

Henna Makkonen-Craig

## Speech Quotations in Newspapers as a Form of Language Use<sup>1</sup>

### 0. Goals and structure of the paper

The primary purpose of this paper is to clarify the nature of speech quotations in newspaper texts, especially as a linguist's object of inquiry. I will be seeking answers to the following questions: What are speech quotations like as a form of language use? What is their context in newspaper writing? And in particular: What are speech quotations like in Finnish journalistic texts? How are they demarcated, and what vernacular cues are used? More generally, this paper deals with two other questions: the relationship between spoken and written language, and the study of linguistically heterogeneous material.

The increased use of speech quotations in newspaper texts is one part of a larger phenomenon, conversationalization of the written media. In order to understand the cultural and journalistic context of speech quotations, some background needs to be provided regarding newspaper language and spoken and written Finnish.

The article has eight sections. Section 1 approaches the general issue of newspaper texts as a text-oriented linguist's data. This is followed by a discussion of data in Section 2. Section 3 offers an

---

<sup>1</sup> An early version of this paper was presented at the SKY workshop *New Trends in Variationist Linguistics: From Attitudes to Grammar* in Hailuoto on August 15, 1998. In particular, I would like to thank Pirkko Nuolijärvi, Jyrki Kalliokoski, Outi Paloposki and Ulla Tuomarla for their comments on this paper, and Andrew Chesterman for language advice. I am also very grateful to the two anonymous referees for their valuable insights and suggestions.

excursion into the relationship between spoken and written Finnish; it shows that in this respect Finnish is similar to other languages but that there are nevertheless some Finnish peculiarities. (These issues were raised in informal discussions by several non-Finnish participants in the Hailuoto workshop. Readers who are already familiar with the Finnish language and the social history of written Finnish may wish to proceed directly to the next section.)

The main issues of this paper will be dealt in Sections 4 to 7. Section 4 sheds light on the diachronic context of speech quotations, by briefly discussing changes in newspaper language. The remaining sections explore more specifically the speech quotations. The use of non-standard grammar (i.e. vernacular features as opposed to standard features) in speech quotations is discussed in Section 5; the issue of demarcation in Section 6; and the ‘reality’ of speech quotations in Section 7. The most important findings are then summarized in Section 8. The paper forms part of my doctoral research.<sup>2</sup>

## **1. Newspaper texts as text-oriented linguist’s data**

Newspaper texts are a fascinating object of study for a linguist interested in language variation and use, texts, rhetoric, and the relationship between language and society. Newspapers reflect fashions of the era, if this does not conflict with their institutional traditions and current profile. However, newspapers may also impose new forms of linguistic use.

Firstly, newspapers are a common source of data for lexicography and other forms of linguistic description. Thus the common practice of today is in one form or another reflected in tomorrow’s description of the language. Secondly, a perceived

---

<sup>2</sup> My dissertation deals with dialogue-like aspects of story-telling in Finnish newspaper writing. (The linguistic analyses focus on the vernacular-like, definite or semi-definite use of finite verb forms that are traditionally named, in part misleadingly, ‘passive’ in the description of Finnish.)

change of linguistic practice may affect language planning (*kielenhuolto, språkvård*) in general. This is the case in Finland, where language-planning is a state-sponsored activity (see <http://www.domlang.fi>). The third aspect is less obvious: do newspapers have an impact on individual readers' language, and their linguistic attitudes? By showing linguistic variation that exists in language, and by giving new meanings to variation, newspapers probably increase their readers' linguistic awareness and sensitivity. By repeatedly publishing a linguistic innovation, quality newspapers can promote or legitimise new forms of language use. The whole picture is complex. It is possible that some readers, and also some speech communities, have a closer relationship to their newspapers than others.<sup>3</sup>

If we are interested in language use (*parole*) and language users, and if we want to understand and explain linguistic phenomena, we should be aware of the larger context of linguistic features. When newspaper texts are studied, it is essential to have the whole article (including pictures, headlines, original graphics, etc.) available, so that one can evaluate linguistic features in respect to the whole text and its genre. The researcher should also be aware of the social practices involved in constructing texts, and of the variety of purposes that texts (and writers) may have. To bring in relevant and valid explanation, rather than mere description, specialist information may be required (Bhatia 1993: 34–36), and there are two main ways of gaining it. The linguist may acquaint him/herself with the literature of the field, e.g. journalism, as I have done for the purposes of this study; or the linguist may double-check

---

<sup>3</sup> According to various measures, Finns are among the top 'consumers' of journalistic texts in the world (e.g. Jyrkiäinen & Savisaari 1994: 54). Tommila (1994: 51) points out two interesting national specialities in the way newspapers are 'consumed' in Finland. Finnish newspapers are generally subscribed to by standing order, and they are delivered to the subscriber's home in early hours of the morning. Newspapers, indeed, have an important role to play in the daily routine of most Finns, including young Finns.

his/her most essential findings and interpretations with a specialist informant (e.g. Makkonen-Craig 1996). However, good specialist informants are notoriously hard to find (for some criteria, see Bhatia 1993: 35–36). It is very rarely the case that the linguist is also a practising professional in more than one field. In any case, we need the relevant data, and we cannot ignore language users, time, nor place. Naturally, not all of these factors are equally relevant to every study.

## 2. Data

### 2.1. Core data

The data of this paper come from large and medium-sized Finnish newspapers. The following nine dailies from various regions were included in the core data: *Helsingin Sanomat* (the largest national newspaper), *Lapin Kansa*, *Kaleva*, *Ilkka*, *Keskisuomalainen*, *Savon Sanomat*, *Karjalainen*, *Aamulehti*, and *Turun Sanomat*. Also both evening papers, *Iltä-Sanomat* and *Iltalehti*, were studied. The sample comprises the issues of June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1997, totalling 1413 articles. Advertisements, comic strips, death notices and readers' letters to the editor were excluded from the study. In spite of this limitation, the material proved rather heterogeneous, so it was important to introduce more specific categories. This was done bearing the following in mind: firstly, the grouping should be helpful in the analysis of speech quotations, i.e. it should not blur or conceal the differences between genres in respect to speech quotations; secondly, the grouping should be at least roughly compatible with *journalistic genres*, as recognized in journalistic literature<sup>4</sup>; and

---

<sup>4</sup> The question of *genre* is complex and much debated (e.g. Ridell 1994 and references therein). I refer to *journalistic genres* as they are understood in Kuutti (1994: 36). They are (implicit) agreements or signals on what readers can expect from texts (*ibid.*). The names and boundaries of journalistic genres vary from country to country and sometimes even amongst newspapers within the same country.

thirdly, the grouping should remain as simple as possible.

Keeping these three points in mind, the articles were divided into the following eight groups: (1) brief news items (*uutispala*), (2) major news articles (*uutinen*), news commentaries (*taustajuttu*, *uutiskommentti*), and feature articles (*reportaasi*), (3) editorials, (4) humorous essays (*pakina*), (5) columns, (6) cultural reviews (e.g. arts, books, entertainment), (7) interviews and opinion polls, and (8) miscellaneous texts, such as weather and pollen forecasts, horoscopes, recipes, obituaries, and racing tips. The exact numbers of texts in each group are given in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Core Data

Grouping of journalistic genres	No. of texts	Speech quotations
1) Brief news items	431	Found, but not common.
2) Major news articles, news commentaries, and feature articles	783	Very common.
3) Editorials	21	No occurrences.
4) Humorous essays	8	Found, but not common.
5) Columns	39	Found, but not common.
6) Cultural reviews	67	Found, but not common.
7) Interviews and opinion polls	9	The norm.
8) Miscellaneous (heterogeneous group)	55	Found, but not common.
Total	1413	

The grouping proved illustrative. It showed that speech quotations were rare in most categories. For example, only 4 per cent of brief news items and none of the editorials of the data included

a speech quotation. In contrast, speech quotations were always present in the category of *interviews and opinion polls* (this is obvious). They were also very common in the category of *major news articles, news commentaries, and feature articles*; approximately 53 per cent of these articles involved one speech quotation or more. This reflects the fact that conversations, either face to face or on the phone, are common forms of source material for these kinds of articles. The figure was particularly high for evening papers (75 and 65 %) and the biggest national paper *Helsingin Sanomat* (59 %).<sup>5</sup> It seems that these papers favour a mimetic strategy in writing more than the other newspapers in this study. The differences are seen in the way the reporter (story-teller) treats the interviewees' (or someone else's) speech. A full mimetic strategy results in explicit speech quotations, while the diegetic strategy results in other, less mimicking choices, e.g. use of indirect speech.<sup>6</sup>

## 2.2. Additional data

To carry out a more detailed analysis of vernacular features, it was necessary to gather additional data. I collected data (selected articles) mainly from *Helsingin Sanomat*, especially from 1998 and 1999.

