condition 2) (8). The total number of tokens* with embedded reported speech fulfilling these two conditions is 327 (8). This sample was analyzed, and the findings were formulated in the form of hypotheses (outlined in Chapter 2.4), which are confronted with the results obtained from questionnaires in Chapter 3. In addition, there are 39 tokens with non-embedded reported speech fulfilling Conditions 1 and 2. Because this sample is not sufficient, it could not be subject to detailed analysis.

* A token refers to one occurrence of embedded or non-embedded indirect speech that consists of one or more dependent clauses in the corpus of sentences.

show that it has the form of a subordinate clause, namely “a nominal that-clause” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1025), dependent on the reporting frame (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1023) or, more specifically, on the reporting verb in the reporting frame. The non-embedded reported speech (NRS), illustrated by the underlined part of example [7], takes the form of an independent clause and is not therefore embedded in a reporting frame, which functions syntactically as “a parenthetical, a kind of supplement” (1024).

[7] He had no immediate details on whether there were any casualties, he **said**.⁹

Concerning the occurrence of the two syntactic constructions in newspaper style, the research has revealed that embedded reported speech is much more frequent than non-embedded (Selucká 2008, 17-18). Table 1 shows that nearly 88% of 1,441 tokens are in the form of embedded reported speech, compared to 12% that take the form of non-embedded reported speech.

Table 1: Embedded and non-embedded reported speech in a sample of 1,441 tokens

	Number	Percentage (%)
ERS	1,263	87.6
NRS	178	12.4

Data from Selucká (2008, 18)

As for complexity, both embedded and non-embedded reported speech can consist of one or more dependent clauses. As the above examples suggest, this study pays particular attention to tense choice in embedded reported speech which consists of two or more dependent clauses. Such complex indirect reported speech is further referred to as ‘composite indirect speech’, while indirect speech in the form of one clause is called ‘simple indirect speech’. Tense choice in non-embedded reported speech is rarely discussed in modern grammars. In general, linguists explain tense behaviour in indirect speech by using examples with embedded reported speech.

⁹ The embedded reported speech from example [5] is transformed into the non-embedded reported speech in example [7].

Tense choice in non-embedded reported speech can be influenced by its syntactic independence of the reporting frame. In Selucká (2008, 46-47), I touched on this issue, analyzing tokens with non-embedded reported speech consisting of more than one clause. The total number of tokens fulfilling these conditions however is not sufficient. More precisely, there are 39 tokens with 100 clauses (both dependent and independent) in non-embedded reported speech. Focusing on choice between the past and past perfect tense, the research has revealed (see Table 2) that in non-embedded reported speech the latter is much less frequent than the past tense. Nevertheless, it is necessary to verify the results by studying the issue in greater detail, which requires a larger sample of tokens.

Table 2: Frequency of tense forms in NRS in a sample of 100 clauses

TENSE FORM	Number
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	2
present present perfect	13
past	67
past perfect	8
P/P INF ¹⁰	10

Data from Selucká (2008, 47)¹¹

Now let us consider the function of indirect speech. Most frequently, indirect speech has the function of a direct object (as in examples [5], [6] and [8]), but occasionally it can also function as an extraposed subject (see example [9]) or as a subject complement (see example [10]) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1025).

¹⁰ P/P INF is a term used for modal verbs (except for *will*) followed by present or past infinitive, the modal idiom *be to* (Quirk et al. 1985, 141), and the idiomatic *be going to* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 211).

¹¹ The data from Selucká (2008) is adapted in the following way: the term future tense is replaced by *will* followed by present infinitive which is the only form of the future tense considered in Selucká (2008, 21-22). Although in indirect speech studied in Selucká (2008) *will* has only the temporal meaning, it also generally has a modal meaning, and therefore *will* + present infinitive is a more precise term. In Selucká (2008), moreover, the present tense, the present perfect and *will* followed by present infinitive are sometimes given in one category. In this study, it is the frequency of the occurrence of the present tense and present perfect that is occasionally mentioned in one category. *Will* + present infinitive is always a separate category. The frequency of this form is either taken from tables given in Selucká (2008) or discovered in terms of analysis of tokens from the corpus described in Note 8.

- [8] They **believed** that their car bomb exploded/had exploded prematurely.
- [9] It **was believed** that their car bomb exploded/had exploded prematurely (Q21).
- [10] What they **claimed** was that the car bomb exploded/had exploded prematurely.

According to Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 293),¹² example [10], in which the indirect speech has the function of a subject complement, is characterized by a lower “degree of syntactic dependency of the *that*-clause on the reporting verb” than sentence [8], which in some cases has an impact on tense choice in indirect speech.¹³ Considering choice between the present and past tense, Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 293) believe that sentence [12] therefore accepts the present tense more readily than [11]. The ungrammaticality¹⁴ of the use of *is* in [11] is however connected with another factor the linguists discuss, namely reporting verbs, such as *imagine*, introducing propositions that are true only (or especially) in the original speaker’s world (see Chapter 1.3).

- [11] John **imagined** his wife was/?*is pregnant (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 291).
- [12] What John **imagined** was that his wife was/?is pregnant (291).

Composite indirect speech is a nominal *that*-clause that can be further divided into two or more clauses, as in examples [5] and [13]. Besides the sentence function of the composite indirect speech, these clauses also have their function in the sentence. The first subordinate clause, immediately following the reporting frame, or subordinate clauses in a coordinate relation (one of which immediately follows the reporting frame) are directly dependent on the reporting frame, and they thus function as an object, subject or subject complement. In [13] both subordinate clauses are dependent on the reporting frame, functioning as a direct object. In hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2.4, providing an analysis

¹² Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 285) list a number of “factors which may prevent the use of the present tense” in indirect speech. Here are some of them: reporting verbs with a strong ‘intensional force’ like *imagine* (290-291), “a past focus” in the reporting frame (294) (both factors are discussed in Chapter 1.3), a high “degree of privateness of the statement made” (292) (discussed in Chapter 1.4.2) and the reporter’s disagreement with the reported statement (291). Throughout the paper, Declerck and Tanaka (1996) make it clear that the choice of an appropriate context may override all the previously mentioned factors.

¹³ Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 293) mention that a similar phenomenon can be observed in sentences like [9] in which the indirect speech has the function of an (extraposed) subject, which they demonstrate by the following sentence:

❖ *That John’s wife was/is pregnant was said by Bill, not by John.*

¹⁴ The symbols of ungrammaticality (*) and pragmatic unacceptability (?) in [11] and [12] are taken from Declerck and Tanaka (1996).

of tense choice in indirect speech with respect to the type of subordinate clauses, these are therefore classified as object clauses.

[13] Before the explosion, however, Mr Mitchell **told** his wife that he and Miss Jones had been having/were having a sexual affair for 2½ years AND he had been trying/was trying to end it (Q26).

Clauses that do not open indirect speech or are not coordinate with the clause opening indirect speech are not dependent on the reporting frame, but on a clause within the indirect speech. These can have the function of an object, subject, subject complement, adverbial or depend on a noun phrase and thus be classified as relative or attributive content clauses (Selucká 2008, 24).¹⁵ The second level of subordination can also have an impact on tense choice in indirect speech.¹⁶

1.3. Reporting Verbs

There is a wide range of reporting verbs that can introduce indirect speech. Generally, reporting verbs have distinct grammatical and semantic characteristics. As for their grammatical form, they can occur in passive voice, as exemplified by [9], “have a form of the ‘present’ participle (*insisting, explaining*), phrasal verbs (*point out*), verbonominal constructions consisting of a light verb and a noun” (*give warning*) or “some other structures with a light verb and an adjective” (*make clear*) (Selucká 2008, 10).¹⁷ Although this study is limited to reporting verbs, indirect speech can also be introduced with nouns, usually those that are related to reporting verbs (for example *the claim* or *reply*), and adjectives (for instance *insistent* or *doubtful*) (Hewings 2005, 76).

As far as semantics is concerned, reporting verbs are not used only for reporting people’s words, but also for expressing their manner of speaking and reporting their

¹⁵ Apart from the clauses mentioned in the text, in Selucká (2008, 36-38) I deal with one more type of clauses called supplements, which is a term taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1350-1351). These clauses are syntactically independent of the structure of the sentence they are inserted into, which can be illustrated, for instance, by the phrase *she suggested* in the following example:

❖ *The jury **was told** earlier in the week in evidence given by Ms Lyte that she believed that the teenager had had some problems with a previous coach, which **she suggested** could have been partially to blame for her charge’s apparent lack of enthusiasm on court (Art57).*

¹⁶ This issue is discussed in Chapter 2.4.

¹⁷ The division of reporting verbs in terms of their grammatical properties has resulted from the corpus analysis carried out in Selucká (2008).

beliefs, feelings, hopes, thoughts, perceptions, etc. Some reporting verbs—mostly those that do not belong to the category of communicative verbs (such as *regret* or *realize*)—“can be followed by an indirect speech (or indirect thought) clause but not by a direct quote” (Declerck 1990, 537), which makes derivability of direct speech from indirect even more improbable. In addition to this distinction, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1027-1028) mention a few verbs that occur exclusively in non-embedded constructions, for example *smile*, *grin* or *go*. As suggested in Selucká (2008, 10), however, linguists predominantly adhere to the above mentioned semantic characteristics because there are no rules that would classify all reporting verbs. Besides, they provide lists of these verbs which, whether long or short, are far from being exhaustive and are basically incomparable.

The research focused on the frequency of occurrence of reporting verbs in newspaper style confirms the statement in Quirk et al. (1985, 1024) that the verb *say* is the most common of all, followed by the verb *tell* (Selucká 2008, 15-17). This was proved in both embedded and non-embedded reported speech. Because there are only 39 tokens with non-embedded reported speech (21 tokens of which include the verb *say* in the reporting frame), the emphasis is laid on reporting verbs introducing embedded reported speech, which is displayed in Table 3. Out of 327 tokens, nearly 53% of them are introduced with the verb *say*. The choice of verbs displayed in Table 3 may be characteristic of newspaper style, but can also be influenced by analyzing only composite indirect speech (CIS) (Selucká 2008, 16).

Table 3: List and frequency of reporting verbs in a sample of 327 tokens with CIS¹⁸

REPORTING VERBS	Number	Percentage (%)
<i>say</i>	172	52.6
<i>tell</i>	39	11.9
<i>add, claim</i>	13	4.0
<i>insist, report</i>	9	2.7
<i>describe</i>	6	1.8
<i>admit, ask, confirm, suggest, think</i>	4	1.3
<i>find, give (a) warning, reveal, show</i>	3	0.9
<i>agree, announce, believe, declare, disclose, hope, rule, wonder</i>	2	0.6
<i>concede, conclude, discover, explain, feel, hear, hear claims, know, make clear, notify, point out, promise, predict, protest, question, respond, state, warn</i>	1	0.3

Data from Selucká (2008, 16)

The fact that the verb *say* is regarded as most frequent in indirect speech influenced many linguists in their mode of research. Comrie (1986) or Davidse and Vandelanotte (2011), for instance, limit their research only to analyzing indirect speech introduced with the phrase *said that*, obtaining results which can be, as Comrie (1986, 267) claims, “probably readily extendable to indirect speech with other introductory verbs.” Whether semantics of reporting verbs influences tense use in indirect speech in English or not will result from evaluation of questionnaires filled in by native English speakers in Chapter 3. In “Russian, for instance, tense behaves differently after verbs of saying” and “verbs of perception” (Comrie 1986, 294n2).

In general, the choice of reporting verbs depends on the reporter, who can enrich the reported utterance with additional information. By using the verb *whisper*, for instance, he/she expresses the way of conveying the original utterance. Declerck and Tanaka (1996) outline constraints on tense choice in indirect speech with respect to semantics of reporting verbs. In their view, the present tense is less acceptable than the past tense (or not

¹⁸ Reporting verbs in Table 3 are listed according to their frequency of occurrence in the corpus of sentences.

acceptable at all) if there is a “past focus” in the reporting frame evoked, for example, by manner of speaking verbs like *mutter* or *whisper* (294),¹⁹ or if the reporting verb has a strong ‘intensional force’²⁰ like the verbs *imagine*, *fancy* or *pretend*. The latter create “a private and peculiar possible world which is unlikely to coincide with anybody else’s” (for example the reporter’s) “world of belief” (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 290). Propositions introduced with these verbs, as in example [11], are therefore less likely to be true at the time of their reporting (291). Salkie and Reed (1997, 336) comment on this, claiming that such verbs introduce content that “can only make sense contextualized against the past context of” one’s “thoughts.” Most frequently, it applies to verbs of thinking (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 290), which lay an emphasis on the time of the original utterance.

1.4. Deixis

1.4.1. General Issue

Deixis is a term used for expressions that are “interpreted in relation to certain features of the utterance-act—the place, time and participants” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1023). Deictic elements are thus e.g. adverbials of time and place (such as *here* and *there*), demonstrative and personal pronouns, and tense (68). The reference of these phenomena “potentially varies from one utterance to another” (1451), or, more specifically, from directly reported utterance to indirectly reported one.

In direct speech, deictic expressions are related to the original speaker’s “speech situation,”²¹ which is “taken as deictic centre” (Comrie 1993, 14). In indirect speech, as Comrie (1986, 108) says, the deictic centre is shifted to that of the reporter’s. In other words, deictics in indirect speech are often interpreted relative to the ‘here and now’ of the report.

¹⁹ In addition, Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 294) claim that the reporter tends to “repeat the exact words of the original utterance” if he/she chooses to use a manner of speaking verb like *mutter* or *whisper* (1996, 294).

²⁰ This term is related to the term ‘intensional domain’ (=possible world), which Declerck and Tanaka (1996) adopted from Rigter (quoted in Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 287), who defines it in the following way: it is “a domain of interpretation which has its own set of presuppositions and truth conditions, in terms of which propositions can be evaluated and interpreted.” The intensional domain is created by verbs of saying and thinking (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 287).

²¹ ‘Speech situation’ is not a very precise term because it refers to spoken discourse rather than to written one. Nevertheless, the term reported speech also refers to reported thought. In the thesis, ‘speech situation’ is therefore used as a synonym for the original speaker’s (or the reporter’s) ‘here and now’.

1.4.2. Person Deixis

While the issue of tense in indirect speech (discussed in Chapter 1.4.4) is more complicated, person deixis is more straightforward in that there is no difference in “the use or meaning of the personal pronouns” in reported and non-reported speech (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1025). Pronouns are “invariably interpreted relative to the report . . . depending on who is speaking to whom” (1025), which is a matter of “semantics and pragmatics” rather than “of formal transposition from direct speech” (Comrie 1986, 275). Compare the original (example [14]) with its report (example [15]):

[14] Sue **told** Max, ‘I love you.’

[15] i. (*Said to Max by Sue*) I **told** you *I* loved you.

ii. (*Said to Sue by Max*) You **told** me *you* loved *me*.

iii. (*Said about Sue by Max*) Sue **told** me *she* loved *me*.

Nevertheless, who is talking about whom with whom can have an impact on tense choice in indirect speech. Blackstone (quoted in Declerck and Tanaka 1996) and Declerck and Tanaka (1996) discuss factors that decide on the acceptability of the present tense in indirect speech and that are somehow related to the issue of person deixis. The factor suggested by Blackstone (quoted in Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 290) is ‘immediacy of interest’ which is applied to sentences in which the reporter “makes a statement about himself” or herself (290), as in [16]. In these cases, the present tense is preferred because the reporter’s “own here-and-now is to him” or her “the most relevant context of interpretation” (290). Blackstone (quoted in Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 290) claims that in [17] the present tense would be less natural than in [16].

[16] The doctor **told** *me* that *my* blood group is B (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 290).

[17] The doctor **told** *Mrs Smith* *her* blood group was B (290).

Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 292) study tense choice with respect to the “degree of ‘privateness’ of the statement made.” Discussing the acceptability of the present tense in sentences [18] and [19], they claim that in [19] the present tense is less acceptable because the reported statement is private, compared to the statement in [18] (292). The privateness

means that the original speaker (*John*) makes a statement about himself or herself (292), which in [19] is implied by the pronoun *he* referring to *John*. Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 292) explain that the “more private the statement, the higher the probability that it is true only in the original speaker's world and the lower the probability that” the reporter “will find it relevant to represent the statement as also true in his t_0 -world.”²² However, it is not always possible to say whether or to what degree the reported statement is private. Moreover, Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 193) claim that an appropriate context may make both tense forms equally acceptable.

[18] John **said** that *Bill* was/is ill (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 292).

[19] John **said** that *he* was/?is ill (292).

1.4.3. Tense as a Deictic Phenomenon and Indirect Speech

Tense is a grammatical category that has “deictic temporal reference,” which means that tense “involves reference to a point or interval of time which is determined in relation to the moment of utterance” (Lyons 1995, 312-313). From the opposite point of view, we use “tenses” to “locate situations in time” with respect to “some arbitrary reference point” (Comrie 1993, 14).²³

Tense is a complex issue for analysis which linguists approach in various ways, and a different conception usually requires a different set of terms used for its description. In other words, there is no uniform terminology. In this study I will provide two sets of concepts that play a role in explaining the issue of tense in indirect speech. One is used in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), the other in Declerck (1990 and 1995). Huddleston and Pullum (2002) introduce the term ‘time of orientation’, which, according to Huddleston (1969, 790), is a point (or interval) in time with respect to which a situation (event or action) expressed in the verb form is located, or rather ordered, in time.²⁴ Another term is

²² ‘ t_0 -world’ is an abbreviation for ‘temporal zero-point’, which in Declerck and Tanaka (1996) refers to the time of utterance (or, more precisely, the time of reporting).

²³ Reichenbach (quoted in Declerck 1995, 2) interprets all tenses in terms of temporal relations between the following points: the moment of speech (S), the moment of event (E) and the reference point (R). In his opinion, for example, “the past perfect expresses the temporal structure ‘E before R before S’ ” (3). Comrie (1993, 121-129) also uses the three points for formal representation of tenses. He does not however represent all tenses in the same way as Reichenbach.

²⁴ The term ‘time of orientation’ corresponds to the reference point discussed in Note 23.

the ‘time of situation’.²⁵ In [20], the time of situation is the time of dying, while the time of orientation is the time of utterance (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 125).

[20] He died of lung cancer (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 125).

For the past, present and future tense in their basic use,²⁶ the time of orientation “is normally the time of speaking or writing” (or the time of utterance) (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 126).²⁷ Nevertheless, the past tense does not always locate its situation with respect to the time of utterance. If it does (as in [20]), it is said to be interpreted deictically (126). We talk about deictic use of the past tense, or ‘deictic’ time with respect to which the tense locates its situation. In subordinate clauses like in [21], the past tense (*cheated*) represents its situation as being anterior “to the time of his (possibly) making a claim of cheating” and “not anterior to the time of my uttering” (126). In these cases, the past tense is said to be interpreted non-deictically (127). Unlike the past tense that can be used both deictically and non-deictically, the past “perfect tense, by contrast, is normally non-deictic” (140).

[21] If she beats him, he’ll claim she cheated (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 126).

For tense changes in indirect speech, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 153) use the term ‘backshift’, which is discussed in Chapter 1.4.4. They describe the difference between ordinary and backshifted preterite in terms of deixis. They claim that ordinary preterite is “normally deictic,” while the backshifted one, which is illustrated by *had* in [23] is seen as

²⁵ Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 125) distinguish between the ‘time of situation’ and the ‘time referred to’. Either both terms overlap or the latter can be only a point or an interval within the time of the whole situation. I do not distinguish between these terms.

²⁶ Perfective aspect is not considered here. If it is, it is given explicitly, as in the past perfect. In addition, basic uses of the past, present and future tenses are as follows: the past tense locates its situation in the past (with respect to the present moment)—“anterior to now” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 140), the present tense locates it in the time around now (including the present moment), and the future tense locates it in the future (with respect to the present moment).

²⁷ Even though it holds valid in most cases, there are instances such as:

❖ *You are now leaving West Berlin. [a written notice]*

In instances like these, as Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 126) say, the time of orientation is identified as “the time of decoding rather than encoding.” For that reason, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 126) introduce the term deictic time, which (for the past, present and future tense in their basic use) is “normally the time of utterance.” In the thesis, the time of decoding and encoding is not taken into account. I touch upon the issue because I want to clarify that the time of orientation and deictic time can be different in sentences with the past, present or future tense in their basic use.

non-deictic because its time of orientation is determined by the time of the situation in the reporting frame (153). For explanation of tense in indirect speech, however, this terminology is not quite appropriate because out of context the reporter may interpret the situation of having in [23] as being past from his/her point of view (relative to the time of his/her utterance), and that is how deixis is normally understood.

[22] 'I have too many commitments' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 151).

[23] Jill **said** she had too many commitments (151).

Another conception described in this chapter is that of Declerck's. Declerck (1990 and 1995) uses 'relative' and 'absolute' tenses for explanation of tense choice in indirect speech (see also Chapter 2.2). The present tense (e.g. *leaves*), present perfect (e.g. *have left*), future tense (e.g. *will leave*) and past tense (e.g. *left*) which locate their situation directly to the temporal zero-point (usually the time of utterance) are called 'absolute tenses' (Declerck 1995, 5). The past perfect (e.g. *had left*), past time *would* followed by present infinitive (e.g. *would leave*) and *would* followed by perfect infinitive (e.g. *would have left*)²⁸ which relate their situation to a temporal point given in the context (not to the time of utterance) are called 'relative tenses' (8).

Although Declerck's theory of tense is not limited only to tense in indirect speech, I deliberately select examples that are related to this issue. In example [24] Declerck (1995, 6) demonstrates the existence of two past tenses: absolute and relative.²⁹ An absolute tense is claimed to create a 'temporal domain', while a relative tense relates the time of its situation to the time of the situation in the temporal domain (Declerck 1995, 6). In [24], therefore, the past tense form of *say* establishes a temporal domain (and is therefore absolute), while the past perfect (*had worked*), the past tense form of *be*, and the past time *would* followed by present infinitive (*would go*) express the domain-internal relation of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority respectively (and are therefore relative) (Declerck 1990, 516). In other words, the verb *was* represents its situation as being simultaneous with the situation of John's utterance, while the past perfect and the past time *would* followed

²⁸ For the latter two tenses, Declerck (1995) uses the terms 'conditional tense' and 'conditional perfect' respectively. These terms are imprecise, for they suggest the use of the tenses in their modal meaning. However, Declerck (1995) mostly uses the tenses in their temporal meaning. I therefore replace these terms with their corresponding tense forms, which Declerck employs in his analysis.

²⁹ Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 127) use the term deictic and non-deictic use of the past tense instead.

by present infinitive represent their situation (or action) as being anterior and posterior respectively to the situation of John's utterance.

[24] John **said** that he had worked hard all day, that he was tired and that he would go to bed early (Declerck 1995, 6).

The tense of reporting verbs is most frequently absolute. The tense of reported verbs, Declerck (1990, 519) claims, is either relative, illustrated by all reported verb forms in [24], or absolute, which applies to cases in which "the temporal order of the situations" is clear from the use of time adverbials, such as the *day before* in example [25], "the context or from the hearer's pragmatic knowledge of the world." If none of these features is obvious (as in [26]), the tense is interpreted as relative, which, according to Declerck (1990, 519), is the unmarked choice if both the situation in the indirect speech and the situation in the reporting frame lie in the past time-sphere.³⁰ Out of context, therefore, speakers normally interpret *was* in [26] as locating its situation at the same time as John's utterance (534).

[25] John **said** that Bill was in London *the day before* (Declerck 1990, 519).

[26] John **said** that Bill was in London (519).

Nevertheless, there are sentences like [27] in which semantics of verbs play an important role. As Declerck (1995, 25-26) puts it, *wrote* in [27] cannot be interpreted in terms of simultaneity (as "coinciding with a point of time") because the situation expressed in the verb is durative and the verb is telic, i.e. it includes an inherent end-point without which it is incomplete. Verbs expressing such situations as that of John's writing a book in [27] are pragmatically interpreted as being located before the time of the original speaker's utterance (26). In my opinion, the reason why the past perfect in [27] (*had written*) is not necessary at all is that there is no possibility of misinterpreting the temporal relations.

[27] John **said** that he wrote a book (Declerck 1995, 26).

³⁰ According to Declerck (1990, 514), a situation can be located either in the past time-sphere (before the moment of speech) or in the present time-sphere.

1.4.4. Tense in Indirect Speech: Backshift

Although Declerck (1990) describes tense behaviour in indirect speech by means of absolute and relative tense, it is the term ‘backshift’ that is frequently adopted to explain tense choice in indirect speech with respect to tense used in direct speech. Backshift refers to a change of “tense forms of the verbs” when “the time reference of the original utterance (or mental activity) no longer applies at the time that the utterance (or mental activity) is reported” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1026). In other words, it is a means of deixis, making tense forms change relative to the here and now of the report.

Backshift can be triggered under the following conditions:

A. The tense of the reporting verb in the reporting frame is past (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 153).

[28] ‘I had left’ (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 156). [original]
She **said** that she had left (156). [report]

B. The time of the situation in the reporting frame is past (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 153). It is illustrated by [29] in which the time of *telling* is interpreted as past in consequence of semantic properties of the verb *remember* (153).

[29] I remember **telling** him that she had too many commitments (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 153).

C. The tense of the reporting verb in the reporting frame is future and the situation in indirect speech refers “retrospectively to the present” (Quirk et al. 1985, 188).

[30] Tomorrow, Frances **will say** that she was absent today (Comrie 1986, 281).³¹

³¹ Quirk et al. (1985, 188) illustrate this kind of backshift with the following example:

❖ *My wife will be sorry that she missed seeing you this evening.*

Unlike this, Comrie’s example is introduced with a reporting verb, which is in accordance with this study.

In addition, no backshift generally takes place when the tense of the reporting verb is present (Quirk et al. 1985, 1026), although Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 153) admit that the “reference to past tense” in condition A “allows for backshifting after a perfect as well as after a preterite,” which they illustrate with an example with a verb in the present perfect tense. In the thesis, as well as in Selucká (2008), however, I am preoccupied with indirect speech fulfilling the first two conditions under which the situation in indirect speech is most complex. These conditions can be “satisfied jointly,” or “either alone is sufficient” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 153).

In grammar books, changes of tense forms in indirect speech are always illustrated with their corresponding tense forms in direct speech. The third column of Table 4 shows basic changes discussed in Quirk et al. (1985, 1026-1027). As regards the past tense form, Quirk et al. claim that it is not shifted back into the past unless it is necessary, and therefore both the past and past perfect tense are given as possible equivalents of the past tense in indirect speech.³² As revealed in the last line, the shift of the past perfect is not expressed formally, for such a tense form in the English tense system does not exist. Nevertheless, Declerck (1990, 540), rejecting the idea of “formal backshifting,” argues that the absence of the backshifted past perfect is fully justifiable because it always expresses temporal relations in the past-time sphere (independently of the context).

Table 4: Formal representation of tense forms in indirect speech

DIRECT SPEECH	INDIRECT SPEECH	
	NO BACKSHIFT ³³	BACKSHIFT
present	present	past
present perfect	present perfect	past perfect
past	past	past perfect
past perfect	past perfect	past perfect

³² Choice between the past and past perfect is a matter of optional and obligatory backshifting discussed in Chapter 2.1.

³³ Conditions under which no backshift takes place are discussed in Chapter 2.1.

Besides modal verbs that are discussed in Chapter 1.4.5, Table 4 provides a complete overview of basic tense forms in indirect speech as representing their direct speech counterparts. In doing so, it also reveals that in indirect speech the past perfect and past tense forms provide several possibilities of interpretation. In Selucká (2008), therefore, I focus predominantly on these two forms. Moreover, it is not an easy task to recognize whether the tense form is backshifted or not provided that only indirect speech (without its direct speech counterpart) is available. Examples [25] and [26] show how important contextual information is. On condition that an adverbial of time, such as *the previous day* in [25], is in the surrounding context of [26], sentence [26] can be interpreted in the same way as [25]. However, the context is not always helpful either. This is another reason that makes tense in indirect speech a difficult issue for analysis. This fact reflects in the mode of research into the issue of tense in indirect speech (discussed in Chapter 2.3).

1.4.5. Modal Verbs in Indirect Speech

Modal verbs require special attention, as suggested in Selucká (2008), in which I treat modal verbs (except for *will*) separately, putting them in a special category. In this chapter, I will focus on representation of modal auxiliaries in indirect speech with respect to their functions, which in Table 5 (see below) are given in square brackets. As well as tense forms discussed above, modal auxiliaries in the present tense form such as *will*, *may* and *can* are shifted into the past in indirect speech if the time references change (Quirk et al. 1985, 1031). If they do not, the modal verbs remain unchanged, as illustrated in Table 5.

Functions of *can* and *will* do not play any role; their backshifted preterites are always *could* and *would* respectively (Leech 2004, 110). As for *may*, its backshifted version is either *might* or *could*. Leech (2004, 111) claims that nowadays the former only rarely represents *may* in the sense of permission. In this case, he says, *could* is a more natural equivalent of *may* in indirect speech (111). Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, 345) show how the meaning of a modal auxiliary may be different when used in the same context in indirect speech and outside indirect speech. *Might* in [32], for example, is used in the sense of permission (corresponding to *may* in the direct speech of [31]) with its meaning assigned to the subject of the reporting frame (345). According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, 345), sentence [32] can be therefore rewritten as follows: John was giving me permission to go. “*I might go outside indirect speech would*” however “mean that I was considering the possibility of going” (345).

[31] (*Said to me by John*) ‘You may go’ (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, 345).

[32] (*Said by me about John*) John **said** that I might go (345).

Table 5: Formal representation of modal auxiliaries in indirect speech³⁴

DIRECT SPEECH	INDIRECT SPEECH
will, can [all functions]	will, can OR would, could
may [possibility]	may OR might
may [permission]	may OR (might) ▪ could
shall [making an offer]	should ▪ can OR should ▪ could
shall [asking for information]	will OR would
shall [future reference]	(shall) ▪ will OR (should) ▪ would
must [logical necessity/deduction, advice, permanent commands or prohibitions]	must
must [obligation]	must ▪ had to ▪ would have to
would	would (▪ would have done)
might, should, ought to, had better	might, should ▪ would, ought to, had better
need(n’t)	need(n’t) ▪ (not)need to ▪ would(n’t) have to
could [present ability]	could
could [future ability]	could ▪ would be able to
could [past ability]	could ▪ had been able to
could [past permission]	could ▪ was (were) allowed to ▪ had been allowed to

³⁴ Information on formal representation of modal auxiliaries in indirect speech, summarized in Table 5, was collected from various sources. Most of them are mentioned directly in the text when representation of individual modal auxiliaries in indirect speech is considered. Nevertheless, those that are not discussed in the text are given here: *Needn’t* and *must* (with its representation in indirect speech as depending on its functions) is discussed in Thomson and Martinet (1980, 133), representation of *could* categorized in terms of its functions is described in Thomson and Martinet (1986, 273), and the use of *ought to* and *had better* is taken from Leech (2004, 111).

As far as *shall* is concerned, linguists are predominantly concerned with how to report questions beginning *Shall I* or *Shall we*. Swan (2005, 252) explains that reporting *Shall I ... ?* questions depends on “whether the speaker is asking for information or making an offer.” The use of *shall* in indirect speech, as suggested by Swan (2005), is given in Table 5. Table 5 also shows that *shall* is replaced with other modal verbs (*will*, *can*, *should*), even if the time references do not change. In propositions about future, Leech (2004, 111) claims, *shall* is normally shifted to *would*, but *should* is also (though rarely) possible. Swan (2005, 252) confirms that *would* may be used for reporting first-person *shall* and *should*, which, he claims, can result from the change of personal pronouns.

In addition, direct speech with a modal verb is very frequently reported by means of an infinitival construction, using a verb corresponding to the particular function of the modal auxiliary. In [33] *shall* is used to express an offer, which is reported by means of the verb *offer*.

[33] ‘Shall I bring you some tea?’ he **said**.

He offered to bring me some tea (Thomson and Martinet 1986, 279).

As revealed in Table 5, the form of all other modal auxiliaries may remain unchanged in indirect speech. It also applies to *must*, which (like *can*, *may*, *shall* and *will*) is in the present tense form. This makes the research into the behaviour of modal verbs in indirect speech difficult. In addition, most of them can be replaced with other verbs, which in the case of *must* and *could* depends on their functions. As for *would*, Bělíček (1994, 259) argues, it can (occasionally) be shifted into the past conditional if time references are changed further into the past because present conditional (*would* followed by present infinitive) “cannot convey the past” (259).

1.4.6. Time Adverbials

As far as time adverbials are concerned, we distinguish between “expressions with fixed reference,” such as *16 July 2009* or *in 2009*, which always have “the same referent” (independent of their occurrences), and expressions with deictic reference,” which is “dependent on the context” (Comrie 1986, 268). Furthermore, time adverbials can be divided into three categories: deictically interpreted time adverbials, non-deictically

interpreted time adverbials and those possibly interpreted in both ways.³⁵ As regards the former category, there are time adverbials like *now*, *today*, *yesterday*, *tomorrow*, *next week*, *last week*, *this morning* or *two days ago* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 695) that have a “time reference as a part of their meaning” (Comrie 1986, 288). In other words, they should always take the speaker’s here and now as their deictic centre.

The second category includes time adverbials like *the previous day*, *that morning*, *the following year*, *the next day* or *then* “that indicate a period of time . . . by reference to some point established within the text” (Huddleston 1969, 799). Some adverbials, for example *on Saturday*, *at four o’clock*, *in September*, *on Sunday night* or *on April 22*, can be interpreted both deictically and non-deictically. *September*, for instance, can refer to the *September* of the year in which the utterance is uttered (deictic use), or a *September* of the year given in the context (non-deictic use). As Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 695) put it, these adverbials mostly relate to “calendar and clock times” which “recur cyclically and to understand their reference we need to know which cycle is intended.”

In direct speech, the original speaker can use time adverbials either deictically or non-deictically. In indirect speech the latter are normally retained. In the case of the former, however, the reporter can either keep these in indirect speech (if no change is necessary and the interpretation of time adverbials is the same as in direct speech) or shift them relative to the ‘here and now’ of the report. In general, deictically used expressions (*yesterday*), which have the time reference as a part of their meaning, are replaced by non-deictic (*the day before*) if the time reference no longer applies at the time of reporting. In example [35], for instance, Comrie (1986, 273) replaces *yesterday* with *the day before* because it is not probable that the reported statement (example [35]) was made on the same day as its original (example [34]). Moreover, the time expression *one day* is too vague for the exact time of reporting to be specified (274).

[34] *One day*, Naomi **said** to Oscar, ‘I saw you *yesterday*’ (Comrie 1986, 273).

[35] *One day*, Naomi **said** to Oscar that she had seen/saw him *the day before* (273).

³⁵ Deictically interpreted time adverbials are those interpreted relative to the time of utterance. Deictic and non-deictic use of time adverbials is discussed in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 695-702).

Sometimes, a deictic time adverbial (used in the original speech) is replaced with another deictic time adverbial (interpreted relative to the ‘here and now’ of the report), which is shown in example [36]. In [36] *today* refers to the reporter’s time of utterance.

[36] (*on Saturday*) George **told** me, ‘I am leaving *tomorrow*.’

(*on Sunday*) Yesterday George **told** me that he is leaving *today* (Byrne 1965, 21).

The use of time adverbials in indirect speech is determined by stylistic features and subjective feelings of individual speakers. In Selucká (2008, 19), it was discovered that in newspaper style reporters often use time adverbials with fixed reference (see example [37]) or time expressions belonging to the third category described above, having a cyclic nature (see example [38]), as exemplified by the first line of Table 6. Out of 118 tokens included in indirect speech (both embedded and non-embedded) introduced with past reporting verbs, there are 63 expressions like those in [37] and [38]. In newspaper style, the reference of adverbials belonging to the third category, for instance *on Friday* and *in March*, is clear from the context. They are frequently used deictically because of a short period that usually elapses between the original utterance and its reporting.

[37] The court **was told** that at least six of the photographers who were in the Pont de l’Alma tunnel in Paris *on August 31, 1997*, when the Princess, Dodi Fayed and their driver, Henri Paul, were killed had not been issued with summonses despite previous assurances that this had already been done (Art170).

[38] La Repubblica newspaper **said** that woman in custody had shared the whitewashed cottage at Perugia where Ms Kercher was found in her locked bedroom with her throat slit *on Friday* (Art185).

Table 6: Time expressions in indirect speech in a sample of 118 tokens

	TIME EXPRESSIONS	Total number
1.	EXACT date, year, day, a part of a day	63
2.	tomorrow	4
3.	today, now	13
4.	last night (2x), last week (2x), last week's, last Monday, last month (2x), last November, by the end of this month, this month, this year's, this year (3x)	15
5.	next month, next year, the next day, the next morning	4
6.	that morning, that evening, that evening	3
7.	past, recent	5
8.	two months ago, 20 years ago, a decade or more ago, six years ago	4
9.	over, for	7

Data from Selucká (2008, 20)³⁶

Time expressions given in lines 3-9 of Table 6 are categorized in terms of elements they contain. At first, adjectives, such as *last*, *next*, *past* and *recent*, and demonstratives, such as *this* and *that*, and the preposition *ago* are considered. The rest of time phrases are divided according to prepositions (*over*, *for*) they include (Selucká 2008, 18-19). Another characteristic of newspaper style is that the report on an event comes shortly after it happens. After comparing time adverbials in lines 4-6 of Table 6, therefore, one can come to a conclusion that the deictic use of time adverbials is more frequent with time expressions referring to a longer period of time (like *month* in [39]), while the non-deictic use is characteristic of time expressions referring to a shorter period of time (for example a part of the day like *evening* in [40]). In other words, time references given by time adverbials like *this month* or *this year* in the original utterance remain “valid at the time of reporting” (19).

³⁶ Time expressions in Table 6 are taken from sentences analyzed in Selucká (2008).

[39] . . . the French government recently received a memo from the International Atomic Energy Agency **stating** that Iran will be ready to run almost 3,000 centrifuges in 18 cascades *by the end of this month* . . . (Art157).

[40] Mr Sollecito **claimed** that he was not at the house *that evening* . . . (Art188).

As discussed above, the time reference of *tomorrow*, *yesterday*, *today* and *now* changes unless the reporter makes a report on the same day as the original speaker gives his/her speech. As for *today* and *now*, however, their interpretation can be more complex. *Today* can have the same meaning as *nowadays* (Selucká 2008, 19), which in newspaper style usually has the same referent in indirect speech as it had in the original utterance. In addition, *now* (see example [41]) can occasionally be used non-deictically (or unshifted as opposed to their occurrence in direct speech) “when the context makes it clear that the time to which the adjunct refers is in the past” (Thompson 1994, 115). Similarly, Brecht (1974, 493) discusses the reference of *today* (see example [42]), claiming that in a suitable context it can be interpreted relative to the time of the original utterance (not to the time of reporting).

[41] Our father **said** that we must be beyond the cottage by *now* (Thompson 1994, 115).

[42] (*Said on 25 April, 2011*) It was a beautiful sunny day, 5 May 1994, and Jonathan **imagined** that *today* was the right day for hiking.³⁷

Next also co-occurs with time adverbials in both deictic and non-deictic use. *The next day* is used non-deictically as an equivalent of the deictic *tomorrow*. *Next week*, on the other hand, always has a deictic reference. “For some speakers,” furthermore, “expressions with *ago* can be carried across unchanged from direct speech,” as in [44] (Comrie 1990, 295n7). For such speakers, Comrie (1986, 295n7) says, *five years ago* in [44] could refer to the period five years before the time of the report or before Umberto’s utterance.

³⁷ Brecht (1974, 494) uses the following example:

❖ *It was the fourth of July, 1925. As he lay there waiting for the first signs of daylight, the first thought that came into Jesse’s mind was that **today** was the day for the big parade in Dallas.*

Example [42] is formed to illustrate Brecht’s ideas. As opposed to Brecht’s example (in which the indirect/thought is introduced with the noun *thought*), the indirect speech in example [42] is introduced with a verb.

[43] In 1980, Umberto **said**, ‘I arrived *five years ago*’ (Comrie 1990, 295n7).

[44] In 1980, Umberto **said** that he had arrived *five years ago* (295n7).

The time expression *five years ago* generally have the same referent relative to both the original speaker and the reporter (and therefore it can occur logically unshifted in indirect speech) if the proposition is reported shortly (in less than a year) after its original utterance. This phenomenon is influenced by the time expression used with the preposition *ago*. *Five years* is a long period, which makes its validity at the time of reporting possible, while *three days ago* would have a different referent in indirect speech unless the report is uttered on the same day as the original.

Instances like these make it difficult to decide whether a time adverbial is used deictically or not unless an appropriate context is given.

1.4.7. Tense and Time Adverbials in Indirect Speech

In the previous chapter, time adverbials were considered independently of tense in indirect speech. Both tense and time adverbials, however, are deictic elements that have the quality of time referencing, and it is therefore interesting to consider the co-occurrence of these phenomena. As Lyons (1995, 312) says, tense can be very often “redundant in that context makes it clear whether the event being referred to took place in the past, is taking in the present or will take place in the future.” Tense choice in indirect speech can therefore be influenced by the presence of an adverbial, which makes the time reference clear. In indirect speech it mainly applies to choice between the past and past perfect, the former of which could be favoured if both were in principle possible and the indirect speech included a time expression, which is exemplified by [45]. The context makes it clear that both the past perfect and past tense are possible, and that the use of the past perfect (*had attacked*) would be rather redundant.

[45] CONTEXT: A masked rapist was tracked down after 14 years when a relative gave a DNA sample in a completely unrelated case. Detectives reopened the investigation into the violent assault in Bridgwater, in Somerset, in 1993 when test results revealed a family connection to the attacker. On 30 October, 2007, Godfrey admitted rape, attempted buggery and indecent assault at the court, where the message given in the indirect speech was delivered.

The court **heard** that Godfrey attacked his victim on a canal bridge in Bridgwater, Somerset, at 1am *on April 25, 1993* (Art 166).

In Table 7, which illustrates the results of research into co-occurrence of tense forms and time expressions in embedded indirect speech introduced with a reporting verb in the past tense, the number of the past tense (see example [45]) and past perfect (see examples [46] and [47]) is quite comparable (Selucká 2008, 45). It can be explained in a number of ways. First, it is possible for a time adverbial, for example *this year*, to co-occur with the past perfect which in indirect speech represents the present perfect.³⁸ Second, reporters in newspaper style may try to make time references as clear as possible. The time reference can therefore be expressed in more than one temporal element, even though some of them may be redundant. This could be the case of example [47] in which the past perfect (*had died*) co-occurs with the time adverbial *on May 3*.

On the contrary, however, reporters tend to inform their readers as briefly as possible. The tendency towards conciseness goes against the second argument for the co-occurrence of the past perfect with time adverbials in indirect speech. Third, the (non-deictic) past perfect generally requires a reference point in the text, which (in addition to the context or pragmatic knowledge of the hearer/reader) may be given by a time adverbial. This was confirmed by Biber (1999, 469), who discovered that the past perfect generally co-occurs with time adverbials more frequently than the past simple tense.

³⁸ As well as with the choice between the past and past perfect tense in indirect speech, it is not often clear whether the past perfect in indirect speech represents the present perfect, past tense or past perfect (occurring in the original utterance).

Table 7: Choice of tense forms in clauses with time expressions in a sample of 99 tokens

TENSE FORM	Number
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	3
present	6
present perfect	2
past	38
past perfect	33
P/P INF	17

Data from Selucká (2008, 46)

- [46] CONTEXT: Reported on 26 October, 2007. The reporter informs readers about current Russian economy and financial situation.

(Bread prices have doubled and eggs are 60 per cent more expensive, while) the State Statistical Service **reported** that the price of milk had risen by 9.4 per cent *in September* (Art151).

- [47] Mr Ribeiro **said** police believed that Madeleine had died *on May 3* and was not being held alive by an abductor (Art136).

In indirect speech (as well as outside indirect speech), deictic time expressions can be combined with deictic use of tense forms, as in [39], and non-deictic ones with non-deictic use of tense forms, as in [48]. It should however be noted that in this study exclusively deictic tense forms are considered to be the present, present perfect and future tense. The interpretation of the past simple depends on the context (although it is not always helpful either), the past perfect tense is generally considered non-deictic and the P/P INF category including modal verbs is difficult to interpret.

- [48] The first thing she thought of after the bomb went off was the children, and she **admitted** it had been hard speaking to them *that morning* (Art128) (quoted in Selucká 2008, 19).

Furthermore, deictic time adverbials “may be associated with verbs having non-deictic tense” (Huddleston 1969, 801), as illustrated by [49]. It is however necessary to remember that in this study only the indirect speech introduced with a past reporting verb is considered. As for the indirect speech introduced with a verb in the future tense, Comrie (1993, 113) finds differences in accepting sentences like [50] by individual speakers. He himself considers [50] in which the non-deictic past tense co-occurs with the deictic *tomorrow* fully acceptable, but some speakers regard such sentences “marginal or totally unacceptable” (113).

[49] Rob Andrew, the RFU’s elite rugby director, **revealed** yesterday that *last week* in Marseilles, Wilkinson had been handed another ball that was not an official match ball and on that occasion had gone ahead with the kick (Art84).

[50] John **will say** on the twentieth of May that he arrived *tomorrow* (Comrie 1993, 113).

2 Principles and Hypotheses

2.1. Factors in Optional and Obligatory Backshifting

Principles governing backshift of tenses in indirect speech mostly apply to indirect speech which has the form of one dependent clause. In doing so, they are often considered to hold valid in composite indirect speech. Even though backshift in composite indirect speech is influenced by its complexity (see Chapter 2.2), it cannot be explained without knowledge of factors that have an impact on tense choice in indirect speech in general. In Selucká (2008), I deal with factors relevant to optional and obligatory backshifting, which are discussed in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 155-157) and Quirk et al. (1985, 1027-1028). In this chapter these factors are provided by reviewing also other linguists' opinions and views.

Factors relevant to backshifting in indirect speech can be divided as follows:

- A. Factors relating to choice between backshifted and non-backshifted tense forms in general
- B. Factors determining choice between the present (or present perfect) and the past (or past perfect) tense form
- C. Factors influencing choice between the past and the past perfect tense form

A. Factors influencing choice between BACKSHIFTED and NON-BACKSHIFTED tense forms

This category is most general. It includes all factors I deal with in Section B and C, for they all determine choice between backshifted and non-backshifted versions, which are however given in particular tense forms. Still, one factor needs to be mentioned in this section, and that is FOCUS on the original utterance, as Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 157) call it.³⁹ Backshifted version is preferred over the non-backshifted one if the reporter lays an emphasis on the original. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 157-158) use example [51] in which the past tense form (not the present tense form) is selected because it

³⁹ I shortly mention this factor already in Chapter 1.1 in which the form of indirect speech is discussed. The extent to which the indirectly reported proposition is changed as opposed to the original utterance may correspond to the extent to which the reporter lays an emphasis on the original utterance. The more the indirect speech is changed, the less emphasis is laid on the original statement.

indicates that there is “a contrast between past thinking and present knowing” (158). Despite this, the factor may also influence choice between the past and past perfect tense form, making the past perfect form more acceptable than the past tense form (if both tense forms are possible).

[51] I **thought** it was mine (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 157).

As suggested in Chapter 1.4.6, no backshift is generally necessary when “direct speech is reported very soon afterwards” (Getkin 1990, 140) because time references usually hold valid. It is one of the characteristics of newspaper style.

B. Factors influencing choice between the PRESENT (or PRESENT PERFECT) and the PAST (or PAST PERFECT) TENSE FORM

Choice between the present (or present perfect) and the past (or past perfect) tense form is considered when the time referred to in the original utterance is still VALID at the time of reporting. In such instances, “backshift is optional” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027). In other words, both the present (or present perfect) tense form and the past (or past perfect) tense form are acceptable, as in [53] (compared to the original utterance in [52]). In [53] the present tense is used when the reporter is sure of its present validity. Otherwise, the past tense form is preferred (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027-1028) (PRINCIPLE 1).⁴⁰ In addition to temporary states (reported in [53]), the factor of validity is applied to “[p]ermanent states and conditions” that are often “reported in the simple present” tense “to show that they are matters of fact now” (Alexander 1988, 293). It is demonstrated by example [54] in which the reporter knows (or believes) that the situation is still valid.

[52] Kit **said**, ‘I am sick’ (Comrie 1986, 285).

[53] Kit **said** that he is/was sick (adapted from Comrie 1986, 285).

[54] He **told** me he works as a builder (Alexander 1988, 293).

⁴⁰ In addition to hypotheses formulated in Chapter 2.4, the questionnaire evaluated in Chapter 3 is designed to confirm (or contradict) some principles outlined in this chapter. The principles that are to be confronted with the data from questionnaires are marked as follows: (PRINCIPLE “NUMBER”). The principle is usually described in the whole paragraph preceding the mark.

At its most extreme, the factor of validity determines tense choice in indirect speech with UNIVERSAL TRUTHS (as in example [55] and [56]), which are always valid at the time of the reported utterance. Using example [56], Alexander (1988, 293) argues that “the proximity rule would allow us” to employ the past tense form instead of the present tense form. In practice, however, the shift of the present tense form further into the past is optional (PRINCIPLE 2).

[55] Socrates **said** that nothing can/could harm a good man (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027) (Q1).⁴¹

[56] Copernicus **concluded** that the earth goes/went round the sun (adapted from Alexander 1988, 293).

The deictic present tense is preferred when the reporter considers the proposition TRUE, while the past tense is selected when he/she considers it FALSE or wrong (Huddleston 1969, 794-795). Moreover, the past tense form is favoured when the reporter wants to distance himself/herself from the wording of the report, or, as suggested by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 157), when he/she rejects the original. It applies, among others, to universal statements like [55], [56], [57] and [58]. Out of these, example [58] contains an untrue proposition, which may be evaluated as false by most reporters. Therefore, the past tense seems to be a better choice than the present tense. What one reporter might consider true, however, another might not. The present tense is also possible. Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 289) explain this phenomenon in terms of convention. They believe in conventional use of the present tense in propositions which have the form of eternal truths. In their opinion, the form (and not the truth value of the proposition) plays a role in tense choice in reporting universal statements (PRINCIPLE 3).

[57] He wanted to **demonstrate** that the world is/was round (Huddleston 1969, 794).

[58] He wanted to **demonstrate** that the world is/was flat (adapted from Huddleston 1969, 794).

⁴¹ In Selucká (2008, 5-6), I use examples [55], [61] and [66] for illustrating principles outlined in Quirk et al. (1985, 1027-1028). In this study, examples [55] and [61] are particularly important because they occur in the questionnaire attached in Appendix 2.

In addition to reporting false propositions, backshift is normal if there are some DOUBTS about its present validity or if the proposition is NO LONGER VALID (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028). Jespersen (1946, 262) claims that the “wrongness of a supposition may even lead to a further shifting into the pluperfect” (as in example [59]), even though there is no difference in the time relation between [59] and [60] in which the simple past tense is used.

[59] I **thought** you had been a gentleman (Jespersen 1946, 262).

[60] I **thought** you were a gentleman (=now I see you are not) (262).

As regards the factor of validity, the proposition is no longer valid at the time of its reporting, especially when it is reported long after its original utterance (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028). In example [61], therefore, the shift of the present tense into the past tense is obligatory because “the statement by Socrates . . . deals with what is now past” (1027). It must however be clear that the reporter does not belong to Socrates’s times. Otherwise, the proposition would still be valid, and both the past and present tense form would be possible (PRINCIPLE 4). According to Leech (2004, 109), moreover, “backshift is virtually compulsory” when “the Past Tense has a global indefinite meaning in combination with *ever, always, etc.*,” which is illustrated by example [62]. In such cases, the present tense form is completely unacceptable, as shown in brackets in example [62].

[61] Socrates **said** that he was a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027) (Q2).

[62] I always **said** he was a liar (NOT ?*I always **said** he’s a liar.) (Leech 2004, 109).

Out of context, as Salkie and Reed (1997, 334) argue, the past tense form is generally more acceptable in indirect speech than the present tense form (if both are possible) because the only context that is provided is the past reporting frame. Both tense forms are however equally acceptable when the instances in which they occur are considered in an appropriate (wider) CONTEXT (PRINCIPLE 5). The last factor to be taken into account is taken from Jespersen (1946, 261), who explains that in some propositions (especially in spoken discourse) the speaker just “goes on speaking in the tense adapted to the main idea” without considering whether “each dependent statement

refers to one or the other time.” It is illustrated by example [63] which the speaker exclaims when he/she “discovers the presence of someone” (261). In other words, the speaker is surprised at discovering something new, which, according to Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 296), is the main reason for the use of the past tense form in instances like [63].⁴² Without the element of surprise, they claim, the present tense is equally acceptable (296).

[63] I **didn't know** you were here (and you are here, but I didn't know) (adapted from Jespersen 1946, 261).

C. Factors influencing choice between the PAST and PAST PERFECT tense form

Choice between the past and past perfect tense form is less predictable than choice between the present (or present perfect) and past (or past perfect) tense form. If the situation (or event) took place prior to the original utterance, it also took place prior to the report (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 158). In such instances, backshift is optional and the choice of the particular tense form depends on individual speakers (reporters). In example [64] the past tense form in the indirect speech may be favoured for its greater SIMPLICITY compared to the past perfect tense form in [65] (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 158). According to Leech (2004, 109), the situation in such cases as [64] is simply “viewed as ‘past’ (related directly to the present time as its point of reference).” Another factor determining choice of the past tense form in indirect speech is the CONTEXT (e.g. the use of a time adverbial) that makes TIME REFERENCES CLEAR (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027) (PRINCIPLE 5).

[64] She **asked** me where I was born (adapted from Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 158).

[65] She **asked** me where I had been born (adapted from Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 158).

⁴² Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 296) use a similar example, making the element of surprise more prominent:
❖ *Are you joining us?—No, my wife is waiting for me.—Oh, I **didn't know** you were/*are married.*

On the other hand, the reporter chooses the past perfect if he/she wants “to EMPHASIZE that the situation was already in the past when the speaker spoke” (Thompson 1994, 108). In such cases, the situation is “viewed as ‘past in past’ ”—the past perfect relates the situation to a point of reference in the past (Leech 2004, 109).

The past perfect cannot be replaced with the past tense form if it stands for the present perfect tense (Chalker 1984, 260) or if there is a possibility of MISINTERPRETING the past tense form as representing the present tense form like in example [66] (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

[66] She **said**, ‘I was married (but my husband died last year).’

She **said** that she had been married (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

The analysis of teaching materials in Selucká (2008, 4-5)⁴³ has revealed that the factor of validity (besides basic changes of individual tense forms in indirect speech)⁴⁴ is the only factor that students of English become familiar with at secondary schools. In other words, most of the factors mentioned above are not usually discussed with students of English, which makes them think that certain English sentences are grammatically incorrect, which is not true. For that reason, as suggested in Selucká (2008, 50), it is necessary to emphasize that the change of tense forms in indirect speech is not done mechanically.

In fact, it is often possible to select more tense forms. In some cases, their choice depends on the linguistic or/and extra-linguistic context, and sometimes two verb forms can be used without any distinction, depending only on individual speakers’ preference. So far choice between particular tense forms has been considered. Nevertheless, tense in indirect speech is most frequently studied in sentences in which a particular tense form has already been selected, which (especially in sentences considered in isolation) leads to ambiguity as to their meaning. It is illustrated by sentence [67] which means either that the

⁴³ In Selucká (2008, 4) I examined backshifting in indirect speech in *Headway Intermediate* (Soars and Soars 1991) and *Reward Intermediate* (Greenall 1998). For the purpose of this study, moreover, I explore the issue in *Maturita Solutions Upper-Intermediate* (Falla and Davies 2009) and *New English File Intermediate* (Oxenden and Latham-Koenig 2007). Compared to older textbooks such as *Reward Intermediate* and *Headway Intermediate*, however, no new factors in backshifting are taught.

⁴⁴ For basic changes of tense forms in indirect speech, which are taught at secondary schools, see Appendix 1.

reporter has just discovered that the addressee has a lot of money or that the addressee had a lot of money in the past (Jespersen 1949, 153). In the latter case, the past tense form can be replaced with the past perfect (153). However, there is no ambiguity if an appropriate context is given.

[67] I **didn't know** that you had so much money (Jespersen 1949, 153).