Section 4 of the present paper, discussing changes in newspaper language, is based on observations from older data from issues of

---

<sup>5</sup> In some respects, *Helsingin Sanomat* has a leading position among the Finnish dailies in applying new journalistic trends. Presently, journalistic models come to Finland largely from Britain and America. As a curiosity, I analysed one issue of the *Guardian Weekly*, and found that as many as 84 % of its articles included one speech quotation or more.

<sup>6</sup> The two ways of expression, *mimesis* and *diegesis*, were already noted in Plato's *The Republic*. In diegesis, 'the poet is speaking in his own person', while in mimesis he proceeds 'by way of imitation' (*TR* 393–394 [appr. 400 BC]).

*Helsingin Sanomat* and its predecessor *Päivälehti* in 1890's, 1940's and 1990's.

### **3. The relationship between spoken and written varieties of Finnish**

Regarding variation, the history of the Finnish language can be roughly divided into four or five phases, as discussed below in 3.1 and 3.2. In contrast to many other European countries, the era of distinct regional and local dialects in Finland has lasted for a remarkably long time. Dialect maintenance has been facilitated by more than one factor. Firstly, settlements have been rather scattered in Finland. Despite urbanization, Finnish society was a rural society for a long time. Secondly, although the Finnish language has a longer written history, standard Finnish (*yleiskieli*) was not developed until 1800's. This means that standard Finnish and the spoken vernaculars have not had much time to influence each other. Both have important roles in present-day Finnish society.

#### **3.1. From oral to written culture**

During the Middle Ages, Finnish was almost exclusively a spoken language, a peasants' language which had various regional and local dialects. The local intelligentsia received their education mostly outside Finland, in Latin, German, or Swedish. The first texts known to be written in Finnish date from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. With some exceptions, early written works in the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were mostly translations and comprised mainly religious genres, such as hymns and the Bible, and legal texts. The language of most early pieces of writing was based on south-western and western dialects, reflecting the linguistic background of their educated authors.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Finland was an autonomous grand duchy within Czarist Russia, larger quantities and a greater variety of texts were written in Finnish, including the national epic *Kalevala* (1835), a compilation of edited folklore; linguistically the *Kalevala*

has a strong flavour of eastern dialects. From the 1860's onwards in particular, Finland enjoyed a liberalization of policies and changed in many ways as a society (Klinge 1981: 72 ff.). The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was also a major linguistic turning-point in the history of the Finnish language and literature: it was the period when Finnish literary culture arose and when standard Finnish became established. The first novel in Finnish, *Seitsemän veljestä* (*Seven brothers*) by Aleksis Kivi, was published in 1870. By the end of the century Finnish was in increasingly active use by a number of writers, including Juhani Aho and Minna Canth, who had a more eastern dialectal background. Compared with Kivi's style, their language was more distinct from the biblical style of those days (e.g. Häkkinen 1994: 149), and closer to vernacular style.

Fennoman academics took a special interest in the Finnish language with the aim of developing standard Finnish, an enriched variety which could meet the demands of language users in various professional fields, including science and administration. Their project was laborious and many decisions had to be made that were later of great consequence to language users. Of particular importance was the decision that standard Finnish should be a compromise of major regional dialects, at the levels of lexicon, syntax, morphology and phonology – unlike most other European standard varieties. Up to that time most written documents had a flavour of south-western and western dialects. This was a rough base for the new standard language, which was then deliberately enriched by features from eastern dialects. In addition, a large amount of new vocabulary had to be formed in fields of education, culture, science, medicine, law, etc. Old Swedish-sounding words were often replaced by Finnish neologisms. New words were either derived or combined, making full use of existing sources (Hakulinen 1979: 426 ff., also Hakulinen 1961). Many of the Swedish-speaking upper-class switched to speaking standard Finnish, and promoted the Finnish language in this way (Paunonen 1995[1982]: 6 ff., 17 ff.).

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, school education finally became compulsory in Finland; gradually, the literacy of Finnish speakers

rose to a high level. Regional and local dialects continued to be used in everyday contexts, in particular by less-educated speakers, while standard Finnish became the prestige variety in schooling and in public forums in general.

A more recent major linguistic change was seen in the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's, when internal migration increased considerably in two waves, and speakers of various regional dialects came into contact more intensely than ever before. In the 1940's, 400 000 people were evacuated from south-eastern Finland to other parts owing to war (e.g. Nuolijärvi 1999: 23). The internal immigration in the 1950's and 1960's flowed in a rather different direction: Finns moved from the countryside into big towns and cities where there was employment in industry. Finland became more urbanized.

It is evident that urban life sets new requirements for language use (Nuolijärvi 1990). Gradually the variation in spoken Finnish shifted from predominantly dialectal variation to a combination of dialectal and diatypic variation, i.e. both regional variation and situational, register-dependant variation became meaningful (*ibid.*). At the same time, standard Finnish retained its prestige: for a long period it was almost the sole variety of Finnish in the public forums, both in written and spoken media, e.g. in radio, television, and newspapers. In his book of Finnish literary history, Laitinen (1970: 210) mentions two linguistic changes that took place in Finnish prose writing during this time: the increased use of spoken language [i.e. vernacular features], and freer sentence patterns (*entistä vapaampi lauseenmuodostus*).<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> One of the referees pointed out that Laitinen seems to have confused two terms, *lause* (clause, or syntactic sentence) and *virke* (orthographic sentence). I would like to add that this confusion is widespread. In fact, there has been a deliberate change of terminology: *virke* is not generally used anymore in syntactic descriptions of Finnish (e.g. Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979; Vilkuna 1996). However, in discourse studies, focusing on written material, it is very useful to distinguish between the two concepts.

### 3.2. Vernaculars challenge standard Finnish

Currently, near the turn of the millennium, there is a wide range of linguistic variation in Finnish which baffles many language users, reports Nuolijärvi (1990). Two opposing pressures can be seen: assimilation and dissimilation. The most stigmatized or salient features of local/regional dialects are disappearing, at least to some extent, and at the same time the linguistic community is splitting more than ever. (Ibid.) In addition to the relatively simple non-linguistic variants, e.g. age, sex and region of language users, present-day language varies in accordance with perceived situation or genre, discourse topic, and role or status of speaker(s).

Finns have also split into several groups in their attitudes towards standard Finnish, especially as a spoken medium. Paananen's research into attitudes of radio listeners illustrates this point clearly (Paananen 1996). Furthermore, it seems that standard Finnish is finally being challenged by vernaculars in public forums: it is no longer the only variety to be used on television and radio, in university lectures, etc. I believe this change is called upon, or supported, by the need for real or simulated dialogue, as many previously monologue contexts have been replaced by dialogue contexts. What has taken place in Finland is certainly not uniquely a Finnish phenomenon. Fowler (1991) and Fairclough (1994) speak of the *conversationalization* of public discourse in Britain and the USA, and similar developments have also been reported elsewhere, cf. *intimising* in Sweden (Mårtensson 1988), and *Bulevardisierung* in Germany (Biere 1998; Muckenhaupt 1998). Conversationalization and the arrival of vernacular features in newspaper writing is only one part of a general relaxation of norms in 20<sup>th</sup> century Finnish society: there has been a general 'formality drop' in cultural behaviour, e.g. in the dress code. In Sweden this development is even more evident (Löfgren 1988).

Conversationalization shifts boundaries between public and private discourse orders on one hand, and between written and spoken discourse practices on the other hand (Fairclough 1994: 260

ff.). Vernacular grammar, among other things, comes into the arena. Conversationalized discourse on television, in the newspapers and in other public forums makes use of the discursive (and linguistic) practices of 'ordinary' life. In this way conversationalization may enhance the prestige of spoken language in the media. On the whole, this can be seen as a potentially democratic development, but it also involves several problematic and questionable factors as pointed out by Fairclough (*ibid.*).

The change of prestige and the shift from monologue to dialogue has had an interesting outcome in written texts. Various modern-day authors of Finnish fiction, e.g. Kalle Päätalo (1919-), make use of vernacular expressions. In general, the most attractive context for vernacular style is dialogue, but there are exceptions too, such as Rosa Liksom's (1958-) story-telling, which is often in a distinctly northern non-standard variety. It should be noted, though, that authors such as Juhani Aho (1861-1921) used some (less distinctive) dialect markers in their dialogues already a century ago. Väinö Linna's (1920-1992) *Tuntematon sotilas* (*Unknown Soldier*) (1954) was the first novel built on strongly dialect-flavoured dialogue between a number of characters who represented various regions of Finland. His novel was received by linguists and non-linguists with both praise and disapproval (Ruoppila 1981).<sup>8</sup>

Vernacular features are also present in subtitles of many films, both in subtitles for audibly-impaired watchers (Rainò 1997) and in translated subtitles of foreign films. Newspapers offer a longer perspective to vernacular usage and are therefore a particularly interesting field for research. Linguistic variation has become an important resource for expressiveness in several journalistic genres, e.g. feature articles, cultural reviews, and humorous essays. The journalistic context of vernacular style is twofold. Firstly, vernacular features appear in material that is explicitly marked as an

---

<sup>8</sup> For further discussion of dialect speech in Finnish fiction, see Kalliokoski (1998) and references therein.

interviewee's discourse; this is discussed further in the present paper. Secondly, vernacular features can also be found in the reporter's discourse in certain genres, e.g. in feature articles and humorous essays. Vernacular features are also common in young people's columns and paid advertisements.

#### 4. Newspaper language under change

Like all language use, also newspaper writing changes over time, and in several respects. First of all, the practice of constructing newspaper texts has changed, in part owing to technological advances, and this is reflected in the presentation of papers. Perhaps the most striking novelty within the past hundred years was the arrival of pictures. A more recent technological advancement is the tape recorder, which has facilitated more detailed and precise studying of interview material. In turn, this may have encouraged use of direct speech in journalism, and later the use of vernacular cues in some speech quotations. The present practice is in stark contrast to newspapers 100 years ago, where even indirect speech was rare (Kalliokoski 1995: 61). Although a mimetic text strategy in newspaper writing has become more popular, a diegetic strategy prevails in many contexts. Both have a strong position these days.

Secondly, there have been various changes concerning journalistic genres. Finnish newspapers from 100 and even 50 years ago had fewer, different, and perhaps even less clearly definable journalistic genres than those of today. The *reportaasi*, a large feature article, is a new genre. News articles have been split into news articles proper, which contain the 'objective' content, and accompanying news commentaries, which contain evaluations and background information. Furthermore, current news articles have very specific structural constraints: information is structured so that most important facts are presented at the beginning and the least important details at the end of the texts. The early examples of news articles appear from a present reader's perspective to be similar to an editorial, a column, or even a humorous essay (Kalliokoski 1995:

51), or to a letter.

Thirdly, language, and particularly language use, has changed over the years. The orthography, morphology and syntax of Finnish was relatively fixed by the end of the 1800's. Texts from 50 years ago display only occasional examples of archaic or 'out-dated' points of language, grammar and lexicon, as seen in example (1). (The English translation of the example has been kept structurally close to the original in order to demonstrate the linguistic points discussed. This results in clumsiness; additional commas are used to improve readability.)

- (1) Ryöstäjälle kävi nolosti (*Helsingin Sanomat* 13.9.1946)  
 Silminnäköijän kertoman mukaan **tapahui** eilen iltapäivällä noin klo 16.20 aikaan Fredrikinkatu 43 kohdalla poikkeuksellisesti päätynyt ryöstöyritys. Eräs naishenkilö meni mainitun talon porraskäytävään kainalossaan isonpuoleinen paketti huomaamatta, että muudan mies pujahti hänen jälkeensä. Porttikäytävässä **syöksyi** mies sitten yllättäen naisen kimppuun, mutta tämä vaistosi viime hetkessä vaaran ja käännähti syrjään, jolloin sekä hän että ryöstäjä kaatuivat maahan. Tällöin **onnistui** naisen iskeä miestä päähän paketillaan, jossa ilmeisestikin oli joku kova esine, sillä ryöstäjä menetti tajuntansa jääden makaamaan käytävään naisen poistuessa voittajana paikalta.

[Translation: Mugger got mortified (The *Helsingin Sanomat* 13.9.46) According to what has been told by an eye-witness, (there) **took place** yesterday afternoon, approximately at 16.20, at Fredrik's Street 43, an exceptionally ended attempt of mugging. A certain female person went to the hallway of the mentioned building, carrying a large kind of parcel, without noticing that one man slipped in after her. In the archway **charged** the man then, unexpectedly, into the woman, but this ('she') sensed in the last minute the danger and turned away, and both she and the mugger fell to the ground. At this moment, **managed** the woman to hit the man on the head with her parcel, in which (there) apparently was some hard object, for the mugger lost his consciousness, remaining lying in the archway, the woman withdrawing as the victor from the scene.]

A good example of 'passé' syntax is the use of a reversed word-order after a sentence-initial adverb, where direct word-order

would be used in present-day writing; the relevant points are in bold.<sup>9</sup> The same example illustrates another difference at sentence level. Non-finite verb forms (II inf. instruct., II inf. iness.) were used at the end of the article for expressing successive activity (in respect to a finite verb). In good present-day usage several finite verbs would be used, along with a coordinative conjunct *ja* 'and'. This would result in shorter sentences.

However, much more striking than different uses of certain grammatical structures are the changes at a deeper level of expression – pragmatic and textual – regarding *how* everything is presented, e.g. how people are referred to, how the source of information (the witness) is brought forth, how the story proceeds, which details are described, and what is worth reporting in the first place. The event described in example (1) may not be as sensational and newsworthy in today's more gender-equal (and violent?) society, or it may be reported in a different forum, in the evening papers or in sensational periodicals. The eye-witness is rarely the exclusive source of information in present-day newspapers; reference has to be made to other more reliable sources, too, such as the police.

It is also common in present newspaper writing that interviewees are given more identity in the story: their name is mentioned (and sometimes other attributes such as age and position), their picture may be shown, and they are given a 'voice', e.g. their speech is at least occasionally presented in a separate slot, in a speech quotation. The present conventions of reports, at least in the western world, almost require at least one speech quotation for the sake of authenticity and vividness (Harris & Spark 1993: 66).<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> In this context, although not always, reverse word-order may have its model in Swedish. Finnish has had much contact with Swedish, which, along with Finnish, is an official language in Finland.