2.2. Backshift in Composite Indirect Speech

Besides the factors discussed above (in Chapter 2.1), backshift in composite indirect speech is influenced by factors resulting from the complexity of the indirect speech. In grammar books this issue is discussed only marginally.⁴⁵ Each of the sources dealing with this issue is concerned with a different aspect of backshift in composite indirect speech. Quirk et al. (1985, 1028) are concerned with the factor of validity, claiming that the present tense can occur in a subordinate clause (which does not immediately follow the reporting frame) “because of current validity,” even though both the reporting verb and the verb in the preceding subordinate clause are in the past (or past perfect), as in example [68].

[68] She **thought** that she had told me that breakfast is served between seven and ten (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156) formulate the most general principle dealing with this issue. They argue that a backshifted tense form cannot occur after a non-backshifted one in composite indirect speech with “more than one level of embedding”, which is exemplified by examples [70] and [71], compared to the original utterance in [69] (156). In [70] both tense forms are backshifted in indirect speech. In [71], the first tense form (*was*) is backshifted, while the second tense form (*returns*) is not. Another possibility is to leave both tense forms unshifted in indirect speech, which depends on the context. As regards the issue of tense in composite indirect speech, however, the factor of context is

⁴⁵ This issue is touched upon in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156), Quirk et al. (1985, 1028) and Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123). Direct quotations are given in Selucká (2008, 7-8) in which the ideas are exemplified with indirect speech from the corpus of sentences described in Note 8. In this study I use a different set of examples, which come from the sources in which the ideas are discussed.

not considered in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156). They examine the possibility of selecting a non-backshifted version in simple indirect speech, as discussed in Chapter 2.1.

In accordance with the rule described above, example [72] in which a backshifted tense form (*returned*) occurs after a non-backshifted one (*is*) is unacceptable. In addition, the principle can be applied only to indirect speech which contains one or more SUBORDINATE clauses DEPENDENT on another clause within the indirect speech (156). In other words, this rule cannot be exercised if the indirect speech includes only (two or more) COORDINATE clauses that are directly dependent on the reporting frame, as illustrated by [73]. However, the rule can be applied to more complex structures such as [74], which are studied in Selucká (2008, 52).

[69] She **said**, 'I am leaving before he returns' (adapted from Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 156).

[70] She **said** she was leaving before he returned (156).

[71] She **said** she was leaving before he returns (156).

[72] *She **said** she is leaving before he returned (156).

[73] Taxi drivers refused to take a foreigner to the area, **saying** they were too frightened AND that the army moved bodies after the shoot-on-sight curfew (Art12).

[74] He **insisted** that officers had not initially suspected Mr and Mrs McCann but had made them official suspects only after a British sniffer dog suggested that a corpse had been in their holiday apartment and in a car they hired 25 days after Madeleine disappeared (Art136).

In Selucká (2008, 51-54) I formulate hypotheses about tense choice in composite indirect speech (outlined in Chapter 2.4) that are based on semantic and grammatical properties of verbs and types of subordinate clauses in which the verb forms occur. Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123) demonstrate the influence of two grammatical features on backshift of the past tense form in composite indirect speech. First, they claim that the past tense form in clauses on which temporal clauses depend (as in example [76]) normally remain unshifted in indirect speech. In doing so, the past tense in the time clauses also

usually does not change (123). Accordingly, the past tense in both clauses of the indirect speech in [76] remains unchanged, compared to the original in [75]. Occasionally, however, the past tense form in the clause on which a time clause depends is subject to backshift, especially if the verb in the time clause is in the past continuous tense (123), which Thomson and Martinet illustrate with [77] in which the past tense is changed into the past perfect tense in the clause the time clause depends on.

[75] He **said**, ‘I dropped it while I was running’ (Thomson and Martinet 1980, 123).

[76] He **said** the he dropped it while he was running (123).

[77] He **said** the he had dropped it while he was running (123).

Second, Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123) focus on the continuous aspect also outside time clauses, arguing that the past continuous tense form is not normally subject to backshift unless it is the only verb form in reported speech or it “refers to a completed action” (123).⁴⁶ The impact of grammatical properties of verbs on tense choice in indirect speech is only occasionally discussed in grammar books. Quirk et al. (1985, 1027), for instance, consider this aspect unimportant. They believe that “backshift rule is not affected by combinations of the simple and perfective forms with progressive and passive forms” (1027).

The last theory to be considered in this chapter is discussed in Declerck (1990 and 1995). Declerck studies tense choice in embedded structures in terms of relative and absolute tenses. He claims that only absolute tenses in direct speech can undergo backshift (Declerck 1995, 16). In his opinion, sentence [79] is “the only adequate indirect speech/thought version” of [78] because *thought* and *was* in [79] are an absolute and relative tense respectively. Only the former is therefore subject to backshift. Moreover, he pays attention to explanation of individual tense forms in the past time-sphere (as shown in Chapter 1.4.3). In both [78] and [79], Declerck (1995, 16) argues, the past tense of the verb

⁴⁶ This statement is not illustrated with any particular example. In practice, however, it could be applied to the following direct and indirect speech pair:

❖ *John **told** me, ‘I was considering moving to London but decided not to.’*

❖ *John **told** me that he had been considering moving to London but had decided not to.*

The past tense form (*was*) in the direct speech is shifted into the past perfect tense form (*had been*) in the indirect speech because the action of the verb *consider* has obviously been completed, which is made explicit in the phrase *but had decided not to*.

be expresses simultaneity of Betty's being abroad with the situation of John's thinking. In example [79] the situation of John's thinking is anterior to that of Betty's hoping, which is expressed by the past perfect (*had thought*), Declerck (1995, 16) continues. Tense choice in [79] is in accordance with the rule formulated in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156), even though they provide more possible indirect speech versions.

[78] (*Said by Betty*) 'John thought that I was abroad' (Declerck 1995, 16).

[79] Betty **hoped** that John had thought that she was abroad (16).

As suggested in Chapter 1.4.3, the absolute tense form does not need to be necessarily shifted back into the past, but, as Declerck (1995, 17) admits, it can often establish a temporal domain of its own.⁴⁷ For illustrating this phenomenon, Declerck (1995, 17) uses examples [80] and [81]. In example [81] the reporter may either shift the absolute tense form (*was* from example [80]) into the past (*had been*) (and express anteriority of John's being happy with respect to Mary's time of utterance) or may leave it unchanged in indirect speech (*was*) (and relate the situation of John's being happy directly to the time of the report). Thomson and Martinet (1980) use such examples as [80] and [81] for demonstrating the influence of time clauses on tense choice in indirect speech, while Declerck (1995) leaves this aspect unexpressed.

[80] 'John was happier when he lived in London' (Declerck 1995, 17).

[81] Mary **said** that John had been/was happier when he lived in London (17).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) or Thomson and Martinet (1980) deal with the above aspects in a more comprehensible manner than Declerck (1995). Despite this, Declerck's theory is prominent because it deals with tense choice in subordinate clauses, which hardly any linguists are preoccupied with. Using a number of direct and indirect speech pairs, Declerck (1990, 532) illustrates which subordinate clauses select both the past and past perfect in indirect speech (see examples [82] and [83]) and which clauses

⁴⁷ Provided that the context makes temporal relations in example [79] clear, it may be possible to report [78] as follows:

❖ *Betty hoped that John thought that she was abroad.*

This option is discussed in Declerck (1990, 519), who however demonstrates the importance of contextual clues by using instances with simple indirect speech.

select only the past tense (see examples [84] and [85]) provided that the following conditions are fulfilled:

- the subordinate clauses contain the past tense in direct speech AND
- the clauses which the subordinate clauses depend on contain backshifted tense forms in indirect speech.

[82] i. ‘I spoke to her WHEN she *came*’ (Declerck 1990, 532).

ii. He **said** he had spoken to her when she came/had come home (532).

[83] i. ‘I spent some time with John, WHO *felt* lonely’ (532).

ii. She **said** that she had spent some time with John, who felt/had felt lonely (532).

[84] i. ‘I left the money WHERE it *was*’ (532).

ii. He **said** he had left the money where it was/*had been (532).

[85] i. ‘I decided not to buy the house BECAUSE it *was* on the main road’ (532).

ii. He **explained** he had decided not to buy the house because it was/*had been on the main road (532).

Declerck (1990, 533) explains that the past tense is natural in final subordinate clauses in [82]ii, [83]ii, [84]ii and [85]ii because the situation their verb forms express is represented as simultaneous with the situation expressed in the clauses they depend on, which corresponds to temporal relations holding in their direct speech correspondents. Some subordinate clauses, Declerck (1990, 533) continues, can be “temporally bound, not by” their “own matrix,” but “by the clause that also binds” their “matrix” (=reporting frame). However, this is possible only if the temporal relations are not obscured (533).

Declerck (1990) does not explicitly state which types of subordinate clauses may allow both the past and past perfect tense and which only the past tense. However, he makes it explicit in his examples. Both the past and past perfect tense may be selected in temporal clauses (opened with *when*, as in example [82], and *while*) and a non-restrictive relative clause (see example [83]), while the past tense only is allowed in an object clause with the continuous aspect, adverbial clauses of reason, introduced with *because* (see example [85]), and place, introduced with *where* (see example [84]).

The factors and principles discussed in Chapter 2.1 and 2.2 have an impact on the reporters' choice of tense forms in indirect speech. It is however difficult for researchers to determine what factors made reporters select a particular tense form, which influences the mode of research into the issue of tense in indirect speech.

2.3. Mode of Research

In general, there are two ways of approaching the issue of tense in indirect speech. Either the researcher studies tense in indirect speech compared to tense in direct speech (Mode 1) or he/she analyzes tense choice in indirect speech without knowing its direct speech equivalent (Mode 2). For a researcher who is not a native speaker of English and who therefore cannot use his/her intuition for deciding on the most appropriate tense choice in indirect speech, Mode 1 is not quite suitable in that it requires a few native speakers willing to determine the acceptability of tense choice in indirect speech and a sufficient number of direct and indirect speech pairs. Such pairs (often used in grammar books, students' textbooks and workbooks for explanation of backshift in indirect speech) are normally designed by the researcher who has to provide them with a particular context.

Even though Mode 1 may not be an appropriate tool for obtaining a sufficient number of tokens for analysis and formulation of hypotheses, it can be suitable for verifying and refuting hypotheses that have already been formulated. Mode 2, on the other hand, enables us to obtain enough data for analysis and subsequent formulation of hypotheses because instances with indirect speech are easily available in authentic (written or spoken) discourse. They can be found in fiction, academic writing, parliamentary and company reports, newspapers, ordinary everyday dialogues, etc. In all materials (including spoken discourse), sentences with indirect speech are set in a particular context, which makes Mode 2 more suitable and less demanding for the researcher's preparation than Mode 1.

As discussed in Chapter 1.1, moreover, it is not often possible to derive direct speech from indirect. Reporters may change the proposition in such a way that it does not need to correspond to the form of the original at all, even though the content is preserved. Mode 2, therefore, provides a wider range of possible indirect speech versions than Mode 1, in which respondents may feel obliged to follow the form of the original.

Whether the extent to which the original utterance is changed by the reporter has an impact on tense choice is another question to answer. This issue can be studied by comparing two passages with indirect speech produced by native speakers, who are asked to rewrite a passage (e.g. a story or a piece of news) with direct speech from their point of view and produce two copies. In the first one, the speakers are supposed to reproduce the original material as faithfully as possible. In the second one, the same speakers are asked to re-narrate the material in their own words. This way of obtaining data for analysis however requires a sufficient number of native speakers willing to produce the passages.

Not all verbs that introduce direct speech can introduce indirect speech (see Chapter 1.3), which makes Mode 1 limited as to the choice of reporting verbs or, more generally, the wording of reporting frames. The solution is to provide direct speech without a reporting frame, as in [86], and to ask native speakers to produce the most appropriate indirect speech version. In doing so, the choice of the reporting verb may fully depend on the speaker. The respondents may also be asked to provide several indirect speech versions, differing in reporting verbs, as in [87]-[90], which is a useful tool for obtaining a sufficient number of sentences and exploring whether the choice of a reporting verb has an influence on tense in indirect speech. The researcher may provide the whole reporting frames (as in [87]-[90]), choose a few reporting verbs or leave the choice of reporting verbs and formulation of reporting frames to respondents.

[86] ‘Susan arrived earlier because she looked forward to speaking with her sister.’⁴⁸

[87] He **said** that

[88] He **thought** that

[89] He *wrongly* **believed** that

[90] He *rightly* **believed** that

The formulation of reporting frames in [89] and [90] is motivated by instances used in Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 291), who explain that out of context the present tense is less acceptable in the indirect speech in [91] than in the indirect speech in [90]. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 157), it is determined by the reporter’s attitude to the

⁴⁸ Example [86] and reporting frames in [87]-[90] are formulated to illustrate how a researcher may obtain data for analysis.

proposition. The attitude can be to a certain extent expressed in the reporting frame. As illustrated in Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 291), in [91] the reporter disagrees with the content of the indirect speech, which is expressed by the adverbial *wrongly*, while in [90] he/she agrees with the original speaker, which is indicated by *rightly*.

[91] John *wrongly* **believed** that her name was/??is Mary (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 291).

[92] John *rightly* **believed** that her name was/is Mary (291).

Similarly, “the present tense is hardly acceptable,” Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 295) argue, if the reporting frame contains such adverbials as *softly* or *in a loud voice* that suggest the manner of speaking of the original speakers. It is illustrated by [93] in which the past tense form is preferred over the present tense form. If the researcher decides for Mode 1, it is therefore very useful to provide the whole reporting frames with adverbials expressing attitude or manner of speaking.

[93] John **said** *softly* that he couldn't/??can't help me (Declerck and Tanaka 1996, 295).

For the research carried out in Selucká (2008), I selected Mode 2. I analyzed the corpus of sentences with indirect speech selected from *The London Times* online newspapers (described in Note 8) and formulated hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2.4. Because the aim of this study is to verify or refute these hypotheses by evaluating questionnaires filled in by British speakers, the research described in Chapter 3 focuses on newspaper style. More generally, I have so far been preoccupied with written style. In spoken discourse, Alexander (1988, 298) claims, “there may be sudden changes in the sequence of tenses,” which may make analysis of tense more difficult than in written style. This chapter shows that the issue of tense in indirect speech is a subject-matter that raises a number of questions for further research. In doing so, the researcher may approach the issue in different ways, all of which have both advantages and disadvantages, which is discussed above.

Linguists usually clarify their theories without detailed description of the mode of research they used. Whether the linguists select Mode 1 or Mode 2 is however always clear from the way of presenting examples and from their explanation of the issue. More

precisely, Comrie (1986 and 1993) compares tense in indirect speech with tense in direct speech (Mode 1), while Declerck (1990 and 1995), Salkie and Reed (1997) or Davidse and Vandelanotte (2011) select Mode 2 for their research. It is however not clear how Declerck or Salkie and Reed studied the issue in practice. In “Tense in Indirect Speech,” Comrie (1986) makes a few remarks, suggesting that he did research with a number of native speakers who expressed their opinions on acceptability and unacceptability of indirect speech statements. As discussed in Chapter 1.3, Comrie, as well as Davidse and Vandelanotte, focus predominantly on indirect speech introduced with the verb *say*. Only Davidse and Vandelanotte (2011, 246) however support their claims with results of corpus analysis.

Compared to Declerck or Davidse and Vandelanotte who study the occurrence of absolute and relative tense in indirect speech, I focus predominantly on the frequency of the occurrence of the past and past perfect tense in indirect speech (Selucká 2008, 22). These are most frequent because they provide several possibilities of representation of tense forms in indirect speech (22). Other tense forms like the present tense, present perfect, *will* followed by present infinitive, and the category P/P INF, including modal verbs, are not neglected either. This method avoids problems with determining whether the particular tense form is backshifted or not, which is not always possible, even though the sentences with indirect speech are provided with a broader context.

2.4. Hypotheses

In this chapter I will outline hypotheses which result from the research carried out in Selucká (2008), which will be verified or refuted in Chapter 3. The research is based on the choice of tense forms in indirect speech in dependence on grammatical and semantic properties of verb forms and the type of subordinate clauses in which the particular tense forms occur. In accordance with the representation of tense forms in indirect speech (as described in Chapter 1.4.4), I concentrate especially on the past and past perfect tense forms and try to clarify under what conditions the past perfect is not necessary.

At first I focus on the frequency of the occurrence of the past, past perfect and other tense forms (the present, present perfect, *will* + present infinitive, P/P INF) in indirect speech with respect to the type of subordinate clauses. The corpus with composite indirect speech (see Note 8) includes 327 tokens which contain 761 subordinate clauses and 5

supplements (Selucká 2008, 51).⁴⁹ As shown in Table 8, object clauses largely prevail. The number of object clauses in indirect speech is influenced by the fact that they frequently open indirect speech (see Table 9).⁵⁰ Table 9 also shows that object clauses dependent on other clauses within indirect speech (see example [94])⁵¹ and object clauses coordinate with object clauses opening indirect speech (see example [95]) are not quite infrequent.⁵² Example [94], moreover, contains 2 object clauses in a coordinate relation that are dependent on the object clause opening indirect speech. Out of 80 clauses dependent on clauses within indirect speech, 69 of them are dependent on object clauses (nearly all of which are dependent directly on the reporting frame), 8 of them are dependent on adverbial clauses and 3 of them on relative clauses.

⁴⁹ The types of subordinate clauses which can occur in indirect speech are discussed in Chapter 1.2.

⁵⁰ In Selucká (2008) I focus predominantly on whether object clauses open indirect speech or not. In this study, moreover, I deal with object clauses that are in a coordinate relation and that are dependent on other clauses within indirect speech. The data included in Table 9 and in Table 10 come from the research I carried out for the purpose of this study. In doing so, I analyzed tokens from the corpus of sentences described in Note 8.

⁵¹ All tokens used for analysis in Selucká (2008) are provided with such tables as given below example [94] in which properties of clauses and verb forms in indirect speech are clearly described. These tables made the analysis easier. Besides, they are also useful for readers who can see quickly grammatical properties of verbs and relations between clauses in indirect speech.

⁵² Clauses opening indirect speech may contain another clause, which is illustrated by the relative clause in the example below. As far as the linear order of verbs in the indirect speech is concerned, the verb occurring in the object clause is second to the verb in the relative clause. For the analysis of tense forms in indirect speech, it is important to determine whether it is the order of clauses or order of tense forms that matters (Selucká 2008, 30). In this study I consider the order of clauses more important because it is the level of embedding that, according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156), is a decisive factor in backshifting in composite indirect speech.

❖ *In a major Commons statement on the future of military operations in Iraq, the Prime Minister also **announced** that interpreters and other local staff who have worked for UK forces in Iraq for more than a year would be able to apply for financial aid to settle there, elsewhere in the region or “in agreed circumstances” in the UK (Art22).*

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>announce</i>	that + noun phrase	who	
TENSE	past		present perfect	<i>would be able to</i>
CLAUSE			RELATIVE (restrictive)	OBJECT
VOICE	active		active	-

Table 8: Tense choice wrt the type of clauses in indirect speech in a sample of 766 clauses

TENSE FORM	OCs	RCs	ACs	ACCs	SCs	Ss	SCompls
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
present	14	19	7	1	1	2	0
present perfect	5	8	1	0	2	0	0
<i>past</i>	258	66	75	6	4	5	0
<i>past perfect</i>	128	13	10	4	4	0	2
P/P INF	95	17	6	5	1	0	2
Total number of CLAUSES	505	123	99	16	12	7	4

Data from Selucká (2008, 28-38)

Table 9: Position of object clauses in indirect speech (IS) in a sample of 505 clauses

	OBJECT CLAUSES . . .		
	. . . opening IS	. . . coordinate with OCs opening IS	. . . dependent on other clauses within IS
Number	376	49	80

[94] She **said** that she was initially told that her son had died of a chest wound and that his body was intact (Art49).⁵³

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>say</i>	that	that	that
TENSE	past	past	past perfect	past
CLAUSE		OBJECT1	OBJECT2 dependent on OBJECT1	OBJECT3 dependent on OBJECT1
VOICE	active	passive	active	<i>be</i> (copula)

⁵³ This example is also quoted in Selucká (2008, 11). In this study I use it because it includes composite indirect speech with three object clauses.

[95] Ehud Olmert, the Israeli Prime Minister, today announced that he has prostate cancer but **added** that the disease was not life-threatening and that he would not be standing down (Art159).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>add</i>	that	and that
TENSE	past	past	<i>would</i> + present infinitive
CLAUSE		OBJECT	OBJECT
VOICE	active	<i>be</i> (copula)	-

In object clauses the number of the past tense is twice as high as the number of the past perfect (Selucká 2008, 34). However, the latter is also frequently selected in object clauses. As Declerck (1990, 532) suggests, backshift of tense forms in some clauses is influenced by their dependency on other clauses. Accordingly, I explore whether tense choice in object clauses depending directly on the reporting frame differs from tense choice in object clauses that depend on other clauses in indirect speech, which is illustrated by Table 10. The proportion of the past and past perfect tense form in both types of object clauses is approximately the same (HYPOTHESIS 1) (although the number of the past perfect in object clauses dependent on the reporting frame is slightly higher than the number of the past perfect in object clauses dependent on other clauses in indirect speech relative to the number of both types of object clauses).

Table 10: Tense choice wrt the type of object clauses in a sample of 505 clauses

TENSE FORM	OCs dependent on the reporting frame ⁵⁴	%	OCs dependent on clauses in indirect speech	%
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	5	1.18	0	0.00
present	14	3.29	0	0.00
present perfect	4	0.94	1	1.25
<i>past</i>	220	51.76	38	47.50
<i>past perfect</i>	113	26.59	15	18.75
P/P INF	69	16.24	26	32.50

The proportion of the past and past perfect tense forms is more important in relative and adverbial clauses. In these clauses the past perfect occurs less frequently as opposed to the past tense, which may be given by general properties of these two types of subordinate clauses.

As shown in Table 11, the majority of adverbial clauses are temporal clauses, in which the choice of the past and past perfect tense generally depends on whether the temporal relations in sentences containing temporal clauses are clearly determined. One of the factors determining the relations is semantics of such subordinators as *after*, *before* or *until* (Selucká 2008, 32).⁵⁵ In temporal clauses both tense forms are possible, but, as Quirk et al. (1985, 1018) say, the past tense is more common. The same also applies to temporal clauses in indirect speech (HYPOTHESIS 2). However, the past perfect is also quite rare in other adverbial clauses in indirect speech (see Table 11).

⁵⁴ Object clauses dependent on the reporting frame are clauses opening indirect speech and clauses that are coordinate with clauses opening indirect speech.

⁵⁵ In the corpus compiled for the research in Selucká (2008, 33) the temporal clauses in indirect speech are opened with the following subordinators: *after* (14 clauses), *when(ever)* (13 clauses), *before* (6 clauses), *until* (6 clauses), *while* (4 clauses), *as* (3 clauses) and *since* (1 clause).

Table 11: Tense choice wrt the type of relative and adverbial clauses

TENSE FORM	Relative clauses		Adverbial clauses			
	non-rest.	rest.	time	cause	condition	other types ⁵⁶
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	0	0	0	0	0	0
present	9	10	2	3	2	0
present perfect	3	5	0	1	0	0
<i>past</i>	28	38	41	12	12	10
<i>past perfect</i>	1	12	4	5	1	0
P/P INF	1	16	0	4	1	1
Total number of CLAUSES	42	81	47	25	16	11

Data from Selucká (2008, 28-33)

In accordance with Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123), I studied tense choice in clauses on which temporal clauses depend (Selucká 2008, 45). As shown in Table 12, it was discovered that the number of the past perfect in such clauses (in which the time is specified by temporal clauses) is not insignificant (HYPOTHESIS 3). In [96], for instance, the object clause which a temporal clause depends on has a verb in the past perfect. Clauses with time adverbials, which have the same property as temporal clauses, select the past perfect even more frequently, as shown in Table 7 (see Chapter 1.4.7) (HYPOTHESIS 4). In clauses on which temporal clauses depend and clauses with time adverbials, however, the past tense slightly prevails (Selucká 2008, 45).

⁵⁶ Besides adverbial clauses of time, cause and condition, indirect speech in the tokens of the corpus also contains adverbial clauses of degree, purpose, place and concession (Selucká 2008, 33).

Table 12: Tense choice in clauses on which time clauses depend in a sample of 47 clauses

TENSE FORM	Number
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	0
present	1
present perfect	0
<i>past</i>	28
<i>past perfect</i>	15
P/P INF	3

Data from Selucká (2008, 46)

- [96] The policemen, who have been on bail for the past seven years, **claimed** that they had opened fire in self defence after several shots were fired from the businessmen's vehicle, wounding one officer (Art98).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>claim</i>	that	after
TENSE	past	past perfect	past
CLAUSE		OBJECT	adverbial (time)
VOICE	active	active	passive

As for relative clauses, they can be divided into restrictive (see example [97]) and non-restrictive (see example [98]). Restrictive clauses determine the reference of the noun phrases they modify, while non-restrictive ones introduce additional information, which is not important for identification of the referent of the noun phrases they modify (Quirk et al. 1985, 1239), which, I discovered, has an impact on tense choice in indirect speech (Selucká 2008, 27-28). As illustrated in Table 11, non-restrictive clauses, whose ratio to restrictive clauses is approximately 1:2, select the past perfect only occasionally (HYPOTHESIS 5). It can be explained as follows: The non-restrictive relative clauses contain information introduced by the reporter from his point of view, and the past perfect

is not therefore necessary.⁵⁷ In restrictive clauses the ratio of the past perfect to the past tense is approximately 1:3.

[97] In her “confession”, however, she reportedly **admitted** she had been at the whitewashed cottage she shared with Ms Kercher and two Italian girls on the Thursday evening (Art188).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>admit</i>	that	-
TENSE	past	past perfect	past
CLAUSE		object	RELATIVE (RESTRICTIVE)
VOICE	active	<i>be</i>	active

[98] The French Government **confirmed** that it had been aware of the operation for months and had repeatedly warned Zoe’s Ark, which was founded by a group of firemen in 2004, to obey Sudanese and international law (Art154).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>confirm</i>	that	and (that)	which
TENSE	past	past perfect	past perfect	past
CLAUSE		object	object	RELATIVE (NON-RESTRICTIVE)
VOICE	active	<i>be</i>	active	passive

In addition, the research in Selucká (2008, 38-44) is also concentrated on the frequency of tense forms with respect to grammatical properties, such as voice (passive voice) and aspect (progressive aspect), and the occurrence of the verb *be*. Table 13 reveals that the past tense form prevails in clauses containing the verb *be* (HYPOTHESIS 6) or verbs in passive voice (HYPOTHESIS 7) or in progressive aspect (HYPOTHESIS 8). The past perfect is quite rare in such clauses. As for passive voice, the past perfect is combined with passive voice more frequently than with progressive aspect or with the verb *be* (Selucká 2008, 40-44). In addition, the past perfect occurs predominantly in object clauses. There are 23 object clauses with the passive voice and the past perfect (see example [99]),

⁵⁷ This issue is also discussed in Chapter 1.1.

6 object clauses with the progressive aspect and the past perfect (see example [100]), and 14 object clauses with the verb *be* in the past perfect (see example [101]). Out of 53 clauses with the past perfect given in Table 13, 32 clauses open indirect speech, as in [99] and [100].

Table 13: Tense choice wrt passive voice, progressive aspect and the verb *be*

TENSE FORM	TENSE CHOICE in CLAUSES with		
	PASSIVE VOICE	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT	VERB <i>BE</i>
<i>will</i> + present infinitive	3	0	1
present	3	6	3
present perfect	2	0	1
<i>past</i>	69	46	102
<i>past perfect</i>	28	6	19
P/P INF	16	3	10
Total number of CLAUSES	121	61	136

Data from Selucká (2008, 40-44)

[99] He really **believed** he *had been told* in the general election campaign that it was going to be different from now (Art160).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>believe</i>	-	that
TENSE	past	PAST PERFECT	<i>be going to</i>
CLAUSE		object	object
VOICE	active	PASSIVE	-

[100] Mrs Chubb **told** detectives that Miss Sparrow *had been blackmailing* her husband by threatening to sell her story after he tried to end their affair (Art61).⁵⁸

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>tell</i>	that	after
TENSE	past	PAST PERFECT (CONTINUOUS)	past
CLAUSE		object	adverbial (time)
VOICE	active	active	active

[101] He **said** his impression was that Ms Knox and Ms Kercher *had been* good friends (Art188).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>say</i>	-	that
TENSE	past	past	PAST PERFECT
CLAUSE		object	subject complement
VOICE	active	<i>be</i>	<i>BE</i>

As far as voice is concerned, in Selucká (2008, 39) I discuss the distinction between verbal passive and adjectival passive, as Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1436) sometimes call forms like *worried* in [102]. Because both are identical in form, in Selucká (2008, 39) they fall into the same category. As regards the verb *be*, in the corpus it frequently occurs as a copula (including the structure *be able to*) and as a lexical verb. Besides, it may also occur as a modal verb (*be to*).⁵⁹ In Table 13 the latter is not taken into account.

⁵⁸ This example is quoted in Selucká (2008, 53) and included in the questionnaire in Appendix 2 (Q32). The names are however changed in accordance with the context given in the questionnaire.

⁵⁹ In Selucká (2008, 41-43) I do not provide a correct division of occurrences of the verb *be* in the corpus. In this study I use the division from Dušková (2006, 176) and state what meanings the verb *be* has in the corpus.

[102] He **said** he was not worried that Iraq and the Kurdish regional government would also try to oust his fighters (Art105).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>say</i>	-	that
TENSE	past	past	<i>would</i> + present infinitive
CLAUSE		object	object
VOICE	active	ADJECTIVAL PASSIVE	active

The fact that the past perfect is quite rare when combined with the verb *be*, passive voice and progressive aspect inspired me to study the co-occurrence of tense forms in indirect speech (especially the co-occurrence of the past and past perfect) with respect to grammatical and semantic properties of verbs and the type of subordinate clauses. If a verb in indirect speech is in the past perfect, I am seeking answers to the following questions (in the given order):

- 1) What is the position of the clause with the past perfect verb form in the indirect speech? Does it open the indirect speech, or does it occur in another position?
- 2) What tense forms occur in all the other clauses in the indirect speech?
- 3) What are the grammatical and semantic properties of verbs in the past tense, which appear in subordinate clauses co-occurring with the clause containing the past perfect in indirect speech, or what is the type of the subordinate clause the past tense form occurs in?

The order of the above questions is to a certain extent given by the rules formulated in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 156) and Thomson and Martinet (1980, 123) (see Chapter 2.2). The former are preoccupied with the position of clauses in indirect speech and the latter deal with the type of subordinate clauses occurring in indirect speech. If the rule formulated by Thomson and Martinet holds valid (i.e. tense forms in both a time clause and a clause the time clause depends on remain unshifted), and both principles are taken into account at once, tense forms in clauses dependent on the time clause or the clause on which the time clause depends should remain unshifted. This applies to the final

object clause (dependent on a temporal clause) in example [103], which could therefore possibly contain an unshifted tense form. In accordance with Thomson and Martinet's principle, moreover, the first object clause (which a time clause depends on) and the time clause in [103] could also include unshifted tense forms. This instance demonstrates how important the syntactic properties of individual clauses in indirect speech are.

[103] Speaking from his family home, he **described** how he had tried to call his daughter on her mobile phone when he heard on Friday evening that a British girl had been murdered in Italy (Art178).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>describe</i>	how	when	that
TENSE	past	past perfect	past	past perfect
CLAUSE		object	ADVERBIAL (TIME)	OBJECT
VOICE	active	active	active	passive

Out of all tense forms in composite indirect speech in the corpus analyzed in Selucká (2008), there are 414 clauses with the past tense and 161 clauses with the past perfect (Selucká 2008, 51). Out of 161 clauses, there are 73 clauses with the past perfect that do not open indirect speech. It was discovered that clauses with the PAST TENSE which co-occur in indirect speech with clauses with the past perfect that do not open the indirect speech have the following characteristics (which are considered in the order in which they are mentioned below):

- They include reporting verbs (e.g. *claim* as in example [104]).
- Their verbs are in passive voice or in progressive aspect, or they include the verb *be*.
- They are relative, attributive content or adverbial clauses.
- They contain stative verbs (except for *be*), e.g. *have*, verbs expressing emotions, e.g. *fear*, or verbs of perception (Selucká 2008, 51) (HYPOTHESIS 9).

[104] The Evening Standard **reported** yesterday that Portuguese police sources claimed that scientific tests had shown “bodily fluid” from a corpse in the boot (Art100).

Reporting verb + CONJUNCTION	<i>report</i>	that	that
TENSE	past	past	past perfect
CLAUSE		object1	object2
VOICE	active	active	active

3 Research: Evaluation of Questionnaires

Chapter 3 is divided into two parts: Chapter 3.1 and Chapter 3.1. Chapter 3.1 deals with the way of preparing, designing and completing the questionnaire that is attached in Appendix 2. In Chapter 3.2 the method of evaluation is described and the results obtained from questionnaires are provided and compared with Hypotheses 1-9 (formulated in Chapter 2.4) and Principles 1-5 (discussed in Chapter 2.1).

3.1. Questionnaire Design and Distribution

The questionnaire was designed and distributed in the spring of 2010. Prior to the questionnaire design, it was necessary to specify its purpose. The main aim was to verify (or refute) the above mentioned hypotheses about tense choice in composite indirect speech which were formulated in terms of the research carried out in Selucká (2008). Accordingly, the questionnaire focuses on selection of tense forms in sentences with indirect speech, which, in most cases, are provided with contextual clues. In other words, I tried to create conditions under which the research was carried out and to design a questionnaire in accordance with Mode 2 described in Chapter 2.3 (instead of Mode 1, which requires a sufficient number of direct and indirect speech pairs). The purpose influenced the questionnaire design (mode of responding, choice of sentences, number of options provided for each sentence).

The questionnaire consists of three parts: Foreword, Part I and Part II. In the foreword I introduce myself and explain WHO the questionnaire is intended for, WHAT is the subject of my research, WHY I am preoccupied with the issue and what is the PURPOSE of the research. Part I includes basic data (sex, age, town/part of Britain, foreign languages, occupation, field of study) to be filled in by native speakers of British English, which the research is concentrated on.

Part II forms the main body of the questionnaire. It consists of 34 reported statements (labelled as Q1-Q34) that differ in complexity. Apart from sentences with composite indirect speech, the questionnaire also includes sentences with simple indirect speech, which helps respondents to become familiar with the subject of research and to become accustomed to the mode of completing the questionnaire. Questions in a questionnaire should be arranged according to their complexity (from easier to more

complex/difficult). At the beginning, I adhere to the principle, but further in the questionnaire the sentences are arranged according to contextual clues they share.

First of all, I gathered a sample of sentences with composite indirect speech, which I selected from the corpus of sentences analyzed in Selucká (2008). They come from the articles in *The London Times* online newspaper, which are listed at the end of the study. The particular sources are given in Appendix 2 and Appendix 3. Some of the sentences were adapted to include features necessary for verifying (or refuting) hypotheses. It is illustrated by examples /1/ and /2/. Example /2/ was changed to include an object clause dependent on another object clause opening the indirect speech (see example /1/). Both original and modified sentences are provided in Appendix 3.

/1/ On the day of the accident *Dr Richardson* **told** witnesses *that he* _____
(*hope*) they _____ (*not move*) the bodies (Q22) (adapted from Art102).

/2/ Original sentence: I told them I was *a doctor* and that they must not move the bodies (Art102).

In addition, the sentences were adapted to fit the context which should help respondents to choose from a wide range of options. The context of sentence /1/ (Q22 in the questionnaire) is as follows:

Imaginary situation for Q18 - Q23: **On 10th January 2010** there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. Two days later all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are **Mr Richardson** (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman's friend).

The contextual clues provided in the questionnaire have an impact on the choice of time and place adverbials, personal pronouns and tense (deictic phenomena), all of which but tense were necessary to be modified. In sentence /1/, for instance, I specify that Dr Richardson said the sentence on the day of the accident, which, according to the context, refers to 10th January 2010. Due to the context, sentence /2/ has been changed

considerably. The context is in part imaginary, in part motivated by real events that were reported in *The London Times* online newspaper. In addition to time and place adverbials and personal pronouns, I devised imaginary names and surnames. The real-life situations have been altered so that as many features for verifying (or refuting) the hypotheses as possible could have been included in individual sentences and the number of sentences necessary for verifying all hypotheses could have been reduced. In three cases, the contextual information is shared by two or more sentences. In the context mentioned above, for example, Q18-Q23 are set (see Appendix 2).

Sentences with simple indirect speech are selected both from *The London Times* articles, for instance /3/, and from grammar books, for instance /4/. In total, there are 18 sentences with composite indirect speech and 16 sentences with simple indirect speech in the questionnaire. Even though the latter are placed predominantly at the beginning, they are also occasionally placed in between sentences with composite indirect speech. The reason for it is the high number of options that some sentences are provided with. They are followed or preceded by sentences with a lower number of options so that it would be less demanding for respondents to concentrate on their selection.

/3/ Abu Ibrahim **explained** that he _____ (*become engaged*) two months before his brother's death (Q12) (adapted from Art9).

/4/ However, the ancients **had claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q5) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

As suggested above, the questionnaire has the form of a multiple choice test with a specific mode of completion, which is described below. In general, researchers can design questionnaires with either open or closed questions (or a combination of both). I opted for the latter, even though the questionnaire does not contain a series of questions, but a series of sentences related to one question: What tense forms do you (=native speakers) prefer in the following reported statements? In the questionnaire this question is not asked explicitly; it results from a detailed description of the mode of completing the questionnaire, which is described in the introduction to Part II.

The problem that may arise in questionnaires with closed questions is that the range of options provided for respondents is incomplete and that the options are not mutually

exclusive. As regards tense forms, it is not difficult to provide options that are mutually exclusive. For a non-native speaker of English, it is however quite difficult to provide sentences with all options from which respondents are supposed to choose. Such shortcomings can be revealed by pre-testing that is a stage that all questionnaires should go through.

Whether to choose open or closed questions is usually determined by the nature of the subject matter on which the questionnaire focuses. As regards the issue of tense choice in indirect speech, both types of questions can possibly be used. In the questionnaire the choice of a closed set of options is influenced by the way in which most principles concerning backshifting are formulated. Most frequently, they describe situations in which backshifting is optional, and it is therefore desirable to design such a questionnaire which would reveal more than one tense form that could possibly be selected. Open questions would not provide such information.

As far as the number of options in the questionnaire is concerned, the sentences are provided with different numbers of options. In example /5/ there are four options, while example /6/ is provided with six options. Each option corresponds to a sequence of tense forms with which respondents can complete all gaps in the sentence. The number of options depends on the number of tense forms possible in each gap. In example /5/, each gap can be completed with two tense forms. The total number of options is therefore four (2 tense forms x 2 tense forms). Similarly, the total number of options in example /6/ is six (2 tense forms x 3 tense forms).

/5/ Later Mr Smith **realized** that there _____ (*might be*) another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (*drive off*) (Q23) (adapted from Art102). 1 | 2 | 3

a) might be | drove off

c) might be | had driven

b) might have been | drove off 1

d) might have been | had driven off 2

/6/ Mr Smith **admitted** that his memory of whether there _____ (*be*) another car in the tunnel at the time _____ (*become*) foggy (Q20) (adapted from Art102). 1 | 2 | 3

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a) was became | <input type="text" value="2"/> | b) had been became | <input type="text" value="1"/> |
| c) was has become | <input type="text"/> | d) had been has become | <input type="text"/> |
| e) was had become | <input type="text"/> | f) had been had become | <input type="text" value="1"/> |

Respondents are asked to fill in the boxes next to the options with at least one of three numbers (1, 2, 3) according to their preference. Number 1 denotes the highest preference for selection of the given option, number 2 marks lower preference and number 3 the lowest one. In doing so, respondents may prefer more options at the same time, which means that they insert the same numbers into more boxes, as in example /6/, in which a respondent gives his or her first preference to two options (b and f). The variants that respondents consider incorrect are left empty. As illustrated by /5/ and /6/, respondents do not have to use all numbers. I limited the number of different preference numbers to three because more preference numbers would make the mode of completion even more complicated. Despite this, some respondents inserted more than three different preference numbers into the boxes, as in example /7/.

/7/ Later Mr Smith **realized** that there _____ (*might be*) another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (*drive off*) (Q23) (adapted from Art102). 1 | 2 | 3

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a) might be drove off | <input type="text" value="1"/> | b) might have been drove off | <input type="text" value="3"/> |
| c) might be had driven | <input type="text" value="4"/> | d) might have been had driven off | <input type="text" value="2"/> |

In this way it is possible to obtain results that would answer the following questions:

- 1) With what tense forms can each gap be completed?
- 2) With what sequences of tense forms can all gaps in the sentence be completed?

In connection with the mode of completion, it is necessary to take into account several problems. In sentences with more than four options some boxes may be left empty, even though the sequences of tense forms are not incorrect. Respondents may leave the boxes empty because they prefer other options, but they do not exclude the possibility of using the ones that they do not mark with preference numbers. In sentences with more than four options (5 to 12 options), it is not therefore possible to state which options are incorrect or which options respondents would never select.

In sentences with simple indirect speech like /8/, it would be possible to study what tense forms cannot be selected in the given context if respondents always marked possible options with preference numbers. Some respondents can use only the preference number 1, while other respondents may use two preference numbers (1 and 2). In example /8/ it is not clear whether option a) is incorrect, or whether it can possibly be selected, but it is not marked with preference number 3 because the respondent decided to make use of preference numbers 1 and 2. Such facts reflect in the way in which the questionnaire is evaluated.

/8/ Situation: Said after the suicide bombing in July 2008.

Military officials **said** that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead (Q7) (adapted from Art27). 1 | 2 | 3

a) are b) were c) had been

Before pre-testing, a questionnaire designer must decide on the font and layout of the questionnaire. In doing so, the main criteria are readability and length of the questionnaire. As for the font, I have chosen Bookman Old Style, which allows for good readability even if the font is of smaller size. In printed form the questionnaire is seven pages long. It includes 34 statements with different numbers of options, whose specific mode of selection requires a great deal of concentration on the part of the respondents.

In an ideal case, respondents should be well motivated to complete a questionnaire. The questionnaire designer should arouse their interests. As regards linguistic issues, any other motivation than a financial or material reward may be a problem if respondents are not linguists or do not study the language whose aspects are studied in the questionnaire. Despite this, some respondents may consider it interesting to help non-native speakers of

English to discover new aspects of their mother tongue, or, more specifically, to learn something new about real English. If the respondents are linguists, they may try to apply theoretical rules and principles to the choice of tense forms and not use their own intuition, as required in the introduction to Part II. They may try to provide answers that would be most correct in perfect English. However, this problem does not need to be related only to linguists, but to all respondents in general. The rules and principles may also be applied by analogy to the choice of tense forms which are not acceptable. The tendency towards hypercorrectness is one of the subject-specific problems that the researcher must consider.

Most importantly, contextual clues which most of the sentences in the questionnaire are provided with may not be sufficient or relevant. This is a problem that can sometimes be avoided by pre-testing. Before the questionnaires were circulated, I let five native speakers of English fill in the pilot version. It revealed semantic shortcomings that resulted from my effort to provide as many sentences as possible with a similar (or the same) context. The imaginary situation for sentences 15 and 16 (Q15 and Q16 in the questionnaire), given in /9/, was considered to hold valid also in example /10/ which differs from Q15 and Q16 in the choice of the reporting verb. The reporting verb *deny* in /10/ (as opposed to *confirm* in Q15 and *admit* in Q16) is in discrepancy with the context in /9/.

/9/ Imaginary situation for Q15 - Q16: Peter Brown is not still determined to stay in politics.

/10/ Yesterday Peter Brown **denied** that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics (Q17) (adapted from Art29). 1 | 2 | 3

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

The lack of contextual clues may be the reason why the present tense may be preferred in example /11/. The present tense may be more acceptable if the reporter is seen as living in Socrates's times. If respondents identify themselves with reporters reporting the statements at the time when the questionnaires are completed, the past tense may be preferred because the situation is set in the past.

/11/ Socrates **said** that he _____ (*be*) a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (Q2) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027). 1 | 2 | 3

a) is 1 b) was 2 c) had been

Whether the context is described satisfactorily or not may be highly subjective. Not all problems can be revealed by pre-testing. After distributing the questionnaires, three respondents commented on the context necessary for /12/, /13/ and /14/ respectively. In example /12/ a respondent makes it clear that the choice of a tense form depends on the time that has elapsed between the suicide bombing and the report. The situation should therefore be specified, for example, as follows: *Said TWO WEEKS after the suicide bombing in July 2008*. The boxes in /12/ include preference numbers of the respondent who made the above comment.

/12/ Situation: Said after the suicide bombing in July 2008.

Military officials **said** that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead (Q7) (adapted from Art27). 1 | 2 | 3

a) are 3 b) were 1 c) had been 2

Another respondent explains that the choice of a tense form in /13/ depends on the point of view from which the proposition is considered. The respondent fills in the sentence from the viewpoint of the radicals, which is given in the boxes in /13/.

/13/ The radicals **claimed** that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations last Thursday close to Buckingham Palace (Q8) (adapted from Art1). 1 | 2 | 3

a) are not involved 1 b) were not involved 2 c) had not been involved 3

In example /14/ (Q26 in the questionnaire), a respondent gives preference to options b) and d) at the same time, claiming that these options are not interchangeable and

that the choice of each of them depends on the exact meaning of the sentence. The context that is provided for Q24-Q34 is not helpful either.

/14/ Imaginary situation for Q24 - Q34: Mr Robert Mitchell, a judge, had an affair with his secretary, Susan Jones. Then he had an accident. He died when the shed at his farmhouse exploded. It happened a few hours after he told his wife, Jane, he wanted a divorce. A day later, on 12th December 2009, the investigation started and all involved were questioned.

Before the explosion, however, Mr Mitchell **told** his wife that he and Miss Jones _____ (*be having*) a sexual affair for 2½ years and he _____ (*be trying*) to end it (Q26) (adapted from Art51). 1 | 2 | 3

- a) were having | was trying b) had been having | was trying 1
- c) were having | had been trying d) had been having | had been trying 1

After all the above aspects are considered, questionnaires can be distributed. The questionnaires designed for this study were distributed both via email and in paper form. The total number of respondents is 20 (12 men and 8 women). Basic facts about respondents who filled in the questionnaire are provided in Tables I-VI in Appendix 4. Because the questionnaires were distributed and completed in the spring of 2010, when I studied at the University of Hull, most respondents are students that are 18 to 25 years old, who at that time studied at Hull University. As for occupation, 2 university teachers, one designer engineer, one publisher and one retired person were willing to complete the questionnaire. This reveals that respondents concentrate on various fields of study. Most frequently, however, they are devoted to arts (7 respondents) and to sciences and medicine (7 respondents).

Because the University of Hull is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 13 respondents come from North East England. The others come from South West England (4 respondents), North West England (1 respondent), Scotland (1 respondent) and London (1 respondent). I was also interested in their relation to learning foreign languages. 9 respondents cannot speak any foreign language. 11 respondents have learnt (or have been learning) at least one foreign language.

3.2. Evaluation of Questionnaires

This chapter deals with the method by which the questionnaires were evaluated and with the analysis of the obtained results. It is divided into two subchapters. The method of evaluation and results concerning tense choice in simple indirect speech are discussed in Chapter 3.2.1, and the method of evaluation and the results concerning tense choice in composite indirect speech are provided in Chapter 3.2.2.

3.2.1. Tense Choice in Simple Indirect Speech

Because of the problems mentioned above (in Chapter 3.1) and the fact that most principles (and hypotheses) describe factors determining under what conditions backshift is optional and under what conditions backshifted or non-backshifted versions are preferred, the evaluation of the questionnaires and the subsequent analysis of results are concentrated on the options which respondents give their first and second preference to.

Each sentence is provided with two tables: Table A and Table B, as in /15/ below. The tense forms in both tables are given in abbreviated form: PresT = present tense, PasT = past tense and PasP = past perfect. Modal verbs are given explicitly. Table A reveals how many respondents give their FIRST preference to individual tense forms. In doing so, they may give their first preference to two tense forms at the same time, which is explicitly illustrated in one of the columns. In /15/ it is exemplified by the last column.

In sentences with simple indirect speech respondents may choose either from two or three options. If there are two options, Table A contains three columns, revealing how many respondents give their first preference to each of the options and how many respondents prefer both options at the same time. If there are three options as in example /15/, Table A can contain up to 7 columns that show what tense forms respondents give their first preference to. As mentioned above, they may give their first preference to more options at the same time. It is illustrated by table A'. Columns 4-7 are however given explicitly in Table A only if the number of tense forms preferred at the same time is not zero.

/15/ However, the ancients **claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q4) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

a) moves b) moved c) had moved

TABLE A

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	8	10	1	1

TABLE A'

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PresT+PasT	PasT+PasP	PresT+PasP	all
Number	8	10	1	0	1	0	0

TABLE B

	1.	2.	3.
	TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
1.	PresT	1	<i>is</i>
2.	PresT (1), PasT (2)	7	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
3.	PresT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
4.	PasT	1	<i>was</i>
5.	PasT (1), PresT (2)	10	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
6.	PasT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
7.	PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
8.	PasP (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
9.	PasP (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

Table B shows what tense forms respondents give their FIRST and SECOND preference to and in what order the tense forms may be selected in the given context. Lines 2-3, 5-6 and 8-9 of Column 1 contain all possible types of order in which the tense forms (=options) can be selected. Preference numbers 1 and 2 which show the order in which the tense forms can be selected are given in brackets after the tense forms. Sometimes, respondents select only one of the options with which the sentences are provided or give their first preference to more options at the same time, which is illustrated by lines 1, 4 and 7 of Table B. Column 2 gives the number of respondents preferring the options in the particular order. Column 3 provides the actual realization of the particular tense forms that are given in abbreviated form in Column 1. For this purpose, I have chosen the verb *be*.

If there is a situation in which a respondent gives his or her first preference to one option and second preference to two options, there are two results both of which are included in Table B. Such situations (as shown by preference numbers inserted into boxes in /15/) are sometimes explicitly described in the text. The same applies to situations in which respondents give their first preference to two options and second preference to one option, as in example /16/, which also gives two results, which are included in Table B. Tables A and B are created in a uniform way so that the results could be compared.

/16/ However, the ancients **claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q4) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028) 1 | 2 | 3

a) moves 2 b) moved 1 c) had moved 1

The results concerning simple indirect speech obtained from the questionnaires are divided into sections according to semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the reported propositions. The division is motivated by the nature of the principles provided in Chapters 2.1 and 2.2. Principles 1-5 are concerned with semantics and pragmatics of the reported statements. It is not however possible to provide a strict division of sentences with simple indirect speech according to these principles because most principles may be involved at the same time.

At the end of Chapter 3.2.1 I discuss whether it is possible to study tense choice in the sentences from the questionnaire with respect to grammatical properties of reported verbs.

■ **REPORTING PROPOSITIONS THAT MAY BE PERCEIVED AS BEING VALID
AT THE TIME OF REPORTING**

- Principles involved: PRINCIPLE 1, PRINCIPLE 5

The propositions in sentences /17/, /18/ and /19/ may be, among other things, perceived as being valid at the time of their reporting (PRINCIPLE 1). Although it does not pertain to sentence /20/, this sentence is mentioned together with /18/ and /19/ because they all differ only in the choice of the reporting verb. The factor of validity is not the only one that may influence tense choice in these sentences. As suggested by the description of the situation in /17/, contextual clues may be equally important. However, the importance of the context (Principle 5) needs to be considered nearly in all the sentences in the questionnaire.

In sentence /17/ respondents were supposed to choose between *will* and *would*. The verb *will* is also given in italics in brackets following the gap. The verbs in brackets enable respondents to immediately see with what verbs they are to complete the gaps. In /17/ it is therefore clear that the verb *would* does not have a modal meaning, but may be selected as a backshifted form of *will*. Tables A 17 and B 17 reveal that the number of respondents that activated the past context (by preferring *would*) is approximately the same as the number of respondents that activated the present context (by preferring *will*), which means that they (being identified with the reporter of the proposition—the terrorist) considered the proposition valid at the time of its reporting.⁶⁰

More precisely, 8 respondents give their first preference only to *will*, 11 respondents give their first preference only to *would*, and one respondent prefers both at the same time (see Table A 17). Table B 17 reveals that the number of respondents that give their first preference to *will* and second preference to *would* is approximately the same as the number of respondents that prefer *will* and *would* in the opposite order.

⁶⁰ In Chapter 3.2.1 Tables A and B are numbered according to examples they belong to and Tables C, which provide data that results from comparing one or more examples, are numbered with Roman numerals, starting from I.

/17/ Situation: Said by a terrorist before his suicide bombing in Iraq in July 2008. Gertrude, his wife, died with him.

Gertrude **told** me that _____ (*will*) be the best honeymoon, in heaven together (Q6) (adapted from Art9).

a) will b) would

TABLE A 17

TENSE FORM(S)	<i>will</i>	<i>would</i>	both
Number	8	11	1

TABLE B 17

TENSE FORM(S)	<i>will</i>	<i>will</i> (1), <i>would</i> (2)	<i>would</i>	<i>would</i> (1), <i>will</i> (2)
Number	3	6	5	7

Yesterday in sentences /18/, /19/ and /20/ makes it clear that one day has elapsed between the original utterance (i.e. Peter Brown's proclamation) and the report. In the context of sentences /18/ and /19/ (described in example /18/) it is explained that Peter Brown (the original speaker) is not still determined to stay in politics. The contextual clues and the short period of time between the original and the report make it possible for respondents to consider sentences /18/ and /19/ valid at the time of their reporting. Sentences /18/, /19/ and /20/ differ only in the choice of reporting verbs. Sentences /18/ and /19/ are introduced with *confirm* and *admit* respectively. Sentence /20/ is introduced with *deny*. It is the semantics of the reporting verbs that may play an important role in choosing the most appropriate tense form.

Table A 18 reveals that approximately the same number of respondents gives their first preference to individual tense forms. Compared to /19/ and /20/, in /18/ respondents give their first preference to the present tense more times than in /19/ and /20/. In /19/ and /20/ respondents give their first preference largely to the past and past perfect tense forms. The proportion of those that give their first preference to the present tense in /18/, /19/ and

/20/ respectively is 8:2:3. In addition, the ratio of the past tense to the past perfect in Tables A 18 and A 19 is 1:1. In Table A 20 the ratio is 9:10.

/18/ Imaginary situation for Q15-Q16: Peter Brown is not still determined to stay in politics.

YESTERDAY Peter Brown **confirmed** at the conference that he _____
(*be considering*) staying in politics (Q15) (adapted from Art29).

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

TABLE A 18

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	all
Number	7	6	6	1

TABLE B 18

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	1	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	4	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	3	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	2	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	3	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	2	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	3	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	4	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

/19/ YESTERDAY Peter Brown **admitted** that he _____ (*be considering*)
staying in politics (Q16) (adapted from Art29).

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

TABLE A 19

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP	PresT+PasP
Number	1	9	8	1	1

TABLE B 19

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	0	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	6	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	4	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	3	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	2	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	5	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

/20/ YESTERDAY Peter Brown **denied** that he _____ (*be considering*)
staying in politics (Q17) (adapted from Art29).

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

TABLE A 20

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	3	7	8	2

TABLE B 20

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	1	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	4	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	4	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	3	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	6	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

Tables B 18, B 19 and B 20 show that respondents do not prefer any type of order in which they would select the particular tense forms. Besides, they reveal that the total number of the present tense that respondents give their first or second preference to is approximately the same in all three cases. It equals to 10, 10 and 8 in /18/, /19/ and /20/ respectively. If a respondent gives their first preference to the present tense, he or she gives their second preference either to the past or past perfect. The number of the past tense that respondents give their first or second preference to in /18/, /19/ and /20/ corresponds to 15, 16 and 16 respectively. Similarly, the number of the past perfect in /18/, /19/ and /20/ equals to 12, 15 and 12 respectively. The data can be discovered from Tables B 18, B 19 and B 20.

When exploring the difference in tense choice between sentences /18/, /19/ and /20/, I discovered that all but 4 respondents make a difference in tense choice between at least two of the sentences. As illustrated in Table C I below, 7 respondents make a difference in tense choice between all sentences. By comparing the order of the first and second preference of individual tense forms in /18/, /19/ and /20/, it was revealed that respondents mostly distinguish between the following pairs of sentences: /18/ and /19/; /18/ and /20/.