<sup>10</sup> Besides the direct mode of expression, *oratio directa* (e.g. Penttilä 1963: 648), also several other modes of expression are used in present-day journalism. News articles have proved to be very interesting material for testing hypotheses about various forms of direct and indirect speech (Pietilä 1993). See also Short

Quotations may also be used for precision, for dramatic effectiveness, and for establishing distance between the newspaper and the quoted person (or his/her opinions quoted) (van Dijk 1988: 136). If the language of quotations is not fully standardized, the interviewees' discourse may contain several vernacular features. These features are explored further in Section 5, and some other aspects of speech quotations are studied in Section 6.

### **5. Vernacular cues in speech quotations**

There are two very fundamental types of quotations: those of speech, and those of written material. My core data show that speech quotations are much more common in journalistic texts than explicit quotations of written material, though both materials are commonly used as building-material for articles.

In present-day usage, members of various social groups may be quoted in the newspaper articles, not only politicians, leading economists, and experts of various professional fields. In this way, 'ordinary' people, the experts of daily life, are given more identity and character in the text. It is interesting to observe which linguistic cues or speech markers are given prominence in speech quotations for that purpose.

Fifty years ago, journalists seemed to adhere to standard Finnish (of the time) throughout their texts. No systematic diachronic studies have been made, so it is not easy to pinpoint when non-standard features (vernacular expressions) really appeared in speech quotations for the first time. Even today, vernacular features are not a default value of speech quotations: my data show that a large majority of speech quotations in Finnish newspapers are actually in standard Finnish. It seems that deviations from standard Finnish originated on one hand at the lexical level, e.g. use of vulgar words (e.g. Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 313–315), and on the other hand in

the use of features of morphosyntax and syntax where boundaries between standard and non-standard Finnish are not always clear nor apparent. These features may be infrequent and atypical for the standard variety, and many language-users may not even be aware of the standard norm. (Likewise it is not always easy to determine the level of standardness or formality of a particular lexical item. Different speakers may have differing views, depending on their age or dialect background, personal taste, or other factors.)

In the 1990's standard Finnish is nobody's mother variety. Instead, it is learned mostly at school and from the written word, and its norms are different from the norms of any specific vernacular of Finnish at all linguistic levels.<sup>11</sup> In spite of the differences, all Finnish speakers can recognize a very large number of grammatical and lexical features in standard Finnish which they already know from their vernacular variety. However, there are still plenty of distinctively vernacular features that are not used in standard Finnish. These features could be used effectively in written texts, for simulating vernacular-like speaking. Interestingly, only a handful or so of these features are commonly used in speech quotations in provincial and national newspapers. The list below presents some of the less obvious syntactic colloquialisms, or features of involved or expressive language, that appeared commonly in my data. (Some of these features may be more obvious to a lay reader than others.)

- (a) Unconventional use of punctuation, especially the comma (reflecting prosody rather than following the grammatical rules of punctuation; the practice is common in fiction)
- (b) Sentences without predicate verb ('fragments' of various kinds)
- (c) Colloquial word-order, associated with emotive use of language, e.g. frequent sentence-initial use of the negation-word *ei* 'not'

---

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that Finnish is not unique in this respect amongst the world's languages. The written standard is always different from spoken varieties. The width and depth of differences may vary, however. The differences between varieties are more apparent in morphologically rich languages, such as Finno-Ugric and Slavic languages (Lehečková 1995: 35).

- (d) Clusters of expressive elements, e.g. colloquial passive (see below) together with colloquial word-order, the (often emphatic) particles *kyllä* or *myt*, deictics, e.g. *tässä*, and enclitic particles (suffixes) *-hAn*, *-pA* or *-s*, and interjections, such as *voi* e.g. ‘oh’ (see example 2)
- (e) Use of standard coordinating conjuncts in a manner common to spontaneous speech (as discourse particles?), e.g. sentence-initial *ja* ‘and’, *tai* ‘or’, *(ei)kä* ‘nor’, *mutta* ‘but’, and *eli* ‘that is’
- (f) Use of discourse particles, such as *no* e.g. ‘well’, *joo* e.g. ‘yes’, *hei* and *kuule*, e.g. ‘listen’<sup>12</sup>

In contrast, speech quotations rarely demonstrate cleft-sentences, self-repairs, and repetitions, although all of these elements are common in casual, *impromptu* speech (cf. Tiittula 1992: 68–81).

Being a morphologically rich language, Finnish has a wide variety of morphosyntactic and morphophonological variation. In my data, colloquialisms at these levels were most often related to finite verb forms, personal pronouns, and possessive suffixes. The differences between standard Finnish and vernacular varieties may concern either form or usage, or sometimes both, as discussed below.<sup>13</sup>

- (a) Standard Finnish has distinctive suffixes for active 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, active 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, and the passive: (*minä*) *otin* ‘I took’, (*me*) *otimme* ‘we took’, *otettiin* ‘was taken’; personal pronouns are used for emphasis. This is quite different from the vernacular usage where active forms are mostly accompanied with personal pronouns and emphasis is indicated by other means (e.g. prosody). In many vernacular varieties, the categories of persons and the category of passive seem also somewhat fused: *minä otin* ‘I took’ (see also d), *me otettiin* ‘we took’, *otettiin* ‘was taken, we took, I took, etc.’. The passive form has a ‘flexible’ usage; its meaning is often close to 1<sup>st</sup> person plural or singular, or to something like a second

---

<sup>12</sup> These discourse particles have a variety of context-dependent uses.

<sup>13</sup> The examples are brief for clarity. Consequently, several details and points are ignored.

- person. For a good discussion on the colloquial passive (*P-passiivi*) and the ‘bookish’ passive (*K-passiivi*) see Shore (1986, 1988).
- (b) Standard Finnish has distinctive singular and plural personal suffixes in verbs of 3<sup>rd</sup> person (*Aino laulaa* ‘Aino sings’ vs. *Aino ja Urho laulavat* ‘Aino and Urho sing’) In vernaculars, the shorter verb form (which is assigned to the singular in standard Finnish) is widely used in plural 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as well as in singular 3<sup>rd</sup> person (*Aino ja Urho laulaa* ‘Aino and Urho sing’).
- (c) Standard Finnish has a different set of personal pronouns for human and nonhuman agents in the third person: *hän* ‘s/he’ vs. *he* ‘they (human)’, *se* ‘it’ vs. *ne* ‘they (nonhuman)’. Most vernacular varieties (but not all speakers, however) use the same set of pronouns (*se*, *ne*) for human and nonhuman agents. The other set (*hän*, *he*) is marked, and serves textual, pragmatic and interpersonal purposes. In general, *hän* and *he* draw more attention to the referent than *se* and *ne*, and are used for expressing wonder, flattery, compassion, respect, ignorance, or disapproval, i.e. they show affective meanings; *hän* and *he* are also common pronouns of reported speech in dialects (e.g. Paunonen 1995 [1982]: 165; Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 115 ff.).
- (d) 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns (*minä* ‘I’, *me* ‘we’; *sinä* ‘you Sg.’, *te* ‘you Pl.’) are generally omitted in the subject position in standard Finnish, and are reserved for emphatic usage. The personal suffix in the verb normally indicates the person. In vernaculars, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are commonly used in both emphatic and neutral subject positions. The forms of these pronouns are also known to vary greatly. There is a considerable amount of regional and perhaps social variation in the selection of variants, as seen in the following examples of 1<sup>st</sup> person singular pronouns: *minä* (standard Finnish, also Northern Savo dialect, esp. rural); *mnää* (e.g. Oulu); *mää* (e.g. Jyväskylä, Turku, and Tampere); *mä* (e.g. Helsinki); *mie* (e.g. Joensuu). Different people assign different meanings to the variants, e.g. *minä* may have connotations of ‘sincerety/honesty, sympathy’, ‘bookishness’, or even ‘egotism’.
- (e) Standard Finnish uses possessive suffixes (*-ni*, *-si*, *-nsA/Vn*, *-mme*, *-nne*) with or without the respective genitive form of a personal pronoun. In 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, personal pronoun genitives (*minun* ‘my’, *meidän* ‘our’, and *sinun* ‘your, Sg.’, *teidän* ‘your, Pl.’) are used for emphasis, while in 3<sup>rd</sup> person the genitive of personal pronouns (*hänen* ‘his/her’ and *heidän* ‘their’) are limited to non-reflexive usage. In vernaculars, the genitive forms of personal pronouns are used more commonly, and the possessive suffix is generally omitted if the personal pronoun genitive is present, especially in 1<sup>st</sup> person plural.