In the first case 9 respondents give their first or second preference to the present and past tense in /18/, which they replace with the past and past perfect tense respectively in /19/. In the second case there are 10 respondents that give their first or second preference to the past and past perfect in /20/ as opposed to their choice of the present and past tense respectively in /18/. Out of these, 8 respondents give their first or second preference to the present and past tense in /18/, which they replace with the past and past perfect tense respectively both in /19/ and in /20/. In /19/ and /20/ they felt it important to shift the verbs further into the past as opposed to their choice in /18/, which may be the influence of the semantics of the reporting verbs.

Such a tendency cannot be observed when comparing /19/ and /20/. 7 respondents give their first or second preference to the past and past perfect in /19/ as opposed to their choice of the present and past tense respectively in /20/. 7 respondents however acted in the opposite way.

TABLE C I: Difference in tense choice between sentences /18/, /19/ and /20/

	No difference in tense choice between ⁶¹				Difference in tense choice between
	/18/, /19/, /20/	/18/, /19/	/18/, /20/	/19/, /20/	all
Number	4	4	3	3	6

■ **REPORTING UNIVERSAL STATEMENTS**

- Principles involved: PRINCIPLE 1, PRINCIPLE 2, PRINCIPLE 3, PRINCIPLE 5

Reported propositions in /21/ and /22/ are called universal statements that most reporters may evaluate as being always true. Therefore, they are sometimes called universal truths. In addition, these propositions hold valid at the time of reporting. For these reasons, the present tense may be favoured over the past tense, although backshift in these propositions is generally optional.

⁶¹ The fact that there is no difference in tense choice between two sentences means that respondents select the same tense forms in them and different tense forms in the remaining sentence.

The results obtained from the questionnaires confirm both facts, namely that backshift in /21/ and /22/ is optional and that respondents give their first preference to the present tense rather than to the past tense. In /21/ 16 respondents give their first preference to *can*. In /22/ the present tense is favoured by 14 respondents. Table B 21 reveals that 15 respondents out of 16 give their second preference to *could*. In /22/ 11 respondents out of 14 give their second preference to the past tense (as shown in Table B 22).

The number of those that give their first preference to the present tense in both /21/ and /22/ is 11. Out of these, 7 respondents give their first preference to the present tense and second preference to the past tense, which was discovered by comparing individual answers.

/21/ Socrates **said** that nothing _____ (*can*) harm a good man (Q1) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

- a) can b) could

TABLE A 21

TENSE FORM(S)	<i>can</i>	<i>could</i>	both
Number	16	4	0

TABLE B 21

TENSE FORM(S)	<i>can</i>	<i>can (1), could (2)</i>	<i>could</i>	<i>could (1), can (2)</i>
Number	1	15	1	3

/22/ Copernicus **confirmed** that the Earth _____ (*revolve*) around the Sun (Q3) (adapted from Alexander 1988, 293).

- a) revolves b) revolved c) had revolved

TABLE A 22

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP
Number	14	6	0

TABLE B 22

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	3	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	10	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	2	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	1	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	5	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

The problem with propositions like /21/ and /22/ (as well as /25/) is that respondents may identify themselves with reporters living in the times of the original speakers, namely in the times of Socrates and Copernicus respectively. This could be another explanation why respondents may favour the present tense over the past tense. In the questionnaire it should be explicitly given that respondents are supposed to consider the report as being made in the spring of 2010, when the questionnaires were distributed. These contextual clues are however missing in the questionnaire.

In some propositions, the past tense is favoured over the present tense because the report is made a long time after the original (PRINCIPLE 4). This principle is studied below, discussing tense choice in sentence /25/. The propositions in /21/ and /22/ may also fulfil this condition. However, the reasons for preferring the present tense over the past tense (as discussed above) seem to be more powerful.

■ **REPORTING STATEMENTS THAT ARE GENERALLY PROVED WRONG**

- Principles involved: PRINCIPLE 2, PRINCIPLE 3, PRINCIPLE 4

The propositions in /23/ and /24/ have the form of universal statements. They cannot however be called universal truths because they are generally proved wrong. Despite this, respondents may not evaluate them as such. As Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 289) suggest, moreover, respondents may be influenced by the form of these propositions and prefer the present tense over the past tense by convention.

Sentences /23/ and /24/ contain identical propositions. The sentences differ only in the tense form of the reporting verb. Whether it has an influence on tense choice in these sentences is considered below. In both /23/ and /24/ respondents give their first preference either to the present or the past tense whose number is in both cases approximately the same. In /23/ Table A shows that the ratio of the present tense to the past tense is 8:11. In addition, nearly all respondents that give their first preference to the present tense give their second preference to the past tense and vice versa (see Table B 23).

In /24/ the ratio of the present tense to the past tense is 9:10 (as revealed in Table A 24). Moreover, those that give their first preference to the present tense give their second preference to the past tense, while those that give their first preference to the past tense give their second preference to the present or past perfect tense (see Table B 24). Despite this, the latter is selected five times as opposed to 16 occurrences of the present tense.

/23/ However, the ancients **claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q4) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

- a) moves b) moved c) had moved

TABLE A 23

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	8	10	1	1

TABLE B 23

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	1	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	7	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	1	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	10	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

/24/ However, the ancients **had claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q5) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

- a) moves b) moved c) had moved

TABLE A 24

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP
Number	9	10	1

TABLE B 24

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	1	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	8	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	0	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	7	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	4	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

When comparing whether respondents make any difference between /23/ and /24/, it was discovered that 10 respondents select the same options in both sentences, while 10 respondents make a difference between /23/ and /24/ (see Table C II). Whether the reporting verb is in the past or past perfect tense does not however seem to matter. Five respondents give their first or second preference to the present tense in /23/, which they replace with the past tense in /24/. In /24/ one respondent selects the past perfect in addition to the past tense which was his or her only choice in /23/. Four respondents give their first preference to the past tense in /23/, which they replace with the present tense in /24/.

TABLE C II: Difference in tense choice between /23/ and /24/

	NO DIFFERENCE	DIFFERENCE
Number	10	10

■ **REPORTING STATEMENTS THAT MAY BE PERCEIVED AS HAVING BEEN SAID A LONG TIME BEFORE THEIR REPORTING**

- Principles involved: PRINCIPLE 4, PRINCIPLE 5

Characteristics of sentence /25/ were discussed above. First of all, Quirk et al. (1985, 1027) claim that the past tense in /25/ is obligatory because the original utterance was said a long time before its report (PRINCIPLE 4). In the questionnaire there are not however any contextual clues preventing respondents from identifying themselves with the reporters living in Socrates's times. In this case they may favour the present tense over the past tense.

As shown in Table A 25, 13 respondents give their first preference to the past tense and 6 respondents give their first preference to the present tense. As shown in Table B 25, it is however all three tense forms that the respondents give their first or second preference to. The past tense is most frequent. 19 respondents give their first or second preference to this form. Even though Table B 25 shows that the total number of occurrences of the past tense is 20, one respondent gives his or her first preference to the past tense and second preference both to the present and to the past perfect tense. After exploring individual answers, 12 respondents give their first or second preference to the present tense, and 10 respondents to the past perfect.

/25/ Socrates **said** that he _____ (be) a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (Q2) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

- a) is b) was c) had been

TABLE A 25

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP
Number	6	13	1

TABLE B 25

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	5	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	0	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	6	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	8	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

■ **REPORTING STATEMENTS DEPENDING ON THE CONTEXT**

- Principles involved: PRINCIPLE 5, (PRINCIPLE 1, PRINCIPLE 4)

Tense choice in the remaining sentences with simple indirect speech is dependent predominantly on the context. For example, it may be influenced by the presence of a time adverbial, which makes time references clear.

As suggested in Chapter 3.1, the context in /26/ may not be satisfactorily described. It is not clear how long after the bombing the report was made. As shown in Table A 26, however, the majority of respondents (16 respondents) give their first preference to the past tense form. Other tense forms cannot be neglected either. Even though 19 respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense form (see Table B 26), Table B 26 also reveals that 12 respondents give their first or second preference to the present tense and 7 respondents to the past perfect.

/26/ Situation: Said after the suicide bombing in July 2008.

Military officials **said** that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead (Q7) (adapted from Art27).

a) are b) were c) had been

TABLE A 26

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP
Number	2	16	2

TABLE B 26

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	2	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	10	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	4	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	2	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

The context of sentences /27/ and /28/ is described in /27/. In sentence /27/ it limited the choice of tense forms predominantly to the past and past perfect tense. 19 respondents give their first or second preference to these two forms (see Table B 27). Without the context, however, the present tense could be equally acceptable. In /27/ only 2 respondents give their second preference to the present tense. As shown in Table A 27, the number of the respondents that give their first preference to the past tense is approximately the same as the number of those that give their first preference to the past perfect.

/27/ Imaginary situation for Q18 - Q23: On 10th January 2010 there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. *Two days later* all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are Mr Richardson (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman's friend).

Mrs Smith **said** that it _____ (*be*) very noisy in the tunnel (Q18) (adapted from Art37).

- a) is b) was c) had been

TABLE A 27

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	0	8	10	2

TABLE B 27

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	0	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	3	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	6	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	2	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	9	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

In sentence /28/ respondents were supposed to choose between two tense forms: past and past perfect. The context makes it clear when the situation expressed in the reported statement took place. The choice of the tense forms is however optional, which is also confirmed by the results in Tables A 28 and B 28. The number of respondents that

give their first or second preference to the past tense is approximately the same as the number of those that give their first or second preference to the past perfect is equal.

/28/ It **was believed** that their car bomb _____ (*explode*) prematurely (Q21)
(adapted from Art47).

- a) exploded b) had exploded

TABLE A 28

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	11	8	1

TABLE B 28

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	3	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	9	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	2	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	7	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

In sentences /29/, /30/, /31/ and /32/ the contextual information is given with time adverbials. Sentences /29/ and /30/ differ in the choice of the reporting verb. Sentence /29/ is introduced with the verb *claim*, while sentence /30/ is introduced with the verb *confirm*. In the latter, moreover, it is specified with the time adverbial *yesterday* in the reporting frame that the report was made one day after the original utterance. In both sentences respondents may choose from three tense forms: present, past and past perfect. The reported propositions moreover contain the deictic time adverbial *last Thursday*. As Tables A 29, B 29 and Tables A 30, B 30 show, the preference is given to the past and past perfect tense forms.

In sentence /29/ respondents give their first preference especially to the past tense (see Table A 29). In sentence /30/, on the other hand, respondents give their first preference to the past perfect tense. However, the total number of respondents that give

their first or second preference to the past perfect in /29/ and in /30/ is 17 and 15 respectively. In both sentences all 20 respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense.

/29/ The radicals **claimed** that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations ***last Thursday*** close to Buckingham Palace (Q8) (adapted from Art1).

a) are not involved b) were not involved c) had not been involved

TABLE A 29

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	2	13	4	1

TABLE B 29

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	2	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	1	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	2	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	11	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	1	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	4	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

/30/ YESTERDAY the radicals **confirmed** that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations *last Thursday* close to Buckingham Palace (Q9) (adapted from Art1).

- a) are not involved b) were not involved c) had not been involved

TABLE A 30

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP
Number	3	6	11

TABLE B 30

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	3	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	1	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	4	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	11	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

Comparing tense choice in /29/ and /30/, 10 respondents make a difference between the sentences and 10 do not. Out of the latter, 7 respondents do not make any difference between /23/ and /24/ either. Out of 10 respondents that distinguish between /29/ and /30/, 6 respondents that give their first preference to the past tense or present tense in /29/ replace this form with the past perfect in /30/.

TABLE C III: Difference in tense choice between /29/ and /30/

	NO DIFFERENCE	DIFFERENCE
Number	10	10

Sentences /31/ and /32/ differ only in the choice of time adverbials specifying the time reference of the situations expressed in the reported propositions. Indirect speech in /31/ contains the deictic time adverbial *two months ago*. Indirect speech in /32/ contains the non-deictic time adverbial *two months before*. In both sentences respondents could choose from two tense forms: past and past perfect. As shown in Tables A 31, A 32 and B 31, B 32, both tense forms are fully acceptable. In /31/ 17 respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense and the same number of respondents gives their first or second preference to the past perfect. In /32/ 18 respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense and 17 respondents give their first or second preference to the past perfect.

As for the first choice, 15 respondents give their first preference to the past perfect in /32/ and 8 to the past tense (see Table A 32). In /31/ this proportion is approximately the same (see Table A 31). The results are in accordance with Hypothesis 4, which states that the past perfect is not infrequent in propositions with time adverbials.

- /31/ Abu Ibrahim **explained** that he _____ (*become engaged*) ***two months ago*** to an educated young woman (Q11) (adapted from Art9).
- a) became engaged b) had become engaged

TABLE A 31

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	8	11	1

TABLE B 31

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	4	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	5	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	4	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	8	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

/32/ Abu Ibrahim **explained** that he _____ (*become engaged*) **two months before** his brother's death (Q12) (adapted from Art9).

a) became engaged

b) had become engaged

TABLE A 32

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	5	12	3

TABLE B 32

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	5	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	3	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	5	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	10	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

Studying how many respondents make a difference between /31/ and /32/, it was discovered that there are 10 respondents that distinguish between /31/ and /32/ and 10 respondents that do not. Out of the latter, 5 respondents do not make any difference between /23/ and /24/ and between /29/ and /30/ either. 6 respondents who give their first preference to the past tense in /31/ replace the past tense with the past perfect in /32/ or give their first preference to both the past and past perfect in /32/.

TABLE C IV: Difference in tense choice between /31/ and /32/

	NO DIFFERENCE	DIFFERENCE
Number	10	10

■ ***REPORTING STATEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF REPORTED VERBS***

It is possible to study tense choice with respect to grammatical properties of reported verbs if the questionnaire includes a sufficient number of sentences with the same context. Sometimes, it may be satisfactory if the context is similar and the sentences with reported verbs of the same properties have the same number of options. As far as progressive aspect is concerned, it is not relevant to study tense choice in simple indirect speech with respect to this grammatical feature because the questionnaire has three sentences with identical indirect speech which contains reported verbs in progressive aspect. Tense choice in these sentences (/9/, /10/ and /11/) is discussed above. The same applies to the analysis of tense choice with respect to verbs in passive voice. Verbs in passive voice occur only in /29/ and /30/, which differ only in the reporting frame.

3.2.2. Tense Choice in Composite Indirect Speech

Sentences with composite indirect speech cannot be satisfactorily divided in the same way as sentences with simple indirect speech because the reporting propositions are complex and individual speakers may therefore interpret them in a number of different ways. This chapter is divided into nine sections, eight of which are named after the hypotheses that are to be confirmed or contradicted and one is devoted to modal verbs. Hypothesis 4 may apply both to composite and simple indirect speech. All the other hypotheses predict what tense forms are selected in particular clauses of composite indirect speech and in clauses with verbs in a particular form.

The results concerning composite indirect speech can be presented in a similar way as in the previous chapter. Each section includes Tables A and B, as described in Chapter 3.2.1. Table A reveals what tense forms respondents give their first preference to, and

Table B shows what tense forms respondents give their first and second preference to. As regards Hypothesis 2, for example, Table A reveals what tense forms respondents give their first preference to in temporal clauses, while Table B shows what tense forms respondents give their first and second preference to in time clauses.

In doing so, it is necessary to remember that respondents can make use only of the preference number 1, giving their first preference to one or more options at the same time, or they can give their first preference to one option and second preference to two options, or vice versa. These situations, which also apply to tense choice in simple indirect speech, are described in the previous chapter. However, sentences with composite indirect speech are provided with more options that correspond to sequences of tense forms with which respondents can fill in all the gaps in the sentence. The minimum number of options in sentences with composite indirect speech is 4, which is illustrated by /33/. The indirect speech in /33/ consists of two clauses: an object clause and an adverbial clause of time. When exploring tense choice in adverbial clauses of time, only the second tense forms in all sequences are considered, which in /33/ is illustrated with the tense forms in bold.

/33/ Mrs Mitchell told detectives that Miss Jones _____ (*be blackmailing*) her husband by threatening to sell her story after he _____ (*try*) to end their affair (Q32) (adapted from Art61). 1 | 2 | 3

- a) was blackmailing | **tried** 1 b) had been blackmailing | **tried** 1
 c) was blackmailing | **had tried** 2 d) had been blackmailing | **had tried** 2

TABLE A₁

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	1		

TABLE B₁

TEMPORAL CLAUSES		
TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT		<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	1	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP		<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)		<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)		<i>was+had been (1)</i>

The boxes in /33/ are filled in by a respondent who gives his or her preference to two options and second preference to the remaining two options. As for the temporal clause, however, the respondent gives his or her first preference to the past tense form and second preference to the past perfect tense form. The results obtained in this way are presented in Tables A and B, or, more precisely, in Tables A₁ and A₂ (see below). Such tables as given below example /33/ are not provided for each example. They show what tense forms respondents give their first preference to in all time clauses in the questionnaire (Table A) and what tense forms respondents give their first or second preference to in all time clauses in the questionnaire (Table B).

Not all clauses in composite indirect speech are provided with the same tense forms from which respondents may choose, which is the reason why I decided to present the obtained data in separate tables. Table A₁ shows how many respondents give their first preference to the past and past perfect tense in clauses provided only with these two forms. Table A₂ shows how many respondents give their preference to the present, past and past perfect tense in clauses with these options. Accordingly, Tables B₁ and B₂ provide information on how many respondents give their first and second preference to the particular tense forms. The results given in Tables A₁ and A₂ (as well as in Tables B₁ and B₂) are therefore mutually exclusive.

Some clauses that have the present or present perfect among their options may be interpreted against the present context, which would not be obvious if the data from Tables A₁ and A₂ were given in one table.

Each section is provided with one or more examples which include the type of clauses in which the tense choice is studied. Eight sections are named after Hypothesis 1-8. Hypothesis 9, being of a different nature from the previous ones, is considered in all sections. The hypothesis predicts what features could have an impact on selection of the past tense in clauses which co-occur in indirect speech with clauses with the past perfect that do not open the indirect speech. The co-occurrence of tense forms is another point that is discussed.

Each sentence is provided with a table (labelled as Table C) revealing what sequences of tense forms respondents give their first and second preference to. It is illustrated by the following table provided for example /33/ above:

TABLE C

	1.	2.	3.	4.
	SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
1.	<i>had been blackmailing – had tried</i>	6	7	13
2.	<i>had been blackmailing – tried</i>	7	7	14
3.	<i>was blackmailing – had tried</i>	3	7	10
4.	<i>was blackmailing – tried</i>	6	4	10

Column 2 provides the number of respondents that give their first preference (PREF. NO. 1) to the particular sequence given in Column 1. One respondent can give his or her first preference to more than one sequence at the same time. The same applies to the data in Column 3, which provides the number of respondents that give their second preference (PREF. NO. 2) to the particular sequence in Column 1. Column 4 gives the total number of respondents that give their first or second preference to the particular sequence in Column 1. In addition, lines 1 and 3 reveal how many respondents give their first or second preference to the past perfect in clauses on which clauses in which the past perfect is preferred depend and how many respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense in these clauses. These sequences are paid particular attention to.

If there is a sequence that is preferred by most respondents, it is analyzed what sequence the respondents give their FIRST preference to and what sequence these respondents give their SECOND preference to.

■ **HYPOTHESIS 1**

The proportion of the past and past perfect in object clauses depending directly on the reporting frame and in object clauses depending on other clauses in indirect speech is approximately the same.

Because this hypothesis was not formulated in Selucká (2008), there are not enough object clauses that depend on other clauses in indirect speech in the questionnaire, which was designed in terms of the findings presented in Selucká (2008). It applies only to two clauses, one of which contains modal verbs and is therefore studied separately in the last section “Reporting propositions with clauses with modal verbs.” Sentence /34/ is the only one that contains an object clause dependent on another clause in indirect speech that is considered in this section. It corresponds to sentence No. 22 in the questionnaire. Sentences Q18 - Q23 in the questionnaire are provided with contextual clues given in /34/. In this chapter it applies to examples /41/, /45/ and /46/ in which the context will not be explicitly mentioned. The tense forms that respondents were supposed to choose from are always given in square brackets below the sentences.

In the second object clause in /34/ the respondents could choose from the present, past and past perfect tense. As illustrated in Table A₂ I, respondents most frequently give their first preference to the past perfect.⁶² The present tense is selected only occasionally. The ratio of the past perfect to the past tense in Table A₂ I and Table B₂ I is 12:7 and 16:11 respectively. It is necessary to realize that the past perfect can represent three tense forms in indirect speech: present perfect, past and past perfect. Which form it represents in this clause is not quite clear, but, according to the context, the situation expressed in the second object clause took place before the situations expressed in other two clauses in /34/. The frequency of the past perfect is therefore fully justifiable.

⁶² In Chapter 3.2.2 Tables A₁, A₂, B₁ and B₂ are numbered with Roman numerals, starting from I. Tables C are numbered according to the examples they belong to.

The clause is dependent on an object clause containing the verb *hope* which, as shown in Table C 34, is most frequently selected in the past tense. Out of 12 respondents that give their first preference to the sequence *hoped – had moved*, 9 respondents give their second preference to the sequences *had hoped – had moved* or/and *had hoped – moved*. In other words, they consider it possible to interpret the sentence against the past-in-the-past context, giving their second preference to the verb *hope* in the past perfect, which is a reporting and a reported verb at the same time. As regards frequency, the sequence *hoped – moved* is also quite frequent (see Table C 34).

/34/ Imaginary situation for Q18 - Q23: On 10th January 2010 there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. Two days later all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are Mr Richardson (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman’s friend).

On the day of the accident Dr Richardson **told** witnesses that he _____
 (*hope*) they _____ (*not move*) the bodies (Q22) (adapted from Art102).
 [hopes, hoped, had hoped | do not move, did not move, had not moved]

TABLE A₂ I: Tense choice in an object clause dependent on another object clause

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PasT+PasP
Number	3	5	10	2

TABLE B₂ I: Tense choice in an object clause dependent on another object clause

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	0	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	3	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	0	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	2	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	4	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	8	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	3	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

TABLE C 34

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had hoped – had moved</i>	1	5	6
<i>had hoped – moved</i>	0	6	6
<i>hoped – had moved</i>	12	3	15
<i>hoped – moved</i>	6	2	8
<i>had hoped - moves</i>	0	0	0
<i>hopes – had moved</i>	1	2	3
<i>hoped - moves</i>	1	1	2
<i>hopes – moved</i>	1	4	5
<i>hopes – moves</i>	2	1	3

The total number of clauses which are directly dependent on the reporting frame and which are provided with the same options as /34/ is 7. Apart from the first object clause in /34/, they are included in sentences /39/, /40/, /44/, /47/, /48/ and /49/. These

sentences are analyzed in other sections in this chapter in which the features that the sentences contain are studied.

Unlike sentence /34/, the other object clauses which are dependent directly on the reporting frame can be interpreted either against the past or present context, which is exemplified by the number of the present tense and the past tense forms which respondents give their first preference to. The ratio of the present to the past in these clauses is 91:54 (see Table A₂ II below). The past perfect is marked with the preference number 1 in 21 cases.

However, Table B₂ II shows that respondents give their first and second preference to all tense forms in these clauses.

TABLE A₂ II: Tense choice in 7 object clauses depending on the reporting frame

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PresT+PasT	PasT+PasP	all
Number	41	69	8	9	9	4

TABLE B₂ II: Tense choice in 7 object clauses depending on the reporting frame

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	22	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	22	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	11	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	46	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	18	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	32	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	15	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	4	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	2	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

When exploring tense choice in object clauses with the past and past perfect as the only options, it was discovered that respondents frequently prefer both the past and past

perfect tense. The ratio of the past perfect to the past tense, which respondents give their first preference to, is approximately 1 to 1 (see Table A₁ III). Table B₁ III reveals that in 117 cases respondents give their first or second preference to both the past and past perfect tense. In 83 cases, on the other hand, they give their preference only to one of the two forms.

TABLE A₁ III: Tense choice in 10 object clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	89	90	21

TABLE B₁ III: Tense choice in 10 object clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	33	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	56	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	50	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	40	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	21	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

The best way to verify (or refute) Hypothesis 1 is to create a questionnaire with a sufficient number of object clauses dependent on other clauses in indirect speech which would be provided only with two tense forms: past and past perfect.

■ HYPOTHESIS 2

The past tense is favoured over the past perfect in temporal clauses in composite indirect speech.

The questionnaire contains 7 time clauses, all of which are dependent on object clauses which open the indirect speech. Five temporal clauses are provided with two options: past and past perfect tense. In the remaining two time clauses respondents could

choose from three tense forms: present, past and past perfect. At first, I will discuss tense choice in the former group. Out of the five time clauses, three are introduced with the subordinator *after* (see examples /35/ and /36/) and the other two with the conjunctions *when* (see example /37/) and *while* (see example /38/) respectively.

As illustrated in Table A₁ IV, respondents give their first preference both to the past and to the past perfect in *after*-clauses, while the past tense is favoured over the past perfect in the *when*- and *while*-clause. In sentences /35/ and /36/ respondents consider it more important to express the anteriority of the situation given in the time clauses than in sentence /37/. As revealed in Table B₁ IV, respondents give their first or second preference to both forms. When respondents give their first and second preference only to one tense form, the past tense is selected more frequently in time clauses than the past perfect. In this case the ratio of the past perfect to the past tense is 9:25 (see Table B₁ IV).

TABLE A₁ IV: Tense choice in 5 temporal clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number (<i>after</i> -clauses)	27	23	10
Number (<i>when</i> -clause)	15	2	3
Number (<i>while</i> -clause)	13	3	4
Total	55	28	17

TABLE B₁ IV: Tense choice in 5 temporal clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	25	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	30	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	9	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	19	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	17	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

As illustrated in Table C 35, there is no sequence that respondents would give their first preference to most frequently. It however shows that respondents often give their first preference to the same tense forms in time clauses which are in a coordinate relation. What tense forms are selected in clauses on which the time clauses depend is analyzed in the next section.

/35/ Imaginary situation for Q24 - Q34: Mr Robert Mitchell, a judge, had an affair with his secretary, Susan Jones. Then he had an accident. He died when the shed at his farmhouse exploded. It happened a few hours after he told his wife, Jane, he wanted a divorce. A day later, on 12th December 2009, the investigation started and all involved were questioned.

Mrs Mitchell **described** how her husband _____ (*confess*) to the affair after she _____ (*answer*) the phone at 1.15am and a young woman _____ (*hang up*) after asking to speak to him (Q24) (adapted from Art51).

[confessed, had confessed | answered, had answered | hung up, had hung up]

TABLE C 35

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had confessed – had answered – had hung up</i>	6	3	9
<i>had confessed – had answered – hung up</i>	2	6	8
<i>had confessed – answered – had hung up</i>	4	3	7
<i>confessed – had answered – had hung up</i>	5	3	8
<i>had confessed – answered – hung up</i>	6	5	11
<i>confessed – had answered – hung up</i>	1	4	5
<i>confessed – answered – had hung up</i>	2	3	5
<i>confessed – answered – hung up</i>	4	4	8

When exploring sequences of tense forms in Table C 36, it was discovered that respondents most frequently give their first preference to sequences of the same tense forms or to the sequence past perfect – past tense. This could be in accordance with Huddleston and Pullum’s principle that a non-backshifted tense form cannot be followed by a backshifted one in clauses with more levels of embedding. The total number of respondents that give their first or second preference to the sequence *was blackmailing – had tried* is not however insignificant. In this sequence the past perfect is selected in the time clause and the past tense is selected in the object clause on which the time clause depends (which is discussed in the next section). Moreover, the object clause contains a verb in progressive aspect. Whether this is one of the features or the context that determines the choice of this sequence cannot be clearly said.

/36/ Mrs Mitchell **told** detectives that Miss Jones _____ (*be blackmailing*) her husband by threatening to sell her story after he _____ (*try*) to end their affair (Q32) (adapted from Art61).

[was blackmailing, had been blackmailing | tried, had tried]

TABLE C 36

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been blackmailing – had tried</i>	6	7	13
<i>had been blackmailing – tried</i>	7	7	14
<i>was blackmailing – had tried</i>	3	7	10
<i>was blackmailing – tried</i>	6	4	10

The same situation can be observed in example /37/ in which only one respondent gives his or her preference to the sequence *reacted – had asked* (see Table C 37). As illustrated in Table C 37, there are 9 respondents that give their second preference to this sequence. Out of these, 8 respondents give their first preference either to the sequence *had reacted – asked* or *reacted – asked*, which was discovered by analyzing individual answers. 7 respondents give their first or second preference to the sequence *reacted – asked*, in which the past tense is selected in both the time clause and the clause on which

the time clause depends. Despite these aspects and contextual clues that make the time of the situations in /37/ clear, this sequence was least frequent.

/37/ Two hours before the explosion Miss Jones **asked** Robert how his wife _____ (*react*) when he _____ (*ask*) her for a divorce (Q27) (adapted from Art51).

[reacted, had reacted | asked, had asked]

TABLE C 37

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had reacted – had asked</i>	4	7	11
<i>had reacted – asked</i>	11	6	16
<i>reacted – had asked</i>	1	9	10
<i>reacted – asked</i>	7	0	7

Unlike sentence /37/, the temporal relations between the object clause and the temporal clause which depends on the object clause in /38/ can be defined in terms of simultaneity rather than anteriority. Table C 38 reveals that respondents give their first or second preference to all possible sequences of tense forms. In total, however, the sequences of tense forms with initial past tense slightly prevail. It should be noted that the the past perfect is also frequently selected in the non-restrictive clause in /38/, even though the past tense is selected in the preceding clause, which does not have any of the features given in Hypothesis 9.

/38/ Witnesses **told** the hearing that Mrs Mitchell _____ (*gather*) in the washing while her husband, whom she _____ (*hear*) crying, _____ (*burn*) to death (Q28) (adapted from Art61).

[gathered, had gathered | heard, had heard | burnt, had burnt]

TABLE C 38

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had gathered – had heard – had burnt</i>	3	3	6
<i>had gathered – had heard – burnt</i>	5	2	7
<i>had gathered – heard – had burnt</i>	2	5	7
<i>gathered – had heard – had burnt</i>	1	4	5
<i>had gathered – heard – burnt</i>	4	3	7
<i>gathered – had heard – burnt</i>	5	5	10
<i>gathered – heard – had burnt</i>	5	7	12
<i>gathered – heard – burnt</i>	8	2	10

Sentences /39/ and /40/ contain temporal clauses that are introduced with the subordinator *whenever*, which respondents could fill in with three tense forms: present, past and past perfect. The sentences are identical, but they are provided with a slightly different context. The context defines the temporal relations between the situations expressed in each of the sentences and the moment of utterance. Sentence /39/ refers to events that took place less than a year ago. The proposition in /39/ was reported five days ago and the context implies that it may still be valid at the time of its reporting. On the other hand, sentence /40/ describes events that took place a long time ago and the context implies that the reported statement is no longer valid, although it was reported two days ago.

The context related to each of the sentences has an impact on tense choice in both time clauses and clauses on which the time clauses depend. In sentence /39/ respondents give their first preference to the present tense, while in /40/ the respondents give their first preference to all tense forms, making the interpretation against the past context more probable than in sentence /39/ (see Table A₂ V). As regards tense forms that respondents give their first or second preference to, Table B₂ V shows that those that give their first preference to the past tense most frequently give their second preference to the past perfect, or they give their first and second preference only to the past tense, which holds valid in time clauses in both sentence /39/ and /40/. Those that give their first preference to the present tense give their second preference to the past or past perfect tense in both time

clauses. In sentence /39/ some respondents also give their first and second preference only to the present tense.

TABLE A₂ V: Tense choice in 2 temporal clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PresT+PasT	PasT+PasP	PresT+PasP
Number (/39/)	12	3	0	4	0	1
Number (/40/)	6	5	3	2	4	0

TABLE B₂ V: Tense choice in 2 temporal clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	Number		Example: <i>be</i>
	/39/	/40/	
PresT	6	2	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	7	4	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	4	2	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	1	6	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	2	0	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	6	5	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	0	5	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	1	2	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

The difference in tense choice of tense forms in time clauses also reflects in the choice of sequences of tense forms in sentences /39/ and /40/. Table C 39 shows that most respondents give their first or second preference to the sequences *haunts – visits* and *haunted – visited*, each of which contains the same tense forms. As regards sentence /40/, most respondents give their first or second preference to the sequence *haunted – visited* and the other combinations of the past and past perfect tense forms. In addition, there are 7 respondents that give their first preference to *haunts – visits*.

When comparing individual answers, it was discovered that 5 respondents do not make any difference in tense choice between sentences /39/ and /40/, and 14 respondents expressed the difference between /39/ and /40/ by not giving their first or second preference to the present tense in the latter (as opposed to their choice in /39/) or by giving their first or second preference to the past and past perfect in /40/ as opposed to their choice of the present and past tense respectively in /39/. These changes apply to at least one of the verb forms in the sequence.

/39/ Situation: *A year ago* Mrs Susan White lost her only son who was shot by an unknown man. Since then she has been visiting her son's grave. *Five days ago* Susan met her friend who then reported.

Susan **added** that the issue _____ (*haunt*) her whenever she _____ (*visit*) the grave of her son (Q13) (adapted from Art49).

[haunts, haunted, had haunted | visits, visited, had visited]

TABLE C 39

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had haunted – had visited</i>	0	4	4
<i>had haunted – visited</i>	1	1	2
<i>haunted – had visited</i>	1	2	3
<i>haunted – visited</i>	5	6	11
<i>had haunted – visits</i>	0	1	1
<i>haunts – had visited</i>	0	2	2
<i>haunted - visits</i>	2	4	6
<i>haunts – visited</i>	2	3	5
<i>haunts – visits</i>	16	2	18

/40/ Situation: The situation is similar to that in example 13. However, Mrs Susan White lost her only son *20 years ago*. *Ten years ago* she last met her friend Martha. Then Susan died. *Two days ago* Martha remembered their last meeting.

On that day Susan **told** me that the issue _____ (*haunt*) her whenever she _____ (*visit*) the grave of her son (Q14) (adapted from Art49).

[haunts, haunted, had haunted | visits, visited, had visited]

TABLE C 40

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had haunted – had visited</i>	5	4	9
<i>had haunted – visited</i>	4	4	8
<i>haunted – had visited</i>	3	4	7
<i>haunted – visited</i>	8	6	14
<i>had haunted – visits</i>	0	1	1
<i>haunts – had visited</i>	1	0	1
<i>haunted - visits</i>	1	0	1
<i>haunts – visited</i>	0	1	1
<i>haunts – visits</i>	7	0	7

■ HYPOTHESIS 3

Both the past perfect and the past tense are frequently selected in clauses on which temporal clauses depend.

This section is concerned with the same examples as the previous section, in which sentences /35/, /36/, /37/, /38/, /39/ and /40/ are analyzed. All clauses on which temporal clauses depend are object clauses. In the object clauses in /35/, /36/, /37/ and /38/ respondents could choose only from the past and past perfect. Table A₁ VI shows that respondents give their first preference to both the past and past perfect, which is in

accordance with Hypothesis 3. In addition, the number of respondents who give their first or second preference to both or to one of the tense forms is approximately the same (see Table B₁ VI).

TABLE A₁ VI: Tense choice in 5 clauses on which temporal clauses depend

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	34	38	8

TABLE B₁ VI: Tense choice in 5 clauses on which temporal clauses depend

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	16	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	18	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	22	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	16	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	8	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

Hypothesis 3 cannot be confronted with results concerning both sentence /39/ and /40/ because sentence /39/, which is provided with a different context than sentence /40/, is frequently interpreted against the present context, which makes the choice of the past perfect very infrequent. It is illustrated by Table A₂ VII and Table B₂ VII. In sentence /40/ in which the context makes the past and past perfect more possible than in sentence /39/, respondents give their first preference to both the past and past perfect tense whose proportion is 1 to 1. Similarly, respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense nearly as frequently as to the past perfect. The ratio of the past to the past perfect in Table B₂ VII is 16:13.

TABLE A₂ VII: Tense choice in 2 clauses on which temporal clauses depend

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PresT+PasT	PasT+PasP	all
Number (/39/)	13	3	0	3	0	1
Number (/40/)	6	5	3	1	4	1

TABLE B₂ VII: Tense choice in 2 clauses on which temporal clauses depend

TENSE FORM(S)	Number		Example: <i>be</i>
	/39/	/40/	
PresT	10	3	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	6	4	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	1	1	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	4	7	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	2	0	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	2	4	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	1	7	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	0	0	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	0	1	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

■ HYPOTHESIS 4

Both the past and the past perfect are frequently selected in reported clauses with time adverbials.

The questionnaire contains only one sentence in which the time adverbial can satisfactorily define time relations between the situations expressed in the composite indirect speech, and that is sentence /41/. The indirect speech in /41/ consists of two clauses: an object clause and a substantival relative clause, as Dušková (2006, 612) calls constructions similar to the one in /41/. The relative clause contains the time adverbial *at*

the time whose reference is determined by the context. Table A₁ VIII reveals that respondents most frequently give their first preference to the past perfect. Table B₁ VIII shows that 20 respondents give their first or second preference to the past perfect and 14 respondents give their first or second preference to the past tense. Both forms are therefore possible, although the past perfect slightly prevails over the past tense in /41/. The results are comparable to the results concerning tense choice in clauses on which temporal clauses depend.

TABLE A₁ VIII: Tense choice in a clause with a time adverbial

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	5	13	2

TABLE B₁ VIII: Tense choice in a clause with a time adverbial

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	0	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	5	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	6	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	7	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	2	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

As regards the sequence of tense forms in /41/, the object clause which opens the indirect speech can be filled in with three tense forms: present perfect, past and past perfect. Table C 41 reveals that respondents most frequently give their first and second preference to the sequences *had been – had become*, *had been – became* and *had been – has become*. The first tense form in each sequence corresponds to the tense selected in the relative clause. The choice of the sequences suggests that the past perfect in the relative clause is preferred disregarding the tense form that is used in the object clause which opens the indirect speech and whose verb follows the verb in the relative clause.

/41/ Mr Smith **admitted** that his memory of whether there _____ (*be*) another car in the tunnel *at the time* _____ (*become*) foggy (Q20) (adapted from Art102).

[was, had been | became, has become, had become]

TABLE C 41

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been – had become</i>	8	6	14
<i>had been – became</i>	7	1	8
<i>had been – has become</i>	2	7	9
<i>was – had become</i>	3	3	6
<i>was – became</i>	3	4	7
<i>was – has become</i>	1	2	3

■ HYPOTHESIS 5

In non-restrictive relative clauses the past perfect is selected only occasionally.

The questionnaire contains 5 sentences with non-restrictive clauses (see examples /38/, /42/, /43/, /44/ and /45/) and 2 sentences with restrictive clauses (see examples /41/ and /46/). Although this section is concerned especially with tense choice in non-restrictive clauses, the tense forms which respondents prefer in restrictive clauses are given at the end of this section for comparison. In all relative clauses respondents could choose from two tense forms: past and past perfect.

As far as non-restrictive clauses are concerned, it is sometimes difficult to recognize whether the content expressed in them belongs to the reporter's general knowledge or not. It is not particularly clear in the case of sentences /42/ and /43/. The non-restrictive clause in /43/ relates to the whole preceding clause. As illustrated in Table A₁ IX, respondents give their first preference to both tense forms in the non-restrictive clauses in /42/ and /43/. Unlike Hypothesis 5, moreover, the past perfect slightly prevails over the past tense in these clauses. The ratio of the respondents that give their first or/and

second preference to both forms to those that give their first and second preference to one of the forms is 25:15 (see Column 2 in Table B₁ IX).

As regards non-restrictive clauses in /38/, /44/ and /45/, their content belongs to the reporter's general knowledge less probably than the content of non-restrictive clauses in /42/ and /43/. Even though both tense forms are possible (which is illustrated by the number of occurrences of both the past and past perfect in Table A₁ IX and Table B₁ IX), the respondents give their first preference to the past tense more frequently than to the past perfect.

TABLE A₁ IX: Tense choice in 5 non-restrictive clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number (/42/, /43/)	15	20	5
Number (/38/, /44/, /45/)	38	12	10

TABLE B₁ IX: Tense choice in 5 non-restrictive clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	Number		Example: <i>be</i>
	/42/, /43/	/38/, /44/, /45/	
PasT	5	15	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	10	23	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	10	5	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	10	7	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	5	10	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

As for the sequences of tense forms that respondents give their first preference to in /42/, the sequences *had worked – refused* and *worked – refused* are most frequent (see Table C 42). It should be however noted that the first tense forms correspond to tense forms in the non-restrictive clause. Even though the clause is syntactically dependent on the noun phrase in the object clause that opens the composite indirect speech, respondents give their first or second preference especially to the sequences with initial past perfect or to the sequence *worked – refused*. The sequence *worked – had refused* is least frequent.

/42/ Mrs Mitchell **told** officers that her husband, who _____ (*work*) as a judge for 5 years, at first _____ (*refuse*) to reveal the young woman's name (Q25).

[worked, had worked | refused, had refused]

TABLE C 42

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had worked – had refused</i>	4	8	12
<i>had worked – refused</i>	11	5	16
<i>worked – had refused</i>	2	5	7
<i>worked – refused</i>	6	4	10

The context provided for /43/ in the questionnaire (given in /35/) makes time references clear. From the context it is clear that Miss Jones is Mr Mitchell's lover. As revealed in Table C 43, respondents give their first or second preference to all possible sequences of tense forms, even though the number of the sequences *had had – had refused* and *had – refused* slightly prevails. Occasionally, respondents also give their first or second preference to the sequence *had – had refused*, in which the verb *have* is followed by a verb in the past perfect that occurs in the non-restrictive clause.

/43/ Mrs Mitchell also **revealed** that her husband's lover _____ (*have*) an abortion, which initially Miss Jones _____ (*refuse*) to admit (Q31) (adapted from Art51).

[had, has had, had had | refused, had refused]

TABLE C 43

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had had – had refused</i>	5	6	11
<i>had – had refused</i>	5	3	8
<i>has had – had refused</i>	2	3	5
<i>had had – refused</i>	4	5	9
<i>had – refused</i>	9	5	14
<i>has had – refused</i>	1	4	5

In sentence /44/ respondents give their first preference especially to two sequences of tense forms: *was – did – slept* and *was – had done – slept* (see Column 1 in Table C 44). As regards the preference number 2, they marked all possible sequences of tense forms. By analyzing the individual answers, however, it was discovered that 18 respondents give their first or/and second preference to the sequences *was – had done – slept* and *was – did – slept*. In the sequence *was – had done – slept*, moreover, it is the past tense of the verb *be* that precedes the past perfect, which is in accordance with Hypothesis 9.

/44/ Situation: The father was describing his childhood experience.

My father **said** that _____ (*be*) how they _____ (*do*) it at home, where they _____ (*sleep*) on straw mats instead of beds (Q10) (adapted from Art76).

[is, was, had been | did, had done | slept, had slept]

TABLE C 44

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been – had done – had slept</i>	2	2	4
<i>had been – had done – slept</i>	1	3	4
<i>was – had done – had slept</i>	2	2	4
<i>had been – did – had slept</i>	0	2	2
<i>had been – did – slept</i>	1	3	4
<i>was – had done – slept</i>	5	7	12
<i>was – did – had slept</i>	1	4	5
<i>was – did – slept</i>	11	3	14
<i>is – had done – had slept</i>	1	2	3
<i>is – did – slept</i>	1	1	2
<i>is – did – had slept</i>	0	1	1
<i>is – had done – slept</i>	1	4	5

In sentence /45/ respondents give preference to sequences of tense forms with the modal verb *might* followed by past participle. As illustrated in Table C 45, 19 respondents give their first or second preference to the sequence *might have been – drove off*, and 18 respondents give their first or second preference to the sequence *might have been – had driven off*. In doing so, 17 respondents give their first and second preference to both sequences.

/45/ Later Mr Smith **realized** that there _____ (*might be*) another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (*drive off*) (Q23) (adapted from Art102).

[might be, might have been | drove off, had driven off]

TABLE C 45

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>might have been – had driven off</i>	7	12	19
<i>might have been – drove off</i>	14	4	18
<i>might be – had driven off</i>	1	1	2
<i>might be – drove off</i>	2	2	4

When exploring tense choice in restrictive relative clauses, I analyzed sentences /46/ and /41/, the latter of which includes substantival relative clause that was discussed in the section dealing with clauses containing time adverbials. Both relative clauses could be filled in only with two tense forms: past and past perfect. As revealed in Tables A₁ X and B₁ X, respondents give preference to both tense forms.

TABLE A₁ X: Tense choice in 2 restrictive relative clauses

TENSE FORMS(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	15	22	3

TABLE B₁ X: Tense choice in 2 restrictive relative clauses

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	6	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	9	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	10	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	12	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	3	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

The gaps in /46/ can be completed in all possible ways. Respondents seem to make use of all sequences, disregarding the semantic and grammatical properties of reported verbs (see Table C 46).

/46/ Mr Smith **said** that his wife _____ (*see*) a white car ahead of the green Peugeot in which Mr Altman and his wife _____ (*be travelling*) (Q19) (adapted from Art37).

[saw, had seen | were travelling, had been travelling]

TABLE C 46

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had seen – had been travelling</i>	4	5	9
<i>had seen – were travelling</i>	6	8	14
<i>saw – had been travelling</i>	7	4	11
<i>saw – were travelling</i>	5	4	9

■ HYPOTHESIS 6

The past tense form prevails in clauses containing the verb be in composite indirect speech (as opposed to the past perfect tense form).

The questionnaire contains 5 sentences with 6 clauses that contain the verb *be*. In two clauses (in the restrictive clause in /41/ and in the object clause in /47/), the verb *be* can be selected either in the past or in the past perfect. Out of these two options, respondents most frequently give preference to the past perfect tense, as shown in Table A₁ XI. Both Table A₁ XI and Table B₁ XI demonstrate that respondents often select both tense forms. Despite this, the results are in contradiction to Hypothesis 6.

TABLE A₁ XI: Tense choice in 2 clauses with the verb *be*

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	11	26	3

TABLE B₁ XI: Tense choice in 2 clauses with the verb *be*

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	5	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	6	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	14	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	12	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	3	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

The sequences of tense forms that respondents most frequently give their first or second preference to have one common characteristic: the initial element is the verb *be* in the past tense. The number of various tense forms of the verb *be* that opens the indirect speech in /47/ is not given in the above tables because in the initial clause respondents can choose from three different tense forms: present, past and past perfect. The results concerning these clauses are provided below example /47/. In example /47/, however, the initial verb *be* is selected in the past tense more frequently than in the other two tense forms, although the proposition expressed in the initial clause may still be valid at the time of reporting. The final clause in the indirect speech moreover includes a verb in passive voice which, according to the data given in Table C 47, can be the only verb in the past perfect in the sequence.

/47/ The police officer **said** that Mrs Mitchell _____ (*be*) a community nurse with access to drugs but that there _____ (*be*) no time for a sedative to take effect and no sign of a struggle or that the body _____ (*be dragged*) into the shed (Q30) (adapted from Art61).

[is, was, had been | was, had been | was dragged, had been dragged]

TABLE C 47

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been – had been – had been dragged</i>	2	2	4
<i>had been – had been – was dragged</i>	0	1	1
<i>was – had been – had been dragged</i>	7	4	11
<i>had been – was – had been dragged</i>	1	2	3
<i>had been – was – was dragged</i>	0	2	2
<i>was – had been – was dragged</i>	4	4	8
<i>was – was – had been dragged</i>	2	4	6
<i>was – was – was dragged</i>	2	6	8
<i>is – had been – had been dragged</i>	3	1	4
<i>is – was – was dragged</i>	3	1	4
<i>is – was – had been dragged</i>	0	3	3
<i>is – had been – was dragged</i>	1	0	1

Apart from sentence /47/, the verb *be* is included in sentences /44/, /48/ and /49/. All clauses with the verb *be* but one clause in /49/ open indirect speech. In /49/ the clause is coordinate with an object clause that opens indirect speech. Even though all the clauses can be interpreted against the present context, respondents most frequently give preference to the past tense in these clauses (see Table A₂ XII). When options marked with the preference numbers 1 and 2 are considered, the number of the present, past and past perfect forms correspond to 42, 73 and 36 respectively (see Table B₂ XII).

TABLE A₂ XII: Tense choice in 4 clauses with the verb *be*

TENSE FORM(S)	PresT	PasT	PasP	PresT+PasT	PasT+PasP	all
Number	19	46	5	4	4	2

TABLE B₂ XII: Tense choice in 4 clauses with the verb *be*

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PresT	7	<i>is</i>
PresT (1), PasT (2)	12	<i>is (1), was (2)</i>
PresT (1), PasP (2)	7	<i>is (1), had been (2)</i>
PasT	29	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PresT (2)	13	<i>was (1), is (2)</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	18	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	7	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PresT (2)	3	<i>had been (1), is (2)</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	1	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>

In example /48/ 16 respondents give their first or second preference to the sequence *was – had been closed*, which is more frequently selected than the others (see Table C 48). Other sequences of tense forms cannot be neglected either. As mentioned above, the situation expressed in the clause opening the indirect speech may be seen as being valid at the time of its reporting. For this reason, some respondents give their first or second preference to the sequences *is – were closed* and *is – had been closed*.

/48/ Then the coroner **said** that the biggest mystery _____ (*be*) why the shed's doors _____ (*be closed*) (Q33) (adapted from Art61). .

[is, was, had been | were closed, had been closed]

TABLE C 48

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been – had been closed</i>	1	6	7
<i>was – had been closed</i>	9	7	16
<i>is – had been closed</i>	7	2	9
<i>had been – were closed</i>	1	4	5
<i>was – were closed</i>	5	6	11
<i>is – were closed</i>	4	5	9

In sentence /49/ respondents may interpret the object clause opening indirect speech against the present context, considering the proposition valid at the time of reporting. Whether respondents interpret the proposition in one way or the other, they most frequently give their first preference to sequences of tense forms (*will be – was*, *would be – was*), the second of which is the past tense form (see Table C 49).

/49/ In a narrative verdict detectives **admitted** that the cause of Judge Mitchell’s death _____ (*will*) probably never be known but that there _____ (*be*) “no evidence of any third-party involvement” (Q34) (adapted from Art61).
[will, would | is, was, had been]

TABLE C 49

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>will be – is</i>	3	3	6
<i>will be – was</i>	6	3	9
<i>will be – had been</i>	2	6	8
<i>would be – is</i>	3	5	8
<i>would be – was</i>	9	5	14
<i>would be – had been</i>	3	9	12

■ **HYPOTHESIS 7**

The past tense form prevails in clauses containing verbs in passive voice in composite indirect speech (as opposed to the past perfect tense form).

The questionnaire has three sentences, each of which contains a clause with a verb in passive voice. It applies to sentences /47/ and /48/ that are discussed in the previous chapter and sentence /50/ discussed below. All clauses are provided with two options: past and past perfect. As is suggested by the sequences of tense forms that respondents frequently give their preference to in /47/ and /48/, the past perfect is as frequently selected with verbs in passive voice as the past tense. It is also illustrated in both Table A₁ XIII and Table B₁ XIII below. Unlike sentences /47/ and /48/ in which respondents give their first preference to the past perfect more frequently than to the past tense, in sentence /50/ respondents give their first preference to the past tense more frequently. The ratio of the past perfect to the past tense (which can be discovered from Table C 50) is 15:8.

TABLE A₁ XIII: Tense choice in 3 clauses with verbs in passive voice

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	28	25	7

TABLE B₁ XIII: Tense choice in 3 clauses with verbs in passive voice

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	11	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	17	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	10	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	15	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	7	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

In sentence /50/ respondents give their first or second preference to two sequences of tense forms: *was terrified – would catch* and *had been terrified – would catch*, which is determined by the second tense form in each sequence because the other tense form (*would*

have caught), which could be selected instead of *would catch*, is not in accordance with the context.

/50/ In statements read to the inquest, Mrs Mitchell **said** she _____ (*be terrified*) that the washing _____ (*will catch*) fire (Q29) (adapted from Art61).

[was terrified, had been terrified | would catch, would have caught]

TABLE C 50

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been terrified – would catch</i>	6	11	17
<i>had been terrified – would have caught</i>	2	0	2
<i>was terrified – would catch</i>	15	1	16
<i>was terrified – would have caught</i>	0	5	5

■ HYPOTHESIS 8

The past tense form prevails in clauses containing verbs in progressive aspect in composite indirect speech (as opposed to the past perfect tense form).

Verbs in progressive aspect occur in four clauses in sentences /36/, /46/ and /51/. These clauses could be filled in with verbs in the past or past perfect tense. What sequences of tense forms respondents give preference to in /36/ and /46/ was discussed in previous sections. In /36/ the verb in progressive aspect occurs in a clause on which a temporal clause depends and in /46/ the verb in progressive aspect occurs in relative (restrictive) clause. Sentence /51/ contains verbs in progressive aspect in both clauses in indirect speech.

Table A₁ XIV and Table B₁ XIV reveal that respondents select both the past and past perfect tense with verbs in progressive aspect, which is in contradiction to Hypothesis 8. In addition, in both tables the past perfect slightly prevails.

TABLE A₁ XIV: Tense choice in 4 clauses with verbs in progressive aspect

TENSE FORM(S)	PasT	PasP	both
Number	30	42	8

TABLE B₁ XIV: Tense choice in 4 clauses with verbs in progressive aspect

TENSE FORM(S)	Number	Example: <i>be</i>
PasT	11	<i>was</i>
PasT (1), PasP (2)	19	<i>was (1), had been (2)</i>
PasP	21	<i>had been</i>
PasP (1), PasT (2)	21	<i>had been (1), was (2)</i>
both (1)	8	<i>was+had been (1)</i>

In sentence /51/ respondents most frequently give preference to two sequences of tense forms: *had been having – had been trying*, *had been having – was trying*. As shown in Table C 51, it is also occasionally possible to select the other two options.

/51/ Before the explosion, however, Mr Mitchell **told** his wife that he and Miss Jones _____ (*be having*) a sexual affair for 2½ years and he _____ (*be trying*) to end it (Q26) (adapted from Art51).
[were having, had been having | was trying, had been trying]

TABLE C 51

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had been having – had been trying</i>	9	6	15
<i>had been having – was trying</i>	10	8	18
<i>were having – had been trying</i>	4	4	8
<i>were having – was trying</i>	2	4	6

■ **REPORTING PROPOSITIONS WITH CLAUSES WITH MODAL VERBS**

The last section is devoted to modal verbs. Tables that are given in this section only summarize what was already mentioned above. Among the sentences in the questionnaire, there are three sentences which contain clauses with modal verbs. In sentence /45/ respondents could choose from two forms: *might be* and *might have been*. The verbs in brackets (and in italics) whose form respondents were supposed to select are *might be*. The context provided for sentence /45/ (given in example /35/) makes it clear that the situation expressed in the clause is set in the past with respect to the time of reporting. The data in Tables A XV and B XV are in accordance with this assumption. Respondents most frequently give preference to the form *might have been*.

TABLE A XV: Modal verbs in sentence /45/

FORM(S)	<i>might be</i>	<i>might have been</i>
Number	3	17

TABLE B XV: Modal verbs in sentence /45/

FORM(S)	Number
<i>might be</i>	0
<i>might be</i> (1), <i>might have been</i> (2)	3
<i>might have been</i>	15
<i>might have been</i> (1), <i>might be</i> (2)	2

In sentence /50/ respondents were supposed to choose from two tense forms: *would catch* and *would have caught*. The verbs given in brackets in sentence /50/ are *will catch*. As Tables A XVI and B XVI reveal, respondents give preference especially to the form *would catch*. The form *would have been* is also occasionally selected. This form would rather correspond to the forms *will have caught* and *would catch* than to *will catch* that is given in sentence /50/.

TABLE A XVI: Modal verbs in sentence /50/

FORM(S)	<i>would have caught</i>	<i>would catch</i>
Number	2	18

TABLE B XVI: Modal verbs in sentence /50/

FORM(S)	Number
<i>would catch</i>	14
<i>would catch (1), would have caught (2)</i>	4
<i>would have caught</i>	1
<i>would have caught (1), would catch (2)</i>	1

In sentence /49/ respondents were supposed to choose from the following two forms: *will* and *would*. The form given in brackets in sentence /49/ is *will*, and the choice of the most appropriate form depends on the factor of validity, or, more precisely, whether respondents consider the proposition with the modal verb valid at the time of reporting or not. Even though respondents give their first preference to both forms (see Table A XVII), the modal verb *would* slightly prevails. It also applies to Table B XVII, which shows that 18 respondents give their first or second preference to *would* and that 12 respondents give their first or second preference to *will*.