Example (2) demonstrates further use of vernacular features in a speech quotation.<sup>14</sup> The text abstract comes from a feature article “Rovastin uusi avioliitto” (‘The Dean’s New Marriage’) published in the Women’s Section in *Karjalainen*.<sup>15</sup> The example indicates that speech quotations do not necessarily represent a homogeneous form of language. Instead, standard and nonstandard variants of the same linguistic elements may appear, and the interplay is often meaningful. The second and third paragraphs, both marked as speech quotations, indicate a subtle change from standard expression to vernacular-like expression, and back to standard expression. Several features of morphosyntax and syntax are used to indicate the change; the relevant points are in bold.

The reporter’s discourse in the first paragraph shows no indication of vernacular cues. Also the interviewee’s first two sentences follow standard usage. The formality (or neutrality) of expression is indicated by the standard (formal) variants of plural 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person verb forms, and also by the ellipsis of first person singular pronouns. The points of ellipsis are marked with the symbol Ø.

- (2) Liisa Suominen teki pitkän surutyön edellisen puolisonsa Niilo Suihkon kuoleman takia. Surutyö ei alkanut kuolemasta, vaan siitä, kun puoliossa todettiin syöpä vuonna -90.
- Viimeiset neljä kuukautta olivat tietoisesti kulkemista kohti kuolemaa: ne olivat raskaat surun ja itkun kuukaudet. Koska me keskustelimme selviksi kaikki, myös kuolemaan liittyvät asiat, Ø pystyin siunaamaan Niilon haudan lepoon. **Ja siitähän** meidän on lähdettävä, että me ei eletä ikuisesti.
- Kun Ø jäin leskeksi, Ø kävin läpi varmaan samat surutyön vaiheet kuin muutkin. Se oli surua, ikävää ja kapinaakin, vaikka Ø kuvittelin **hyväksyväni** kuoleman.

<sup>14</sup> More text examples and their analyses can be found in Makkonen-Craig (1996) (also Makkonen-Craig *in prep.*).

<sup>15</sup> The ‘Dean’ in this article is a female member of the clergy.

[Translation: Liisa Suominen mourned for a long time after her former spouse Niilo Suihko's death. The mourning did not start from the time of [his] death, rather from the moment when cancer was diagnosed in [her] spouse in 1990.

“The last four months were consciously walking towards death: they **were** (formal 3<sup>rd</sup> person pl.) heavy months of grief and crying. Because we **discussed** (formal 1<sup>st</sup> person pl.) everything through, also matters to do with death, **I** (1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun ellipted) was able to commit Niilo to eternal rest. **And, after all, that's what we (generic use) have to start from, (the fact) that we do not live (colloquial 1<sup>st</sup> person pl.) forever.**”

“When **I** (1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun ellipted) became a widow, **I** (1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun ellipted) probably went through all the same phases of mourning as others do. It was grief, longing, and also rebellion, although **I** (1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun ellipted) imagined **that I would accept** (a bookish non-finite verb form) death.”]

The underlined sentence, starting with *ja* ‘and’, is the focus of interest. It has a number of vernacular cues, unlike the sentences before and after it. The stylistic shift is foreshadowed in the final clause of the sentence prior to the *ja*-sentence, where the widowed dean refers to her former husband intimately by first name, instead of speaking more formally of ‘my husband’. What vernacular-like features are used in the linguistically salient sentence of the example? The shift is subtle, and the vernacular cues become more apparent if we compare the sentence with its standard equivalent. The variant (a) below is from the text above, and variant (b) represents neutral, standard usage. Both (a) and (b) have the same propositional content ‘We have to start from the fact that we do not live forever.’

- (a) Ja siitähän meidän on lähdeävä, että me ei eletä ikuisesti.
- (b) Meidän on lähdeävä siitä, että emme elä ikuisesti.

The examples differ at several points. Firstly, the sentence-initial *ja* (‘and’), a co-ordinating conjunct, would not be used in (b) which represents neutral style. In (a), *ja* seems to have a slightly emphatic meaning in addition to its connective/cohesive

function. Secondly, the word-order in (a) can be interpreted as emotionally coloured or expressive. Thirdly, the enclitic particle *-han* is an important vernacular cue, showing that what follows is a common truth or assumption ('after all'). The enclitic particle can also be used in standard Finnish but not as commonly as in some vernaculars. Fourthly, the plural verb forms are distinctively different: *me ei eletä* versus *emme elä*. Finally, the plural 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun is present in (a) but ellipted in (b).

What is the purpose of a vernacular shift in example (2)? It appears that the linguistic shift is connected with a shift in the content and in the interpersonal meaning. The linguistically less formal sentence is more generic. When the widowed dean Liisa Suomalainen speaks of a common truth, applying to all people, including the readers, a more vernacular-like expression is used. This shift is well realized in the meaning of the 1<sup>st</sup> person personal pronoun *me* 'we', which appears twice in the extract. On the first occasion, it refers to the dean and her former husband, but in the following sentence it refers to people in general. In addition, the reader gets an impression that when the dean speaks of the difficult events of her life, she distances herself from the difficult subject linguistically, i.e. she uses standard Finnish while looking back in reflection.

So far I have discussed vernacular cues at the levels of syntax and morphology. These are the most common vernacular cues in speech quotations in Finnish newspapers, apart from those at the lexical level. There are also major differences between standard Finnish and vernacular norms at the level of phonology: consonants and vowels may be omitted or added word-finally, inside the word, and sometimes even at the beginning of the word (in the case of loan words). Such deviations from standard Finnish occur relatively rarely in speech quotations in newspaper texts, although the Finnish spelling system would be ideal for showing variation at this level. My impression is that vernacular cues at the level of phonology are reserved for rather specific purposes; they are much more marked and more salient in written speech quotations than in speech. The

issue needs further investigation.

Most variational studies have focused on phonology and/or morphology (e.g. NPME 1976). However, there is a need to explain variation at textual and syntactic levels, and to consider the interplay of non-standard and standard features (e.g. Lappalainen 1999). Both points are of relevance when we look at speech quotations: conceptual tools are needed that can be applied at all linguistic levels, and to heterogeneous linguistic material, such as newspaper texts. What seems a somewhat arbitrary variation at first sight may in fact be motivated variation at some specific level.

## 6. Demarcation of speech quotations, and reporter ‘voice’

Section 5 focused on vernacular features of speech quotations. This section examines a more textual aspect of speech quotations, namely their demarcation, and the question of the reporter’s role as a writer. Let us take two provincial newspapers, *Karjalainen* (from Joensuu, Eastern Finland) and *Kaleva* (from Oulu, Northern Finland) as examples. They demonstrate two distinct profiles. *Karjalainen* appears to follow a diegetic tradition, whereas *Kaleva* favours more mimetic writing in which the voices of the interviewees and the reporter (story-teller) are more clearly demarcated, as discussed below.

Both *Karjalainen* and *Kaleva* contain a variety of genres and a total of well over 100 articles in each issue. The most fruitful ground for speech quotations was found, as expected, in long articles, representing journalistic genres like news proper, news commentaries and feature articles. In *Kaleva* 53 % of such articles included speech quotations, while in *Karjalainen* the proportion was 47 %. The total number of speech quotations was slightly higher for *Karjalainen* than *Kaleva* (128 vs. 112). Furthermore, *Karjalainen*’s speech quotations were clustered, heavily concentrated on a few feature articles, while *Kaleva*’s speech quotations were spread out over a wider range of articles.