TABLE A XVII: Modal verbs in sentence /49/

FORM(S)	<i>will</i>	<i>would</i>	both
Number	7	11	2

TABLE B XVII: Modal verbs in sentence /49/

FORM(S)	<i>will</i>	<i>will (1), would (2)</i>	<i>would</i>	<i>would (1), will (2)</i>	both
Number	2	5	8	3	2

4 Conclusion

The study provides an overview of factors that have an impact on tense choice in indirect speech and shows how the issue can be studied in practice with the help of questionnaires. The practical research is based on the analysis carried out in Selucká (2008), in which the issue is explored in the corpus of sentences that was compiled from articles in *The London Times* online newspaper. The analysis provides results in terms of which hypotheses were formulated (see Chapter 2.4) and the questionnaire (attached in Appendix 2), which is to verify or refute the hypotheses, was designed.

The corpus of sentences and the sentences in the questionnaire (most of which are selected and adapted from the corpus) include indirect speech examples without their direct speech equivalents. The impossibility of deriving direct speech from indirect (as discussed in Chapter 1.1) makes it impossible to unambiguously state which tense form (chosen by the original speaker) the tense form in indirect speech represents. In indirect speech the past tense represents the past or present tense. The past perfect represents the present perfect, past or past perfect tense. The present and present perfect represent the same tense forms in indirect speech. In this study, as well as in Selucká (2008), the frequency of individual tense forms is explored. As regards modal verbs, they are treated separately because their representation in indirect speech is frequently influenced by their functions. Moreover, propositions with modal verbs are often reported with infinitival constructions.

The indirect speech that the study focuses on is in the form of an embedded structure dependent on the past reporting frame, as illustrated by /1/. It can consist of one or more dependent clauses. Indirect speech in the form of one dependent clause is referred to as ‘simple indirect speech’, while indirect speech which consists of more than one dependent clause is referred to as ‘composite indirect speech’.

/1/ He **added** that Auvinen had been determined to kill as many people as possible in an attempt to create a spectacle before he turned the gun on himself (Art189).⁶³

The factors that determine tense choice in indirect speech (see Chapters 1 and 2) are illustrated by examples from scientific publications and from the corpus mentioned

⁶³ The examples taken from the articles in *The London Times* online newspaper are marked with the abbreviation Art followed by the number of the article the example comes from.

above. They can be divided on the basis of linguistic terms related to indirect speech which the factors apply to (e.g. semantics of reporting verbs), in terms of tense forms that are considered or in terms of the complexity of the indirect speech in which tense choice is studied. In practice, however, it is not always possible to strictly divide the factors according to one criterion.

Apart from the hypotheses, the data obtained from questionnaires is also confronted with five principles governing the choice of a particular tense form in simple indirect speech, which is very frequently optional. It reflects in the way in which the questionnaire was designed and filled in. The questionnaire has the form of a multiple choice test with a specific mode of completion. Each sentence (out of 34 reported statements) is provided with a different number of options (ranging from 3 to 12), which respondents are supposed to mark with up to three numbers (1, 2, 3) according to their preference for the given option. The questionnaire designed in this way has revealed more tense forms which it is possible to select in indirect speech.

The questionnaire design, distribution and evaluation are described in Chapter 3, in which it is also discussed what subject specific-problems a researcher has to take into account. Some of the problems were removed after the pilot versions of the questionnaire were evaluated. Some depend on individual speakers' opinions and were not detected by pre-testing. It applies especially to contextual clues which most sentences in the questionnaire are provided with and which may make certain tense forms more appropriate than others.

After the questionnaires were distributed and filled in by native speakers of British English, whose number is 20,⁶⁴ the questionnaires were evaluated. In doing so, attention was paid to the options which the respondents give their first or/and second preference to. In the first part of Chapter 3, the results obtained from the questionnaires are confronted with principles of optional backshifting. 16 sentences with simple indirect speech, in which the respondents were supposed to choose either from two or three tense forms, are divided into five sections in terms of the nature of propositions expressed in the indirect speech. The principles of optional backshifting are often involved in more than one section.

The first factor to be considered is the factor of validity (=PRINCIPLE 1), which governs the choice between the present and past tense (or between the present perfect and past perfect). It is applied especially to propositions that may be perceived as being valid at

⁶⁴ Basic facts about respondents are given in Appendix 4.

the time of reporting and to universal truths. The analysis reveals that respondents always give their first preference to all possible options unless the proposition is evaluated as a universal truth. It is illustrated by example /2/. Table A 18 (see page 73) reveals that approximately the same number of respondents gives their first preference to the present tense, past tense and past perfect, even though the context makes it clear that the original speaker is still considering staying in politics. Table B 18 (see page 73) shows that it also holds valid in the case of the number of respondents who give their first or second preference to all possible options. The proportion of the present, past and past perfect in Table B 18 is 11:15:12.

/2/ Imaginary situation for Q15-Q16: Peter Brown is not still determined to stay in politics.

YESTERDAY Peter Brown **confirmed** at the conference that he _____
(*be considering*) staying in politics (Q15) (adapted from Art29).

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

Even though the present tense is generally preferred in such propositions, both tense forms are possible (i.e. the tense choice is optional), which is in accordance with the data obtained from the questionnaires. Occasionally, I explore whether respondents perceive any difference between identical propositions introduced with different reporting verbs. In the questionnaire there are two sentences which differ from /2/ only in the choice of the reporting verb. One is introduced with the verb *admit*, and the other with the verb *deny*. The analysis shows that it depends on individual speakers. 6 respondents do not make any difference between such statements. 8 respondents feel that there is a difference between propositions introduced with *confirm* and propositions introduced with *admit* and *deny*. In the former they give their first preference to the present or past tense, which they replace with the past or past perfect respectively in the latter.

PRINCIPLE 2 predicts tense choice in universal truths, in which respondents most frequently give their first preference to the present tense. There are two propositions that belong to the category of universal truths. One of the propositions is exemplified in /3/. In these two statements respondents give their first preference to the present tense in 30 cases.

Despite this, respondents frequently give their first and second preference to both the present and past tense, which corresponds to 33 cases.

/3/ Copernicus **confirmed** that the Earth _____ (*revolve*) around the Sun (Q3) (adapted from Alexander 1988, 293).

- a) revolves b) revolved c) had revolved

Unlike universal truths, there are propositions that are generally proved wrong. In such propositions the past is generally favoured over the present (PRINCIPLE 3). In the questionnaire, however, respondents give their first preference to both the present and past tense. The ratio of the present to the past tense in /4/ is 8:11 (see Table A 23 on page 79). It seems to be in accordance with Declerck and Tanaka (1996, 289), who claim that the present tense in these propositions is selected for their formal resemblance with universal truths.

/4/ However, the ancients **claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q4) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

- a) moves b) moved c) had moved

Moreover, 10 respondents make a difference between /4/ and an identical proposition introduced with the verb *claim* in the past perfect. However, there is no characteristic common to all respondents.

PRINCIPLE 4 relates to propositions in which the past tense is obligatory because they are reported long after they were said by original speakers. Nevertheless, the context must make it clear that respondents cannot identify themselves with reporters living in the times in which the original proposition was uttered. In example /5/, in which the principle is considered, the contextual clues are however missing. Even though 13 respondents give their first preference to the past tense in the proposition (see Table A 25 on page 82), 12 respondents also give their first or second preference to the present tense (see Table B 25 on page 83).

/5/ Socrates **said** that he _____ (*be*) a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (Q2) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

- a) is b) was c) had been

The last factor to be considered is context (PRINCIPLE 5), which may be applied to nearly all propositions. The contextual clues are either described before the example is given or are part of the proposition as is the case of time adverbials. If the context makes it clear that the situation in indirect speech took place before the situation expressed in the reporting frame, respondents give their first preference to both the past and past perfect, as in /6/ (see Tables A 27 and B 27 on page 85). If the context does not include such information and respondents may perceive the situation expressed in indirect speech as being simultaneous with the situation in the reporting frame, they give their first preference to the past tense, as in /7/ (see Table A 26 on page 84).

/6/ Imaginary situation for Q18 - Q23: *On 10th January 2010* there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. *Two days later* all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are Mr Richardson (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman's friend).

Mrs Smith **said** that it _____ (*be*) very noisy in the tunnel (Q18) (adapted from Art37).

- a) is b) was c) had been

/7/ Situation: Said after the suicide bombing in July 2008.

Military officials **said** that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead (Q7) (adapted from Art27).

- a) are b) were c) had been

As regards time adverbials, there are three propositions with time adverbials, as exemplified in /8/, in which respondents frequently give their first preference to the past perfect tense (see Tables A 30, A 31 and A 32 on pages 88, 89 and 90 respectively). In each case, it always applies at least to 11 respondents. It is in accordance with

HYPOTHESIS 4 which predicts that the past perfect is not infrequent in propositions with time adverbials.

/8/ Abu Ibrahim **explained** that he _____ (*become engaged*) **two months before** his brother's death (Q12) (adapted from Art9).

a) became engaged

b) had become engaged

In the second part of Chapter 3 the results obtained from questionnaires are confronted with hypotheses, all of which but Hypothesis 1 are based on the results of the research carried out in Selucká (2008). Hypothesis 1 is formulated after the same corpus of sentences as in Selucká (2008) was analyzed in this study. All hypotheses but Hypothesis 4 are exclusively about tense choice in composite indirect speech. The options which the sentences with composite indirect speech are provided with correspond to sequences of tense forms. In composite indirect speech it is therefore possible to study co-occurrence of individual tense forms.

Not all the hypotheses (formulated in Chapter 2.4) can however be satisfactorily confirmed or contradicted. HYPOTHESIS 1 predicts that the proportion of the past and past perfect in object clauses depending directly on the reporting frame and in object clauses depending on other clauses in indirect speech is approximately the same. In the questionnaire there are only two sentences with an object clause dependent on another clause within indirect speech, one of which includes modal verbs. In the remaining sentence (see example /9/), however, we can study the co-occurrence of tense forms. In /9/ respondents most frequently give their first (PREF. NO. 1) or second (PREF. NO. 2) preference to the sequence in which the past perfect is preceded by the past tense, which is given by the context, given in /9/, and by the fact that the verb in the past tense that precedes the past perfect is a reporting verb (for all possible sequences of tense forms in /9/ see Table C 34 on page 97).

/9/ Imaginary situation for Q18 - Q23: On 10th January 2010 there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. Two days later all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are Mr Richardson (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman's friend).

On the day of the accident Dr Richardson **told** witnesses that he _____
 (*hope*) they _____ (*not move*) the bodies (Q22) (adapted from Art102).
 [hopes, hoped, had hoped | do not move, did not move, had not moved]

As far as other object clauses are concerned, respondents give their first preference to both the past and past perfect tense if the context makes both forms possible. When they are however supposed to choose from the present, past and past perfect tense forms, the former two are preferred.

HYPOTHESIS 2, predicting that the past tense is favoured over the past perfect in temporal clauses, is partly confirmed in *when*- and *while*-clauses, in which the ratio of the past to the past perfect, which respondents give their first preference to, is 18:5 and 17:7 respectively (see Table A₁ IV on page 100). As for *after*-clauses, the number of the past and past perfect, which respondents give their first preference to, is 37 and 33 respectively (see Table A₁ IV on page 100). As regards sequences of tense forms in sentences with time clauses in indirect speech, the sequences of the same tense forms or the sequences in which the past perfect is followed by the past tense are preferred if two gaps are to be filled in. It is illustrated in Table C 37 in /10/. In general, however, all possible combinations of tense forms are selected. This phenomenon can be explained in terms of contextual clues, which respondents may interpret in their own way.

/10/ Two hours before the explosion Miss Jones **asked** Robert how his wife _____
 _____ (*react*) when he _____ (*ask*) her for a divorce (Q27)
 (adapted from Art51).
 [reacted, had reacted | asked, had asked]

TABLE C 37

SEQUENCE	PREF. NO. 1	PREF. NO. 2	Total
<i>had reacted – had asked</i>	4	7	11
<i>had reacted – asked</i>	11	6	16
<i>reacted – had asked</i>	1	9	10
<i>reacted – asked</i>	7	0	7

HYPOTHESIS 3 predicts that both the past perfect and past are frequently selected in clauses on which temporal clauses depend. The hypothesis is confirmed because the ratio of the past perfect to the past in these clauses, which respondents give their first preference to, is 46:42 (see Table A₁ VI on page 108). It is in contradiction to the principle formulated in Thomson and Martinet (1986, 123), who claim that the past is favoured over the past perfect in both clauses on which time clauses depend and the time clauses.

Time adverbials as well as time clauses have the quality of time referencing. The past perfect could therefore be considered redundant in clauses with time adverbials. In sentences with simple and composite indirect speech, it is however confirmed that HYPOTHESIS 4, predicting that both the past and past perfect frequently occur in reported clauses with time adverbials, holds valid. Besides the sentences with simple indirect speech, there is one sentence with composite indirect speech containing the time adverbial *at the time* (see example /11/), in which 15 respondents give their first preference to the past perfect as opposed to 7 that give their first preference to the past tense (see Table A₁ VIII on page 110).

/11/ Mr Smith **admitted** that his memory of whether there _____ (*be*) another car in the tunnel *at the time* _____ (*become*) foggy (Q20) (adapted from Art102).

[was, had been | became, has become, had become]

In HYPOTHESIS 5 it is stated that the past perfect is rarely selected in non-restrictive relative clauses, which is not quite confirmed. In two non-restrictive clauses, one of which is illustrated by /12/, respondents give their first preference to the past perfect more frequently than to the past tense (see Table A₁ IX on page 112). It is not clear whether the content expressed in these clauses belongs to the reporter's general knowledge or not. In the remaining three non-restrictive clauses, one of which is illustrated by /13/, respondents give their first preference to the past tense more frequently than to the past perfect. The ratio of the past tense to the past perfect is 48:22 (see Table A₁ IX on page 112). The number of the past perfect in these clauses is not however insignificant.

/12/ Mrs Mitchell **told** officers that her husband, who _____ (*work*) as a judge for 5 years, at first _____ (*refuse*) to reveal the young woman's name (Q25).

[worked, had worked | refused, had refused]

/13/ Later Mr Smith **realized** that there _____ (*might be*) another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (*drive off*) (Q23) (adapted from Art102).

[might be, might have been | drove off, had driven off]

HYPOTHESES 6-8 are related to grammatical properties of verbs in composite indirect speech. They predict that the past perfect is less frequent than the past tense in reported clauses with the verb *be*, verbs in passive voice and verbs in progressive aspect. In reported clauses with the verb *be* and verbs in progressive aspect, however, the past perfect slightly prevails over the past tense, which is in contradiction to Hypothesis 6 and Hypothesis 8 respectively (see Tables A₁ XI and A₁ XIV on pages 117 and 124 respectively). As regards clauses with passive voice, respondents give their first preference to the perfect tense nearly as frequently as to the past tense. The ratio of the past to the past perfect in these clauses is 35:32 (see Table A₁ XIII on page 122).

HYPOTHESIS 9 is discussed together with other hypotheses. It focuses on sequences of tense forms, predicting what semantic and grammatical features the verbs in the past tense that co-occur with verbs in the past perfect (that do not open indirect speech) in indirect speech have or in what types of clauses such verbs occur. Because respondents give their first or second preference to all possible options, it is necessary that only options that are marked with the preference number 1 should be considered. Respondents give their first preference especially to the sequences of the same tense forms or the sequence in which the past perfect is followed by the past. It seems to be in accordance with Huddleston and Pullum's (2002, 156) treatment of structures with more levels of embedding. However, there are few cases in which the past tense precedes the past perfect. In such cases, the past tense is used with the verb *be* (see Table C 44 on page 115 and Table C 47 on page 119) or the verb *hope* (see Table C 34 on page 97), which is determined by the context.

The last section of Chapter 3 is devoted to modal verbs in which the modal verbs *might* and *will* are considered. Respondents were supposed to select the most appropriate

forms of these verbs. As regards *might be*, the context makes it clear that the verb must refer to the past as opposed to the time of the situation expressed in the reporting frame. Therefore, respondents give their first or second preference to *might have been* (see Table A XV on page 125). As for *will be*, on the other hand, they hardly ever select the form *would have been*. Instead, respondents choose between *will be* (see Table A XVII on page 126) and *would be* (see Table A XVI on page 126).

In this study, as well as in Selucká (2008), I employ the same mode of research which is based on exploring the frequency of tense forms in indirect speech. For verifying and refuting hypotheses, however, the mode of research in which tense in direct and indirect speech pairs is compared may be equally or even more suitable. In both cases, however, it is necessary to provide a detailed description of context, which seems to be a decisive factor in choosing the most appropriate tense form.

Appendix 1

Table 14: Basic tense changes in reported speech⁶⁵

DIRECT SPEECH	INDIRECT SPEECH
present	past
present perfect	past perfect
past	past perfect
past perfect	past perfect
<i>will</i>	<i>would</i>
<i>may</i>	<i>might</i>
<i>can</i>	<i>could</i>
<i>must</i>	<i>must/had to</i>
<i>would, could, might, should, had better</i>	<i>would, could, might, should, had better</i>

Adapted from *Maturita Solutions* (Falla and Davies 2009, 121)

⁶⁵ Basic tense changes in Table 14 are adapted from *Maturita Solutions Upper-Intermediate Student's Book* (Falla and Davies 2009, 121), which includes a more precise overview of tense changes in indirect speech than the other three student's textbooks considered for the purpose of this study, namely *Headway Intermediate*, *Reward Intermediate* and *New English File*. In the *Maturita Solutions* textbook, the changes are described in greater detail, providing the overview of all tense forms in all aspects even though no difference in backshifting between simple and continuous tense forms is given. In Table 14, therefore, I provide data without distinguishing between simple and continuous aspects.

Appendix 2

STUDY OF TENSES IN ENGLISH (Questionnaire)⁶⁶

Dear Respondent (**NATIVE** speaker of English),

I am a student of English and mathematics at the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Science in Olomouc (the Czech Republic) and am very interested in English in practice. I am asking you to fill in this questionnaire because it is the only way of learning something new about real English and I believe that your answers will clarify issues that are for me, a non-native speaker, of great importance.

This questionnaire is intended to confirm or refute hypotheses that I formulated on the basis of an extended study. The hypotheses relate to tenses in indirect reported speech in English, i.e. the constructions of the type *Mark said that . . .*, which give the content of the original speakers' statements. I explored this topic in newspaper articles in which these constructions frequently occur.

The textbooks state only general rules, which do not go into detail, and often the theory is quite different from the practice. For non-native speakers, therefore, it is a challenge to explore this issue in practice and to learn something new about the English language in general.

To fill in this questionnaire does not require any special knowledge. Because you are a native speaker of English, you will only use your intuition about your language. Those who are interested in this research and its results can email me and I will give you all information. I deliberately do not mention the hypotheses not to influence your judgment.

I. Part. Basic Data (Underline the right option and fill in.)

1. SEX: a) woman b) man
2. AGE: a) less than 18, b) 18-25, c) 25-30, d) 30-40, e) 40-50,
f) 50-60, g) more than 60
3. TOWN (you live in)/PART of Britain: _____ / _____
4. FOREIGN LANGUAGES:⁶⁷ NONE GER FRE SPA ITA Other:
5. USER CATEGORY: a) student, b) university teacher, c) other category:
state the profession: _____
6. SCIENTIFIC FIELD / DISCIPLINE: a) arts, b) sciences and medicine,
c) technical disciplines, d) economic disciplines, e) social sciences, f) other:
state the field: _____

II. Part. Questionnaire

⁶⁶ This is the original version of the questionnaire given to native speakers for completion. In other words, the original form (font, layout, etc.) is preserved. Moreover, each sentence is provided with the source it was taken and adapted from.

⁶⁷ For points 4-6 more than one option is possible.

In the following 34 reported statements use your intuition and state which variant/variants you prefer. Each variant is provided with a box into which you are supposed to insert one of the numbers 1 – 3 (1 | 2 | 3) according to your preference. Number 1 means the highest preference, number 2 lower preference and number 3 the lowest one. In doing so, you can prefer more variants at the same time, i.e. insert the same number (e.g. 1) into more boxes. On the other hand, if there is a variant that you consider incorrect, leave the box empty. Mostly the examples are accompanied with the description of the whole situation (Situation or Imaginary situation).

1. Socrates said that nothing _____ (*can*) harm a good man. 1 | 2
 a) can b) could

(Adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027)

2. Socrates said that he _____ (*be*) a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world.
 a) is b) was c) had been 1 | 2 | 3

(Adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027)

3. Copernicus confirmed that the Earth _____ (*revolve*) around the Sun.
 a) revolves b) revolved c) had revolved 1 | 2 | 3

(Adapted from Alexander 1988, 293)

4. However, the ancients claimed that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth.
 a) moves b) moved c) had moved 1 | 2 | 3

(Adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028)

5. However, the ancients had claimed that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth.
 a) moves b) moved c) had moved 1 | 2 | 3

(Adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028)

6. Situation: Said by a terrorist before his suicide bombing in Iraq in July 2008. Gertrude, his wife, died with him.

Gertrude told me that _____ (*will*) be the best honeymoon, in heaven together. 1 | 2

a) will b) would

(Adapted from Art9)

7. Situation: Said after the suicide bombing in July 2008.

Military officials said that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead. 1 | 2 | 3

a) are b) were c) had been

(Adapted from Art27)

8. The radicals claimed that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations last Thursday close to Buckingham Palace. 1 | 2 | 3

a) are not involved b) were not involved c) had not been involved

(Adapted from Art1)

9. Yesterday the radicals confirmed that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations last Thursday close to Buckingham Palace. 1 | 2 | 3

a) are not involved b) were not involved c) had not been involved

(Adapted from Art1)

10. Situation: The father was describing his childhood experience.

My father said that _____ (*be*) how they _____ (*do*) it at home, where they _____ (*sleep*) on straw mats instead of beds. 1 | 2 | 3

a) is | did | slept
c) is | did | had slept
e) is | had done | slept
g) is | had done | had slept

b) was | did | slept
d) was | did | had slept
f) was | had done | slept
h) was | had done | had slept

i) had been | did | slept
k) had been | did | had slept

j) had been | had done | slept
l) had been | had done | had slept

(Adapted from Art76)

11. Abu Ibrahim explained that he _____ (*become engaged*) two months ago to an educated young woman. 1 | 2

a) became engaged b) had become engaged

(Adapted from Art9)

12. Abu Ibrahim explained that he _____ (*become engaged*) two months before his brother's death. 1 | 2

- a) became engaged b) had become engaged

(Adapted from Art9)

13. Situation: A year ago Mrs Susan White lost her only son who was shot by an unknown man. Since then she has been visiting her son's grave. Five days ago Susan met her friend who then reported:

Susan added that the issue _____ (*haunt*) her whenever she _____ (*visit*) the grave of her son. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) haunts | visits b) haunted | visits
c) haunts | visited d) haunted | visited
e) haunts | had visited f) haunted | had visited
g) had haunted | visits h) had haunted | visited
i) had haunted | had visited

(Adapted from Art49)

14. Situation: The situation is similar to that in example 13. However, Mrs Susan White lost her only son 20 years ago. Ten years ago she last met her friend Martha. Then Susan died. Two days ago Martha remembered their last meeting.

On that day Susan told me that the issue _____ (*haunt*) her whenever she _____ (*visit*) the grave of her son. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) haunts | visits b) haunted | visits
c) haunts | visited d) haunted | visited
e) haunts | had visited f) haunted | had visited
g) had haunted | visits h) had haunted | visited
i) had haunted | had visited

(Adapted from Art49)

Imaginary situation for 15 - 16: Peter Brown is not still determined to stay in politics.

15. Yesterday Peter Brown confirmed at the conference that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

(Adapted from Art29)

16. Yesterday Peter Brown admitted that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics. 1 | 2 | 3

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

(Adapted from Art29)

17. Yesterday Peter Brown denied that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics. 1 | 2 | 3

a) is considering b) was considering c) had been considering

(Adapted from Art29)

Imaginary situation for 18 - 23: On 10th January 2010 there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. Two days later all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are Mr Richardson (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman's friend).

18. Mrs Smith said that it _____ (*be*) very noisy in the tunnel. 1 | 2 | 3

a) is b) was c) had been

(Adapted from Art37)

19. Mr Smith said that his wife _____ (*see*) a white car ahead of the green Peugeot in which Mr Altman and his wife _____ (*be travelling*). 1 | 2 | 3

a) saw | were travelling b) had seen | were travelling
c) saw | had been travelling d) had seen | had been travelling

(Adapted from Art37)

20. Mr Smith admitted that his memory of whether there _____ (*be*) another car in the tunnel at the time _____ (*become*) foggy. 1 | 2 | 3

a) was | became b) had been | became
c) was | has become d) had been | has become

e) was | had become

f) had been | had become

(Adapted from Art102)

21. It was believed that their car bomb _____ (explode) prematurely. 1 | 2

a) exploded b) had exploded

(Adapted from Art47)

22. On the day of the accident Dr Richardson told witnesses that he _____
(hope) they _____ (not move) the bodies. 1 | 2 | 3

a) hopes | do not move
c) hopes | did not move
e) hopes | had not moved

b) hoped | do not move
d) hoped | did not move
f) hoped | had not moved

g) had hoped | do not move
i) had hoped | had not moved

h) had hoped | did not move

(Adapted from Art102)

23. Later Mr Smith realized that there _____ (might be) another car parked
some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (drive off).

a) might be | drove off
c) might be | had driven off

b) might have been | drove off
d) might have been | had driven off

(Adapted from Art102)

Imaginary situation for 24 - 34: Mr Robert Mitchell, a judge, had an affair with his secretary, Susan Jones. Then he had an accident. He died when the shed at his farmhouse exploded. It happened a few hours after he told his wife, Jane, he wanted a divorce. A day later, on 12th December 2009, the investigation started and all involved were questioned.

24. Mrs Mitchell described how her husband _____ (confess) to the affair
after she _____ (answer) the phone at 1.15am and a young woman
_____ (hang up) after asking to speak to him. 1 | 2 | 3

a) confessed | answered | hung up

b) confessed | had answered | had hung up

- c) confessed | answered | had hung up
- d) confessed | had answered | hung up
- e) had confessed | answered | hung up
- f) had confessed | answered | had hung up
- g) had confessed | had answered | hung up
- h) had confessed | had answered | had hung up

(Adapted from Art51)

25. Mrs Mitchell told officers that her husband, who ____ (*work*) as a judge for 5 years, at first ____ (*refuse*) to reveal the young woman's name. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) worked | refused
- b) had worked | refused
- c) worked | had refused
- d) had worked | had refused

26. Before the explosion, however, Mr Mitchell told his wife that he and Miss Jones _____ (*be having*) a sexual affair for 2½ years and he _____ (*be trying*) to end it. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) were having | was trying
- b) had been having | was trying
- c) were having | had been trying
- d) had been having | had been trying

(Adapted from Art51)

27. Two hours before the explosion Miss Jones asked Robert how his wife _____ (*react*) when he _____ (*ask*) her for a divorce. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) reacted | asked
- b) had reacted | asked
- c) reacted | had asked
- d) had reacted | had asked

(Adapted from Art51)

28. Witnesses told the hearing that Mrs Mitchell _____ (*gather*) in the washing while her husband, whom she _____ (*hear*) crying, _____ (*burn*) to death. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) gathered | heard | burnt
- b) had gathered | heard | burnt
- c) gathered | had heard | burnt
- d) had gathered | had heard | burnt
- e) gathered | heard | had burnt
- f) had gathered | heard | had burnt
- g) gathered | had heard | had burnt

h) had gathered | had heard | had burnt

(Adapted from Art61)

29. In statements read to the inquest, Mrs Mitchell said she _____ (*be terrified*) that the washing _____ (*will catch*) fire. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) was terrified | would catch
- b) had been terrified | would catch
- c) was terrified | would have caught
- d) had been terrified | would have caught

(Adapted from Art61)

30. The police officer said that Mrs Mitchell _____ (*be*) a community nurse with access to drugs but that there _____ (*be*) no time for a sedative to take effect and no sign of a struggle or that the body _____ (*be dragged*) into the shed.