Boundaries of speech quotations are marked by certain

conventions. Like all conventions, these may change with time, and they also vary slightly from language to language, sometimes also according to genre. The following two systems are commonly used in Finnish texts: i) the beginning and the end of a quotation is marked by double quotation marks ("Like this."), or ii) the quotation is preceded by a dash plus a space (- Like this.). Newspapers normally adhere to one or the other of these conventions; *Kaleva* uses quotation marks, whilst *Karjalainen* uses an en-dash. However, it seems that some papers are more consistent in their demarcation than others. Inconsistency is found especially in the length of the dash (a hyphen, an en-dash, or an em-dash) and in the use of spacing before the dash, so that one system is used in most articles and the other in occasional articles. As an extreme case, one double-page spread of *Karjalainen* had three combinations of dashes and spaces in use. The inconsistency versus consistency in demarcation of speech quotations may be explained by differing editorial practices.

In the case of a very short quotation comprising one or two words, which is placed within the story-teller's sentence, double quotes are the only feasible means available. My impression is that such 'fragmentary quotes' are increasingly more common in Finnish newspapers, and that they appear most commonly in the foreign news articles. This is the case in example (3), which comes from *Kaleva*. The news article was titled "Jospinin voitto ei uhkaa EMUa" ('Jospin's victory does not threaten EMU'). It has been made up from material from four news agencies (STT, AFP, DPA, TT) and *Kaleva*'s own reporter.

- (3) PARIISI/BRYSEL. Ranskan sosialistisen puolueenjohtaja Lionel Jospin ilmoitti maanantaina muodostavansa hallituksen "nopeasti, tällä viikolla".

Jospin sai aiemmin päivällä Elyséen palatsissa presidentti Jacques Chiracilta hallituksenmuodostamistehtävän. Hän sanoi tapaamistaan presidentin kanssa "erinomaiseksi".

[Translation: PARIS/BRUSSELS. Lionel Jospin, the leader of the Socialist Party in France, announced on Monday that he will form a government 'quickly, this week'.

Earlier that day in the Elysée Palace, Jospin received from the president Jacques Chirac the task to form a government. He [=Jospin] said that his meeting with the president was ‘excellent’.]

Double quotes also demarcate the end of a quotation more clearly, especially when there is no reporting clause and when the next sentence shows no explicit marking of origin. Finnish newspaper quotations most commonly start a new paragraph and are indented, resulting in a more pronounced demarcation. (This is particularly important when a dash is used instead of quotation marks.)

Quotations are typically accompanied by a reporting clause. In my data of Finnish newspaper texts, speech quotations were mostly followed, rather than preceded, by a reporting clause, and it was extremely rare that a speech quotation was both preceded and followed by a reporting clause of some kind.<sup>16</sup> When there were several quotes from the same speaker, who was often the only interviewee in the article, the reporting clause could also be absent from some quotes. The two papers differed again: 61 % of *Karjalainen*’s speech quotations lacked a reporting clause, while only one in five quotations in *Kaleva* were such ‘zero quotations’.<sup>17</sup>

At least in Finnish, the choice for reporting verbs is particularly high when the verb follows rather than precedes the speech quotation. Flyktman-Myllymäki’s study (1988) mentions over 400 different reporting verbs which are used after direct quotations in her data of national, provincial and local newspapers. Interestingly, the repertoire of reporting verbs varies remarkably from paper to paper:

---

<sup>16</sup> According to Tuomarla (1999), reporting clauses before and after the speech quotation are quite common in French newspapers.

<sup>17</sup> This term is borrowed from Mathis and Yule (1994). They used it for speech quotations in spoken data that lack a reporting clause and a named source. In the case of news articles, however, the source of a speech quotation is normally clear. Some other journalistic genres may exhibit examples which are more similar to those of Mathis and Yule.

one issue of *Kaleva* had 42 different reporting verbs in use, whereas *Karjalainen* used only 19 different verbs in one issue, 11 of which were from STT<sup>18</sup> texts, and only eight verbs were clearly used by *Karjalainen*'s own reporters. Those eight verbs were<sup>19</sup> *sanoa* 'say', *kertoa* 'tell', *todeta* 'state', *arvioida* 'estimate', *huomauttaa* 'remark', *uskoa* 'believe', *muistuttaa* 'remind', and *heittää* 'quip'; with the exception of the last example, all of these verbs are somewhat neutral: neither expressive nor (strongly) interpretive. In addition to these verbs, *Kaleva* used verbs like *valitella* 'groan (freq.)', *puuskahtaa* 'snap', *tuumata* 'think (express.)', *tyrmätä* 'slash', *lohkaista* 'say strikingly', *ironisoida* 'say ironically', *visioida* 'create visions' and *äityä* (*paljastamaan*) 'get worked up and reveal'.

What does this tell us? First of all it is important to remember that unlike the quotation itself, reporting verbs are clearly presented as the reporter's discourse. As such, reporting verbs are a potential place for interpretation and subjectivity. The choice of reporting verbs may signal the perceived role of the reporter: Is the reporter supposed to be an objective, invisible character, with no distinct voice, i.e. does s/he 'only' report? Or may s/he also give his/her explicit interpretation of the situation, the interviewee, and *how* something was said, and may s/he even evaluate the truth value of what is said? (See Flyktman-Myllymäki 1989; Short 1988: 76; Gruber 1993: 484.) By using evaluative devices the reporter can take part in the dialogue. The omission of reporting clauses and the preference for neutral reporting clauses may be connected: either can be used when the reporter wishes to stay in the background and leave interpretation to the reader, for one reason or other (Flyktman-Myllymäki 1989: 9).

There are other factors, too. The choice of reporting verbs may

---

<sup>18</sup> STT = Suomen Tietotoimisto (Finland's Press Bureau)

<sup>19</sup> The English translations are approximate, especially those of the expressive *Kaleva* verbs.

be connected to the genre, the topic, the style, and ‘seriousness’ of the text. Reporting verbs may also reflect the interview situation – what kinds of people, roles and topics were involved and how freely interviewees expressed themselves. It has also been suggested that male and female interviewees may be treated differently when choosing reporting verbs; research on this topic is difficult though, because men and women are often interviewed for different purposes (Flyktman-Myllymäki 1989: 116).

One question remains to be asked: does the frequent use of speech quotations and the distinctness of demarcation result in, or encourage, or correlate with the use of vernacular features in quotations? And conversely: does a diegetic style of writing and a less distinct demarcation of speech quotations exclude use of vernacular features? The answer to both questions is *not necessarily*. Another look at Finnish newspapers reveals that there is no obvious correlation. The lack of vernacular features in speech quotations is related to something other than lack of mimesis in general. There are three plausible explanations, all to do with editorial practices:

- 1) The newspaper has a policy of standardizing (sterilizing) all speech quotations, for one reason or other.
- 2) The newspaper avoids discussion of ‘vernacular’ topics and contexts which would involve interviews where the vernacular is preferentially used instead of standard Finnish. Avoidance can be as delicate as adhering to genres where speech quotations from ‘laymen’ are rare.
- 3) Speakers using the vernacular are interviewed but the material is dealt with in such a way that vernacular features do not find their way into print. The article is written in a diegetic style, and indirect speech is used instead of direct quotations.

## 7. How ‘real’ are speech quotations?

It has become clear from this and the previous sections that newspapers, as a medium and as a written forum of language use, exert various pressures on the way how raw spoken source material is moulded and fashioned, e.g. whether speech quotations are used,

and how speech quotations appear linguistically when they are in the printed text. It is also obvious that all speech quotations are compromises when they appear in written form, because the two systems, aural and visual, are different in many ways (e.g. Halliday 1985; Tiittula 1992). There is no simple way to show in writing all the subtleties of spoken language, e.g. the changes in speed and volume of articulation and tone of voice. And more importantly: there is rarely any need. This explains why 'unimportant' re-formulations and many other structures characteristic of *impromptu* speech are normally removed from speech quotations in newspapers. Järventausta (1996: 568) reminds us that what sounds normal when heard may sound and seem tedious on paper. There is one more important point to add: speech quotations need to be easy enough for the eye to read and for the mind to comprehend. Innovations need to be subtle, so that the reading experience does not become frustrating.

The quotation is meant to offer the perspective of the interviewee and give the readers some idea of the 'flavour' of his/her speech. However, it is important to acknowledge that speech quotations in newspapers do not attempt to be truthful imitations of speech. On the contrary, they are edited abstracts of selected bits of interviews, briefed to a few lines of a quotation. Newspaper articles should be written concisely, and this goal brings a need for summarizing and editing. In the case of news, the conventional triangular structure from most important to least important makes demands on the location of speech quotation. The leading paragraph rarely has speech quotations, and the least essential (often most colourful) speech quotations are found in the last paragraphs of the text and can be easily removed if the news article is too long for the space reserved. Feature articles differ in this respect, however; they are usually longer and do not follow the triangular structure.

In short, speech quotations can not be simplistically read as linguistically truthful (or failed) imitations of original, often recorded interviews. In some ways speech quotations in newspapers bear a resemblance to direct speech in fiction. Leech and Short (1981: 169)

express this well: “The goal of authenticity is a reasonable one for an author to adopt ... but it can result in unintelligibility if taken too far”. The same principle applies to newspaper texts: what we have in a text are various clues given by the reporter to form the illusion of the speech of a person, and what we perceive is a whole, formed and gathered from those clues. Only some of the clues are strictly linguistic clues.<sup>20</sup> From this it follows that text-oriented linguists ought not evaluate the ‘naturalness’ or ‘realism’ of speech quotations purely against how people ‘really’ speak. Texts are a form of reality as such.

Finally, the *why*-question: what is the function of vernacular cues in speech quotations in newspaper texts? The need for authenticity and vividness is obvious, but this is not the whole story. We should also consider whose speech quotations contain vernacular cues and at what point in the quotation. In addition, attention should be paid to what is around the quotation, e.g. vernacular cues may also appear outside speech quotations in reporter’s discourse in such genres as the feature article. Quotations in general may serve many different purposes, as pointed out in Section 4. The answer to the *why*-question is more complex than may at first appear, and is outwith the scope of this paper.

## 8. Conclusions

The role of written texts is very important in present-day society. Analysis of speech quotations can tell us a number of things about linguistic variation and the nature of written texts:

Firstly, when we look at linguistic variation in written material, some questions and problems arise that are similar to those of research on variation in spoken language. To be able to understand and explain variation in written language, it is therefore useful for the researcher to be familiar with variation in spoken language. Both

---

<sup>20</sup> For the creation of characters in fiction, see Rimmon-Kenan (1991: 40–56). Some of these principles can be applied to other texts, too.

spoken and written language demonstrate diachronic variation and variation between genres (or situations of language use). Linguistic practice may also vary from one institution to another, e.g. from one newspaper to another. Linguistic and textual innovations spread through contacts, and some language users (writers, institutions) are more susceptible or open to influence than others.

Secondly, linguistic variation in spoken Finnish is so meaningful that there is clearly pressure to indicate this variation in certain written contexts, too. Several newspaper genres allow a mimetic style of writing, and standard Finnish is no longer the sole variety of Finnish used in speech quotations. Certain vernacular features also appear outside speech quotations in reporter's discourse in genres such as the *pakina* (witty, humorous essay, causerie), *reportaasi* (feature article), and *arvio* (cultural review). Most recently, in the 1990's, there has been a 'dialect boom' in Finland, which has had some interesting outcomes in written genres. Several guidebooks and grammars of regional dialects have been published. In addition, comic books, such as *Asterix* and *Hagar the Horrible*, and even religious texts, such as the catechism and the Gospel according to St. John, have been translated from standard Finnish into some regional dialects. There have also been experiments in publishing local newspapers in dialect, e.g. the *Uutis-Vieterj* in Northern Savo. It remains to be seen whether the 'dialect boom' is a quickly-passing fashion or the beginning of something more permanent. The growing popularity of dialect publications is certainly very interesting and may encourage the use of dialect expressions also in other forums, including journalistic texts.

Thirdly, in spite of what has been said above, standard Finnish has a definite, well established position in Finnish newspapers. The standard variety continues to fulfil its functions for most purposes, and there is no real sign that it is being rejected in 'quality' newspapers. In fact, standard Finnish tends to serve as important base material even in speech quotations where vernacular features appear.

Fourthly, Finnish has a rich system of vernacular cues: lexical, syntactic, morpho-syntactic, morphological, morpho-phonological, and phonological (graphological). Phonological cues appear to be less widely used in speech quotations than lexical, syntactic and morphological cues. Many of the syntactic cues are not clearly nonstandard; rather, they are characteristic of expressive, emotional, or involved, language (vs. informative).

Fifthly, variation studies have focused predominantly on phonological and morphological features. However, syntactic and particularly pragmatic differences between varieties are also important, sometimes even more important than differences at phonological and morphological levels.

Finally, when analyzing speech quotations, it is important to remember that the speech that they represent had been taken into a new context. The written discourse, including speech quotations, makes extensive use of the written medium, e.g. pro drop and participial constructions are more ‘natural’ in the written context than in spoken Finnish. Prosodic cues of spoken language can be treated in more than one way in written material: they can be ignored, or some meanings can be expressed by punctuation marks, typography, or metalanguage (including reporting clauses). Speech quotations do not mimic speech to the full. A selective use of speech cues is enough, because too much realism (of true *impromptu* speech) does not necessarily work in the written medium. Interplay of standard and nonstandard linguistic features may be meaningful, so we should use methods of analysis that take this into consideration.

In conclusion, it appears that conventional methods of variation analysis are not enough when we need to explain and understand variation within written texts, and the functions of this variation. We must seek analytical and conceptual tools in other fields, e.g. pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, rhetoric, and poetics.

## References

- Bhatia, Vijay K. (1993) *Analysing genre. Language use in professional settings*. London and New York: Longman.
- Biere, Bernd Ulrich (1998) Boulevardisierungstendenzen in der Wissenschaftsberichterstattung. In Werner Holly & Bernd Ulrich Biere (eds.) *Medien im Wandel*, pp. 113–134. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Fairclough, Norman (1994) Conversationalization of public discourse and the authority of the consumer. In Russell Keat, Nigel Whiteley & Nicholas Abercombie (eds.) *The Authority of the Consumer*, pp. 253–268. London and New York: Routledge.
- Flyktman-Myllymäki, Tiina (1989) *Suoran esityksen johtolauseen verbit sanomalehtikielessä – Viestintäverbien semantiikkaa*. [Verbs of the reporting clauses of direct speech in newspaper language. Semantics of communication verbs.] Tampere: Department of Finnish language, University of Tampere. [Unpublished Master's thesis]
- Fowler, Roger (1991) *Language in the news*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gruber, Helmut (1993) Evaluation devices in newspaper reports. *Journal of Pragmatics* 19: 469–486.
- Hakulinen, Auli & Karlsson, Fred (1979) *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*. [Syntax of Modern Finnish.] Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Hakulinen, Lauri (1979) *Suomen kielen rakenne ja kehitys*. [See below.] Helsinki: Otava. Fourth edition.
- Hakulinen, Lauri (1961) *The structure and development of the Finnish language*. Bloomington: University of Indiana. Translated by John Atkinson.
- Halliday, M.A.K (1985) *Spoken and written language*. Victoria: Deaking University Press.
- Harris, Geoffrey & Spark, David (1993) *Practical newspaper reporting*. Oxford: Focal press.
- Häkkinen, Kaisa (1994) *Agricolasta nykykieleen. Suomen kirjakielen historia*. [From Agricola to present-day Finnish. The history of written Finnish.] Helsinki: WSOY.
- Jyrkiäinen, Jyrki & Savisaari, Eero (1994) Sanomalehdistön nykytila. In Kaarle Nordenstreng & Osmo A. Wiiio (eds.) *Joukkoviestintä Suomessa*, pp. 53–59. Porvoo: Weilin + Göös.
- Järventaus, Kaarina (1996) Oikeakielisyydestä sanomalehdessä. [On correctness issues in the newspaper.] *Virittäjä* 100: 567–570.
- Kalliokoski, Jyrki (1995) Kieli, tunteet ja ideologia uutisteksteissä. Näkymiä