1 | 2 | 3

- a) is | was | was dragged
- b) is | was | had been dragged
- c) is | had been | was dragged
- d) is | had been | had been dragged
- e) was | was | was dragged
- f) had been | was | was dragged
- g) was | had been | was dragged
- h) had been | had been | was dragged

- i) was | was | had been dragged
- j) had been | was | had been dragged
- k) was | had been | had been dragged
- l) had been | had been | had been dragged

(Adapted from Art61)

31. Mrs Mitchell also revealed that her husband's lover _____ (*have*) an abortion, which initially Miss Jones _____ (*refuse*) to admit. 1 | 2 | 3

- a) had | refused
- b) had | had refused
- c) has had | refused
- d) has had | had refused
- e) had had | refused
- f) had had | had refused

(Adapted from Art51)

32. Mrs Mitchell told detectives that Miss Jones _____ (*be blackmailing*) her husband by threatening to sell her story after he _____ (*try*) to end their affair.

1 | 2 | 3

a) was blackmailing | tried
c) was blackmailing | had tried

b) had been blackmailing | tried
d) had been blackmailing | had tried

(Adapted from Art61)

33. Then the coroner said that the biggest mystery _____ (*be*) why the shed's doors _____ (*be closed*). 1 | 2 | 3

a) is | were closed
c) is | had been closed
e) was | were closed

b) was | had been closed
d) had been | were closed
f) had been | had been closed

(Adapted from Art61)

34. In a narrative verdict detectives admitted that the cause of Judge Mitchell's death _____ (*will*) probably never be known but that there _____ (*be*) "no evidence of any third-party involvement". 1 | 2 | 3

a) will | is
c) will | was
e) will | had been

b) would | is
d) would | was
f) would | had been

(Adapted from Art61)

THANK YOU very much for completing this questionnaire. I really appreciate your efforts! Your answers are very useful and helpful for verifying the hypotheses I formulated before and I am sure that results of this questionnaire will contribute to our, non-native speakers', better understanding of present-day English.

Appendix 3

QUESTIONNAIRE: Tense Choice in Indirect Speech in Original Texts

The sentences included in the questionnaire were taken from various sources mentioned both in the questionnaire in Appendix 2 and next to the sentences below. In most cases, they were adapted to include necessary features for verification of the hypotheses (see Chapter 2.4) or to fit the context which is provided to help respondents to choose the most appropriate option.

For each sentence in the questionnaire (labelled as Q1-Q34), therefore, there is an original sentence with a tense form (in *italics*) selected from the original text. In a few cases, the original sentence is identical with the particular Q1-Q34. It applies for example to Q1 and Q2. In most cases, it was considerably changed or completely rewritten, preserving only its content (for example Q22). Sentence 25 in the questionnaire was fully invented in order to fit the context provided for sentences 24-34.

- ❖ Q1: Socrates said that nothing _____ (*can*) harm a good man (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

Original sentence: Socrates said that nothing *can/could* harm a good man (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

Note 1: In Quirk et al. (1985, 1027), tense choice in indirect speech is explained with respect to tense choice in direct speech.

- ❖ Q2: Socrates said that he _____ (*be*) a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

Original sentence: Socrates said that he *was* a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

Note 2: see Note 1.

- ❖ Q3: Copernicus confirmed that the Earth _____ (*revolve*) around the Sun (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

Original sentence: Copernicus concluded that the earth goes/went round the sun (adapted from Alexander 1988, 293).

- ❖ Q4: However, the ancients claimed that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

Original sentence: The ancient thought that the sun moved around the earth . . . (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

- ❖ Q5: However, the ancients had claimed that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

Original sentence: The ancient thought that the sun moved around the earth . . . (Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

- ❖ Q6: Gertrude told me that _____ (*will*) be the best honeymoon, in heaven together (adapted from Art9).

Original sentence: She told me that would be the best honeymoon, in heaven together (Art9).

- ❖ Q7: Military officials said that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead (adapted from Art27).

Original sentence: Military officials said that many foreign fighters were among the dead (Art27).

- ❖ Q8: The radicals claimed that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations last Thursday close to Buckingham Palace (adapted from Art1).

Original sentence: They claimed that they were involved in organising demonstrations last Thursday close to Rangoon's Sule Pagoda . . . (Art1).

- ❖ Q9: Yesterday the radicals confirmed that they _____ (*be not involved*) in organizing demonstrations last Thursday close to Buckingham Palace (adapted from Art1).

Original sentence: They claimed that they were involved in organising demonstrations last Thursday close to Rangoon's Sule Pagoda . . . (Art1).

- ❖ Q10: My father said that _____ (*be*) how they _____ (*do*) it at home, where they _____ (*sleep*) on straw mats instead of beds (adapted from Art76).

Original sentence: My father said that is how they did it at home, where they slept on straw mats instead of beds (Art76).

- ❖ Q11: Abu Ibrahim explained that he _____ (*become engaged*) two months ago to an educated young woman (adapted from Art9).

Original sentence: Abu Ibrahim . . . explained that he had become engaged two months ago to an educated young woman (Art9).

- ❖ Q12: Abu Ibrahim explained that he _____ (*become engaged*) two months before his brother's death (adapted from Art9).

Original sentence: Abu Ibrahim . . . explained that he had become engaged two months ago to an educated young woman (Art9).

- ❖ Q13: Susan added that the issue _____ (*haunt*) her whenever she _____ (*visit*) the grave of her son (adapted from Art49).

Original sentence: She added that the issue haunts her whenever she visits the grave of her son (Art49).

- ❖ Q14: On that day Susan told me that the issue _____ (*haunt*) her whenever she _____ (*visit*) the grave of her son (adapted from Art49).

Original sentence: She added that the issue *haunts* her whenever she *visits* the grave of her son (Art49).

- ❖ Q15: Yesterday Peter Brown confirmed at the conference that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics (adapted from Art29).

Original sentence: Mr Putin confirmed to Mr Sarkozy that he *is considering* staying in politics . . . (Art29).

- ❖ Q16: Yesterday Peter Brown admitted that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics (adapted from Art29).

Original sentence: Mr Putin confirmed to Mr Sarkozy that he *is considering* staying in politics . . . (Art29).

- ❖ Q17: Yesterday Peter Brown denied that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics (adapted from Art29).

Original sentence: Mr Putin confirmed to Mr Sarkozy that he *is considering* staying in politics . . . (Art29).

- ❖ Q18: Mrs Smith said that it _____ (*be*) very noisy in the tunnel (adapted from Art37).

Original sentence: Ms Simão said that it *was* very noisy in the tunnel (Art37).

- ❖ Q19: Mr Smith said that his wife _____ (*see*) a white car ahead of the green Peugeot in which Mr Altman and his wife _____ (*be travelling*) (adapted from Art37).

Original sentence: Ms Simão said that she *had seen* a white car ahead of the green Peugeot in which she and Mr Lopes-Borges *were travelling* (Art37).

- ❖ Q20: Mr Smith admitted that his memory of whether there _____ (*be*) another car in the tunnel at the time _____ (*become*) foggy (adapted from Art102).

Original sentence: . . . Mr Huth admitted that his memory of whether there *had been* another car in the tunnel at the time *had become* foggy (Art102).

- ❖ Q21: It was believed that their car bomb _____ (*explode*) prematurely (adapted from Art47).

Original sentence: It was believed that their car bomb *exploded* prematurely (Art47).

- ❖ Q22: On the day of the accident Dr Richardson told witnesses that he _____ (*hope*) they _____ (*not move*) the bodies (adapted from Art102).

Original sentence: I told them I was a doctor and that they must not move the bodies (Art102).

- ❖ Q23: Later Mr Smith realized that there _____ (*might be*) another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (*drive off*) (adapted from Art102).

Original sentence: . . . he said that there *might have been* another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently *drove off* (Art102).

- ❖ Q24: Mrs Mitchell described how her husband _____ (*confess*) to the affair after she _____ (*answer*) the phone at 1.15am and a young woman _____ (*hang up*) after asking to speak to him (adapted from Art51).

Original sentence: She described how her husband *confessed* to the affair after she *answered* the phone at 1.15am and a young woman *hung up* after asking to speak to him (Art51).

❖ Q25: Mrs Mitchell told officers that her husband, who _____ (*work*) as a judge for 5 years, at first _____ (*refuse*) to reveal the young woman's name.

❖ Q26: Before the explosion, however, Mr Mitchell told his wife that he and Miss Jones _____ (*be having*) a sexual affair for 2½ years and he _____ (*be trying*) to end it (adapted from Art51).

Original sentence: He said they *had been having* a sexual affair for 2½ years and he *had been trying* to end it (Art51).

❖ Q27: Two hours before the explosion Miss Jones asked Robert how his wife _____ (*react*) when he _____ (*ask*) her for a divorce (adapted from Art51).

Original sentence: She said that Mr Chubb . . . had been frightened of how his wife *would react* when he *asked* for a divorce (Art51).

❖ Q28: Witnesses told the hearing that Mrs Mitchell _____ (*gather*) in the washing while her husband, whom she _____ (*hear*) crying, _____ (*burn*) to death (adapted from Art61).

Original sentence: Witnesses told the hearing that Mrs Chubb, who has since emigrated to Australia, *had gathered* in the washing while her husband *burnt* to death (Art61).

❖ Q29: In statements read to the inquest, Mrs Mitchell said she _____ (*be terrified*) that the washing _____ (*will catch*) fire (adapted from Art61).

Original sentence: In statements read to the inquest, she said she *was terrified* that the washing *would catch* fire and set the house alight (Art61).

❖ Q30: The police officer said that Mrs Mitchell _____ (*be*) a community nurse with access to drugs but that there _____ (*be*) no time for a sedative to take effect

and no sign of a struggle or that the body _____ (*be dragged*) into the shed (adapted from Art61).

Original sentence: He said that Mrs Chubb *had been* a community nurse with access to drugs but that there *had been* no time for a sedative to take effect and no sign of a struggle or that a body *had been dragged* into the shed (Art61).

- ❖ Q31: Mrs Mitchell also revealed that her husband's lover _____ (*have*) an abortion, which initially Miss Jones _____ (*refuse*) to admit (adapted from Art51).

Original sentence: Mr Chubb also revealed that his lover *had had* an abortion (Art51).

- ❖ Q32: Mrs Mitchell told detectives that Miss Jones _____ (*be blackmailing*) her husband by threatening to sell her story after he _____ (*try*) to end their affair (adapted from Art61).

Original sentence: Mrs Chubb told detectives that Miss Sparrow *had been blackmailing* her husband by threatening to sell her story after he *tried* to end their affair (Art61).

- ❖ Q33: Then the coroner said that the biggest mystery _____ (*be*) why the shed's doors _____ (*be closed*) (adapted from Art61).

Original sentence: The coroner said that the biggest mystery *was* why Judge Chubb *had closed* the shed's doors (Art61).

- ❖ Q34: In a narrative verdict detectives admitted that the cause of Judge Mitchell's death _____ (*will*) probably never be known but that there _____ (*be*) "no evidence of any third-party involvement" (adapted from Art61).

Original sentence: In a narrative verdict he admitted that the cause of Judge Chubb's death *would* probably never be known but that there *was* "no evidence of any third-party involvement" (Art61).

Appendix 4

QUESTIONNAIRE: Basic facts about respondents

Basic data about respondents who filled in the questionnaire attached in Appendix 2 is provided in Tables I-VI. The total number of respondents is 20 (8 women and 12 men). As illustrated in Table II, most respondents are 18 to 25 years old. The questionnaire was filled in in the spring of 2010, when I studied at the University of Hull. Most of the respondents are therefore students, who at that time studied at Hull University, which is shown in Table V. Besides, 2 university teachers, one designer engineer, one publisher and one retired person were willing to complete the questionnaire. As indicated in Table VI, the respondents concentrate on various fields of study. However, arts and sciences and medicine largely prevail.

Because the University of Hull is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 13 respondents come from North East England. The others come from South West England, North West England, Scotland and London (see Table III). Table IV reveals the number of respondents who have learnt (or have been learning) any foreign languages. The ratio of the respondents who have learnt (or have been learning) a language to those that do not speak any foreign language is 11:9. One respondent out of 11 (who can also speak German) admitted that he knows a few Czech words and hesitantly listed the Czech language under the category OTHER foreign languages.

Table I: Sex of respondents

SEX	woman	man
Number	8	12

Table II: Age of respondents

AGE	less than 18	18-25	25-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	more than 60
Number	0	15	0	0	1	2	2

Table III: Region in which respondents live

LOCATION/REGION	Number
North East	13
North West	1
South West	4
London	1
Scotland	1

Table IV: Foreign languages respondents have learnt (or have been learning)

LANGUAGE	NONE	GER	FRE	SPA	ITA	Other/Czech (?)
Number	9	5	9	1	2	1

Table V: Current occupation of respondents

USER CATEGORY	student	university teacher	publisher	designer engineer	retired
Number	15	2	1	1	1

Table VI: Scientific field on which respondents concentrate

SCIENTIFIC FIELD	Number
arts	7
sciences and medicine	7
technical disciplines	3
economic disciplines	0
social sciences	1
other/geography	1

Resumé

Tato práce poskytuje přehled činitelů, které ovlivňují výběr časů v nepřímé řeči, a poukazuje na to, jakými způsoby se dají časy v nepřímé řeči zkoumat v praxi. Za tímto účelem jsem vypracovala dotazník (viz Appendix 2), který měl odhalit, jak na danou problematiku nahlízejí rodilí mluvčí britské angličtiny. Dotazník obsahuje převážně věty vybrané z korpusu,⁶⁸ v němž jsem analyzovala, jaké časy reportéři nejčastěji volí v nepřímé řeči tvořené dvěma a více závislými větami. Výsledky této analýzy jsem uvedla v práci „Backshift in Indirect Reported Speech,“ na jejímž základě jsou formulovány hypotézy, k jejichž ověření či vyvrácení posloužila data získaná z vyhodnocených dotazníků.

Metoda výzkumu, kterou jsem si v obou pracích zvolila, je založena na zjišťování frekvence výskytu časů v nepřímé řeči. Přitom je třeba mít na paměti, že předminulý čas v nepřímé řeči formálně reprezentuje čas přepřítomný, minulý, nebo předminulý, a minulý čas reprezentuje buď čas minulý, nebo přítomný. Modální slovesa tvoří zvláštní kategorii, protože jejich reprezentace v nepřímé řeči je často závislá na jejich funkci. Další metodou výzkumu, kterou je možné zkoumat problematiku časů v nepřímé řeči, je porovnání časů v přímé a jí odpovídající nepřímé řeči, k čemuž je potřeba dostatečné množství takových dvojic. To je také důvodem, proč je tato metoda vhodná k ověření hypotéz, nikoliv však k jejich formulaci.

Činitelé, které ovlivňují posuny časů v nepřímé řeči, jsou různé povahy. Některé se vztahují k formálnímu charakteru nepřímé řeči, jiné k charakteru tvrzení, o nichž reportéři v nepřímé řeči vypovídají. Principy, které pojednávají o platnosti, pravdivosti, nepravdivosti, stáří nebo kontextu výpovědi v nepřímé řeči, jsou kromě výše zmíněných hypotéz porovnány s výsledky získanými z vyhodnocených dotazníků. Tyto principy se především týkají situací, v nichž k posunu časů v nepřímé řeči dojít může, ale nemusí. V dotazníku se tyto principy vztahují na nepřímou řeč, která má tvar jedné závislé věty.

Nepřímá řeč, kterou se v práci zabývám, má tedy tvar vedlejší věty, která je uvozená slovesem v minulém nebo předminulém čase. Přitom, jak naznačuji výše, se jedná o struktury, které jsou tvořeny buď jednou závislou větou, nebo více závislými větami. Dotazník, v kterém je celkem 34 vět, obsahuje 16 vět s nepřímou řečí ve tvaru jedné závislé věty a 18 vět, v nichž je nepřímá řeč tvořena složitějšími konstrukcemi. Způsob,

⁶⁸ Tento korpus je sestavený z vět článků publikovaných v novinách *The London Times* uveřejněných na internetu.

jakým byl dotazník vypracovaný, odpovídá povaze principů, které popisují, za jakých podmínek je či není nutné daný čas posunout. Respondenti mohli vybírat z několika možností, z nichž měli čísla 1-3 vyjádřit, které časy, popř. sekvence časů, upřednostňují. Přitom bylo možné označit stejným číslem více možností. Tato situace je znázorněna v příkladě /1/, v němž respondent označil všechny možnosti nejvyšším preferenčním číslem. Tímto způsobem se dá odhalit, jaké varianty respondenti preferují. Počet možností je u jednotlivých vět různý.

/1/ Imaginary situation for Q15 - Q16: Peter Brown is not still determined to stay in politics.

Yesterday Peter Brown **confirmed** at the conference that he _____ (*be considering*) staying in politics (Q15) (adapted from Art29).⁶⁹ 1 | 2 | 3

a) is considering 1 b) was considering 1 c) had been considering 1

Podobně jako věta /1/ je většina vět v dotazníku zasazena do kontextu, který měl respondentům usnadnit rozhodování. Bylo ale zjištěno, že respondenti mohou jednotlivé věty navzdory kontextu interpretovat různě. Při vyhodnocení dotazníku, který vyplnilo 20 respondentů,⁷⁰ jsem se zaměřila na ty možnosti, které respondenti označili preferenčními čísly 1 a 2.

Nejprve jsem analyzovala odpovědi u vět s jednou závislou větou, které jsem rozdělila podle povahy výpovědí v nepřímé řeči. Bylo zjištěno, že u tvrzení, která mohou být stále platná v době, kdy o nich reportér vypovídá, jednotliví respondenti označili preferenčním číslem 1 různé možnosti, jejichž celkový počet je přibližně stejný. To odpovídá i výpovědi v příkladě /1/, v němž stejný počet respondentů dalo přednost přítomnému, minulému i předminulému času (viz Table A 18 na str. 73). Podle principu, který o posunech časů v takových tvrzeních pojednává, reportéři volí přítomný čas častěji než minulý. Je to však otázka volby, což se shoduje s výsledky výzkumu.

⁶⁹ Zkratka Q15 vyjadřuje, že se jedná o větu číslo 15 z dotazníku. Zkratka Art29 znamená, že se jedná o větu z novinového článku číslo 29. Toto číslo odpovídá číslování článků z novin *The London Times* uvedených na str. 165.

⁷⁰ Základní informace o respondentech, kteří vyplnili dotazník, najdete v příloze 4 (viz Appendix 4).

V dalším principu se tvrdí, že ve výpovědích, které jsou vždy pravdivé, dávají reportéři přednost přítomnému času před minulým, což výsledky výzkumu potvrdili. Respondenti ale také poměrně často volili přítomný čas ve výpovědích, které jsou obecně nepravdivé. To platí pro příklad /2/, v němž 8 respondentů dalo přednost přítomnému času a 11 respondentů času minulému (viz Table A 23 na str. 79). V obou případech uvádím pouze ty možnosti, které respondenti označili preferenčním číslem 1.

/2/ However, the ancients **claimed** that the Sun _____ (*move*) around the Earth (Q4) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1028).

- a) moves b) moved c) had moved

Na rozdíl od předchozích principů čtvrtý princip určuje, kdy je posun časů nezbytný. Jedná se o tvrzení, která původní mluvčí vyslovili dlouho před tím, než o nich reportéři vypověděli. Tak je tomu i v příkladě /3/, v němž však chybí informace o tom, kdy byla věta vyřčena. Respondent tedy může považovat reportéra výpovědi v příkladě /3/ za Sokratova současníka a upřednostnit přítomný čas před minulým. Výsledky ukázaly, že 13 respondentů dává přednost minulému času. Co se ale týče možností, které respondenti označili preferenčními čísly 1 a 2, 12 jich volí čas přítomný (viz Table A 25 na str. 82).

/3/ Socrates **said** that he _____ (*be*) a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world (Q2) (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1027).

- a) is b) was c) had been

V předchozím příkladě se ukazuje, že kontext má velký vliv na výběr časů v nepřímé řeči, což je v práci doloženo dalšími příklady. Způsob, jakým je kontext definovaný, a výsledky s tím spojené naznačují, že v tvrzeních o událostech, které se jasně odehrály před tím, než o nich reportér vypovídal, respondenti upřednostňují jak minulý, tak předminulý čas. Pokud to však úplně jasné není a situace v nepřímé řeči by mohla být i aktuální v době, kdy o ní reportér vypovídal, respondenti volí spíše čas minulý. Tak je tomu například ve větě /4/, což je doloženo tabulkou Table A 26 na str. 84.

/4/ Situation: Said after the suicide bombing in July 2008.

Military officials **said** that many innocent children _____ (*be*) among the dead (Q7) (adapted from Art27).

a) are b) were c) had been

S kontextem jsou také spojené výpovědi obsahující příslovečná určení času, která specifikují, kdy se daná událost odehrála. I když se většina hypotéz týká především nepřímé řeči tvořené dvěma a více závislými větami, hypotéza č. 4 se týká obou konstrukcí. V této hypotéze se tvrdí, že předminulý čas je poměrně častý v nepřímé řeči s příslovečným určením času. Celkem čtyři věty s nepřímou řečí tuto hypotézu potvrzují. V každé z nich alespoň 11 respondentů upřednostňuje předminulý čas.

Ostatní hypotézy, jichž je celkem 8, se týkají frekvence minulého a předminulého času v závislosti na druhu vedlejších vět nebo gramatických či sémantických vlastností sloves, které se v nepřímé řeči vyskytují. Protože je počet principů a hypotéz poměrně velký, není možné všechny hypotézy uspokojivě ověřit či vyvrátit. To se týká hlavně hypotézy č. 1, v níž se tvrdí, že poměr minulého času ku předminulému v předmětných větách, které závisejí na větě uvozovací, je stejný jako poměr těchto časů v předmětných větách závislých na jiných větách v nepřímé řeči. Tuto skutečnost je možné zkoumat pouze ve větě /5/.

/5/ Imaginary situation for Q18 - Q23: On 10th January 2010 there was a car accident. The car exploded when passing through a tunnel in France. There were two victims: Mr and Mrs Altman. Two days later all witnesses were questioned and the policemen found out that before the accident somebody placed a bomb in the car. The witnesses are Mr Richardson (a doctor), Mr and Mrs Smith (who saw the accident) and Mr Bellfield (Mr Altman's friend).

On the day of the accident Dr Richardson **told** witnesses that he _____ (*hope*) they _____ (*not move*) the bodies (Q22) (adapted from Art102).
[hopes, hoped, had hoped | do not move, did not move, had not moved]

I když není možné hypotézu č. 1 uspokojivě ověřit, můžeme příklad /5/ využít ke zkoumání sekvencí časů, kterým respondenti dávají přednost. V tomto příkladě respondenti nejčastěji označili preferenčními čísly 1 a 2 sekvence, v nichž se vyskytují stejné časy, a sekvenci, v nichž první čas je minulý a druhý předminulý. Tato sekvence je v souladu

s kontextem, který je uvedený v příkladě /5/. Navíc je první sloveso v nepřímé řeči sloveso uvozovací.

Tímto způsobem jsem ověřovala hypotézu č. 9, která pojednává o sledu časů v nepřímé řeči. Tvrdí se v ní, že slovesa v minulém čase, jež se vyskytují v nepřímé řeči se slovesy v předminulém čase, která nejsou v první větě nepřímé řeči, mají jisté gramatické či sématické vlastnosti nebo se vyskytují v určitém druhu vedlejších vět. Bylo zjištěno, že kromě sledu stejných časů respondenti často volí sekvenci, v níž předminulý čas předchází času minulému. Za tímto účelem bylo nutné zohlednit pouze možnosti označené preferenčním číslem 1, protože obecně se ukázalo, že žádná možnost není úplně vyloučená.

Hypotézy č. 2 a 3 se týkají frekvence minulého a předminulého času v časových větách, respektive ve větách, na nichž jsou časové věty závislé. Hypotéza č. 2, která pojednává o tom, že v časových větách se předminulý čas vyskytuje zřídka, byla částečně potvrzena ve větách uvozených spojkami *when* a *while*. Pokud bereme v úvahu pouze možnosti označené preferenčním číslem 1, je v nich poměr minulého času ku času předminulému roven 18:5, respektive 17:7 (viz Table A₁ IV na str. 100). Pro časové věty uvozené spojovacím výrazem *after* toto tvrzení neplatí.

Výsledky dotazníku jednoznačně potvrzují hypotézu č. 3, v níž se říká, že předminulý čas se vyskytuje ve větách, na nichž jsou časové věty závislé, stejně často jako čas minulý. Z pěti vět splňujících tyto podmínky, v nichž respondenti měli na výběr mezi minulým a předminulým časem, se v nich minulý čas vyskytl v 42 případech a předminulý čas v 46 případech (viz Table A₁ VI na str. 108).

Hypotéza č. 5 se týká vztažných vět nerestriktivních, u nichž není vždy jasné, zda jejich obsah náleží ke všeobecným znalostem reportéra, jako by tomu mohlo být v příkladě /6/, či nikoliv. Podle tohoto kritéria jsem věty rozdělila a zjistila, že ve dvou případech, v nichž tato skutečnost jasná není, je předminulý čas častější než čas minulý (viz Table A₁ IX na str. 112). Naopak, ve větách jako je /7/ minulý čas dvojnásobně převládá nad předminulým (viz Table A₁ IX na str. 112).

/6/ Mrs Mitchell **told** officers that her husband, who _____ (*work*) as a judge for 5 years, at first _____ (*refuse*) to reveal the young woman's name (Q25).

[worked, had worked | refused, had refused]

/7/ Later Mr Smith **realized** that there _____ (*might be*) another car parked some distance away at the tunnel exit, which subsequently _____ (*drive off*) (Q23) (adapted from Art102).

[might be, might have been | drove off, had driven off]

Hypotézy č. 6-8 pojednávají o gramatických a sémantických vlastnostech sloves. Všechny tři hypotézy byly vyvráceny, poněvadž respondenti poměrně často dali přednost předminulému času před minulým ve větách se slovesem *be*, slovesy v trpném rodě a průběhovém čase. To je znázorněno v tabulkách Table A₁ XI, Table A₁ XIII a Table A₁ XIV on str. 117, 122 a 124.

V posledním bodě práce jsem se věnovala modálním slovesům *might* a *will*, která byla v tomto tvaru uvedena kurzívou v závorce za mezerou, již měli respondenti doplnit nejvhodnějším tvarem slovesa. Co se týče *might*, respondenti nejčastěji volili tvar *might have been* (viz Table A XV na str. 125). V případě *will* volili buď *would* nebo *will* (viz Table A XVII a Table A XVI na str. 126).

Jednou z metod výzkumu dané problematiky je tedy zjišťování, jaké časy respondenti upřednostňují. Tato metoda je vhodná především k formulaci hypotéz. Pro jejich ověřování je možné využít jiné metody, např. nahrávky, na nichž mluvčí mají za úkol převyprávět nějaký příběh, nebo dotazníky, v nichž mají respondenti k dispozici původní výpověď a část uvozovací věty. V každém případě je však nutné dostatečně popsat kontext, v němž jsou věty zasazeny.

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ANOTACE

Jméno a příjmení: Bc. Irena Selucká
Katedra: Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky
Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Markéta Janebová, PhD.
Rok obhajoby: 2011

Název práce: Tense Choice in Indirect Speech
Název práce v češtině: Výběr časů v nepřímé řeči

Klíčová slova: nepřímá řeč, výběr časů, uvozovací slovesa, prvky deixe, povinné a nepovinné posunování časů, principy, hypotézy, dotazník

Anotace: Práce poskytuje přehled činitelů, které ovlivňují výběr časů v nepřímé řeči, a poukazuje na to, jak je možné danou problematiku zkoumat v praxi dotazníkovou metodou. Výsledky vyhodnocených dotazníků, které vyplnili rodilí mluvčí britské angličtiny, slouží k ověření a vyvrácení hypotéz, jež pojednávají o výběru časů v nepřímé řeči, která se skládá ze dvou a více závislých vět, a k porovnání s principy, jež určují, kdy může, ne však nutně, dojít k posunu časů v nepřímé řeči, která má tvar jedné závislé věty.

Klíčová slova v angličtině: indirect speech, tense choice, reporting verbs, deictic phenomena, optional and obligatory backshifting, principles, hypotheses, questionnaire

Anotace v angličtině: The study provides an overview of factors that have an impact on tense choice in indirect speech and shows how the issue can be studied in practice with the help of questionnaires. The results obtained from the questionnaires, filled in by native speakers of British English, are confronted with hypotheses about tense choice in indirect speech consisting of two or more dependent clauses and with principles of optional backshifting governing tense choice in indirect speech in the form of one dependent clause.

Rozsah práce: 169 748 znaků (bez mezer)
Jazyk práce: angličtina