- tekstilajin historiaan ja nykyisyyteen. [Language, emotions, and ideology in news articles. Views of the history and the present of the genre.] In Jyrki Kalliokoski (ed.) *Kieli 9. Teksti ja ideologia*, pp. 37–97. Helsinki: Department of Finnish Language, University of Helsinki.
- Kalliokoski, Jyrki (1998) Kirjoitetun sanan voima: Hjalmar Nortamon murrekertomukset ja puhutun illuusio. [The power of the written word: Hjalmar Nortamo's dialect stories and the illusion of speech.] In Lea Laitinen & Lea Rojola (eds.) *Sanan voima. Keskusteluja performatiivisuudesta*, pp. 184–215. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Klinge, Matti (1981) *A brief history of Finland*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Kuutti, Heikki (1994) *Journalistiikan sanasto*. [Lexicon of journalism.] Jyväskylä: Atena.
- Laitinen, Kai (1970) *Suomen kirjallisuus 1917–1969. Ääriviivoja, päälinjoja, saavutuksia*. [Finland's literature from 1917 to 1969. Outlines and achievements.] Helsinki: Otava. Second edition.
- Lappalainen, Hanna (1999) Young adults and the functions of the standard. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 12: XXX.
- Leech, Geoffrey & Short, Michael (1981) *Style in fiction. A linguistic introduction to English fictional prose*. London and New York: Longman.
- Lehečková, Helena (1995) *Tšekin kielimuodot. Kirja- ja puhekielen suhde*. [Varieties of Czech. The relationship of codified written language and other forms of Czech.] Helsinki: Department of Slavonic and Baltic languages and literatures, University of Helsinki.
- Löfgren, Orvar (ed.) (1988) *Hej, det är från försäkringskassan. Informaliseringen av Sverige*. [Informalizing of Sweden.] Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och kultur.
- Makkonen-Craig, Henna (1996) *Yleispuhekielisyysdet lehtikielessä*. [Wide-spread vernacular features in the language of journalism.] Helsinki: Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki. [Unpublished Master's thesis]
- Mathis, Terrie & Yule, George (1994) Zero quotatives. *Discourse Processes* 18: 63–76.
- Mårtenson, Eva (1988) Den familjära myndigheten. Intimiseringen av det offentliga språket. [The familiar public authority. Intimizing of the public language.] In Orvar Löfgren (ed.) *Hej, det är från försäkringskassan. Informaliseringen av Sverige*, pp. 105–127. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och kultur.
- Muckenhaupt, Manfred (1998) Boulevardisierung in der TV-Nachrichtenberichterstattung. In Werner Holly & Bernd Ulrich Biere

- (eds.) *Medien im Wandel*, pp. 49–61. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutcher Verlag.
- NPME (1976) = Nykysuomalaisen puhekielen murroksen tutkimus. Esitutkimusraportti. [Research of modern spoken Finnish. A report on the pilot study.] Edited by Heikki Paunonen, Aila Mielikäinen & Matti Suojanen. Helsinki.
- Nuolijärvi, Pirkko (1990) Suomi urbaanina kieliyhteisönä. [Finland as an urban linguistic community.] *Tiede ja edistys* 4: 292–300.
- Nuolijärvi, Pirkko (1999) Suomen kielitilanne 2000-luvulla. [Finland's linguistic situation in 2000.] *Tieteessä tapahtuu* 1: 22–29.
- Paananen, Ritva (1996) Kuuntelija radion kielen normittajana. [The listener as a norm setter for the language of the radio.] *Virittäjä* 100: 520–535.
- Paunonen, Heikki (1995)[1982] *Suomen kieli Helsingissä. Huomioita Helsingin puhekielen historiallisesta taustasta ja nykyvariaatiosta*. [Finnish language in Helsinki. Observations on the history and present-day variation of the spoken language in Helsinki.] Helsinki: Department of Finnish language, University of Helsinki.
- Pietilä, Veikko (1993) On tämä aika kamala – ja kiehtova – peli! Uutinen ja vapaa epäsuora esitys. [It is such a terrible, and fascinating, game! The news and free indirect mode.] *Virittäjä* 97: 345–366.
- Penttilä, Aarni (1963) *Suomen kelioppi*. [Finnish grammar.] Helsinki: WSOY. Second edition.
- Rainò, Päivi (1997) Selkosuomesta puheen kuvailuun. [From plain Finnish to describing speech.] *Virittäjä* 101: 608–618.
- Ridell, Seija (1994) Kaikki tiet vievät genreen. Tutkimusretkiä tiedotusopin ja kirjallisuustieteen rajamaastossa. [All roads lead to genre. Expeditions on the borderland of mass communication theory and literary studies.] Tampere: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere.
- Rimmon-Kenan, Shlomith (1991) Kertomuksen poetiikka. Translation by Auli Viikari. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura. [Original work (1983) *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*. London: Methuen.]
- Ruoppila, Veikko (1981) Tuntematon sotilas ja murteet. [The Unknown Soldier and dialects.] *Virittäjä* 85: 234–238.
- Shore, Susanna (1986) *Onko suomessa passiiviva*. [Is there passive in Finnish.] Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Shore, Susanna (1988) On the so-called Finnish passive. *Word* 39: 151–176.
- Short, Michael (1988) Speech presentation, the novel and the press. In W. van Peer (ed.), *The taming of the text. Explorations in language, literature and culture*, pp. 62–81 (Chapter 3). London and New York: Routledge.
- Tiittula, Liisa (1992) *Puhuva kieli. Suullisen viestinnän erityispiirteitä*.

- [Speaking language. Special characteristics of oral communication.] Helsinki: Finn Lectura.
- Tommila, Päiviö (1994) Suomen sanomalehdistö 1700-luvulta nykypäivään. [Finland's press from 1700's to present.] In Kaarle Nordenstreng & Osmo A. Wiio (eds.) *Joukkoviestintä Suomessa*, pp. 35–52. Porvoo: Weilin + Göös.
- TR* = Plato's *The Republic*. Translated by Benjamin Jowett in 1871. Edition published in 1992. New York: Quality Paperback Book Club.
- Tuomarla, Ulla (1999) *La citation mode d'emploi. Sur le fonctionnement discursif du discours rapporté direct*. Helsinki: Department of French Philology, University of Helsinki. [Doctoral dissertation, submitted]
- van Dijk, Teun A. (1988) *News as discourse*. Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Vilkuna, Maria (1996) *Suomen lauseopin perusteet*. [Foundations of Finnish grammar.] Helsinki: Edita.
- Yli-Vakkuri, Valma (1986) *Suomen kieliopillisten sijojen toissijainen käyttö*. [The secondary usages of grammatical cases in Finnish.] Turku: Department of Finnish and General Linguistics, University of Turku.

Contact Address:

Henna Makkonen-Craig

AKO (Translation Studies Programme)

PL 4

FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

E-mail: [henna.makkonen@helsinki.fi](mailto:henna.makkonen@helsinki.fi)