

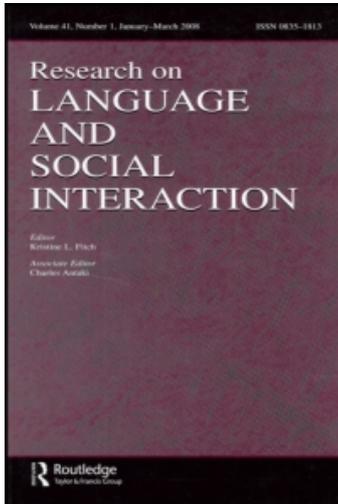
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### Reported Speech and Reported Mental States in Mentoring Meetings: Exploring Novice Teacher Identities

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## Reported Speech and Reported Mental States in Mentoring Meetings: Exploring Novice Teacher Identities

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In this study, we addressed the identity work performed by directly reported speech versus directly reported mental states (e.g., thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and emotions) in situated discourse. Drawing on a corpus of talk produced by novice language teachers during mentoring sessions, the analysis indicates that teachers' direct reports of their own speech tend to foreground their accomplishments and developing expertise, whereas direct reports of their mental states tend to highlight uncertainty, gaps in knowledge, or negative feelings and emotions. In other words, these two types of reported discourse constitute vehicles for different modes of self-presentation in the educational context of this investigation.

Direct representations of speech and thought constitute important resources for identity construction. Even though they also serve many other functions in discourse, direct quotations serve as a linguistic means to display distinct modes of self-presentation and negotiate a sense of self across social contexts. Numerous studies have examined specific functions of reported speech (Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1996; Buttny, 1997; Levey, 2003; Myers, 1999; Sakita, 2002; Vincent & Perrin, 1999) as well as differences between direct and indirect reported speech (Baynham, 1996; Yule, 1995); however, far less analytic attention has been given to the phenomenon of direct quotations of thoughts and other mental states. In addition, although a handful of scholars (e.g., Buttny, 1997; Tannen, 1986; Yule, 1995) have acknowledged that direct quotations may represent thoughts or perceptions “known only to the thinker” (Chafe, 1994, p. 212), few studies have actually explored the contrast between these quotations of mental states and direct quotations of speech in situated discourse, particularly in relation to the construction of professional identities.

In this study, we focused on novice teachers' use of directly reported speech—for example, verbatim reports, summaries, or hypothetical talk—compared with their use of directly reported mental states (e.g., thoughts, attitudes, feelings, or emotions) and the role that both play in the

performance of an emergent teacher identity. We begin by briefly reviewing aspects of direct and indirect reported speech that are relevant to our study as well as current discourse analytic work on direct quotation, with special emphasis on studies of identity construction. Next, we explain different scholarly perspectives on direct quotations of speech and mental states and conclude with our own analysis of their function in a corpus of spoken discourse produced by novice teachers within a specific institutional context. Finally, we discuss the role that direct reports of speech and mental states play in the construction of distinct teacher identities.

## DIRECT REPORTED SPEECH AND IDENTITY

For over a decade, sociolinguists and discourse analysts have observed that reported speech serves as a powerful discursive resource for performing, or constructing, particular speaker identities (e.g., Cheshire & Ziebland, 2005; de Fina, 2003; Hamilton, 1998; Johnstone, 1996; Schiffrin, 1996, 2002): identities as diverse as daughters and mothers-in-law, immigrants, Holocaust survivors, and hypertension patients. Central to many of these studies has been a contrast between direct and indirect reported speech. To illustrate this distinction with an example borrowed from Schiffrin (2002), direct reported speech is presented as a putatively verbatim utterance (e.g., *She said "I'm sorry"*), whereas indirect reported speech (e.g., *She said that she was sorry*) presents the utterance in the voice of the current speaker. This distinction is reflected in the surface realizations of reported speech; as Schiffrin (2002) explained, "direct speech requires grammatical transformations that establish the QUOTED person (not the QUOTING person) as the deictic center" (p. 354)—in other words, "when someone is directly quoted, her words are represented as if they were the deictic center (they are the 'I,' their time is 'now,' their place is 'here')" (p. 334). In addition to this requisite deictic shift, which is most obviously expressed as a shift in tense in the quotation itself,<sup>1</sup> direct reported speech is a dynamic resource that presents a speaker with a much broader range of expressive possibilities (i.e., intonation, prosody, etc.) than does its indirect counterpart. Thus, the power of direct reported speech resides in the fact that it has the special capacity to simultaneously portray not only what was said but also how it was said (Hamilton, 1998). Or, put in another way, direct reported speech can *demonstrate* the original speaker's perspective, whereas indirect reported speech merely describes it (Ravotas & Berkenkotter, 1998). It is precisely this performative property, Hamilton (1998) and others (de Fina, 2003; Schiffrin, 1996, 2002) have maintained, that makes direct reported speech a "very powerful tool in constructing the identity of the [quoted] figure in the audience's mind" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 63).

With respect to the discursive construction of identity, Schiffrin (1996) argued that there are important functional differences between direct and indirect reported speech and their corresponding syntactic structures. Schiffrin (1996) contended that representing speech as direct assigns a stronger sense of agency than representing speech indirectly: A speaker's "responsible (agentive) role is iconically captured through the use of directly reported speech" (pp. 174–175).

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<sup>1</sup>The term *deixis* refers to a set of words and grammatical constructions whose meanings rely on context. The major categories of deixis are spatial (e.g., adverbs such as *here* or *there*), temporal (e.g., grammatical tense or adverbs such as *now* and *before*), and personal (e.g., personal pronouns). Deictic markers are a characteristic of any direct reporting of speech or thought. Barnes and Moss (2007) considered the deictic category of tense—and specifically, the tense shifts that occur in quotations—to be a key feature of direct reported thoughts, or what they termed "reported private thoughts" (or RPTs).

In other words, when the representation of an individual's utterance takes the form of a direct quotation—as opposed to indirect reported speech—that individual's agency is highlighted. Thus, direct reported speech is a means through which individuals can be “animated in a story world” as able to speak for themselves and a means through which the individual can be portrayed as an agent in the world who can take responsibility for his or her own actions (Schiffrin, 1996, p. 178).

Functions of direct and indirect reported speech as they relate to speaker's relative agency—or power—have been explored in recent studies of discourse about medical interactions (e.g., Cheshire & Ziebland, 2005; Hamilton, 1998). These studies have revealed that the speech of the more powerful, or more important, participants (i.e., doctors) tends to be most frequently reported as a direct quotation; and, conversely, the speech of participants with less institutional authority (i.e., patients) is reported more frequently as indirect speech. Such findings suggest that institutional interactions serve as rich sites for analyses of these and related phenomena, particularly if the focus is on the construction on social and professional identities.

Of course, in addition to serving as a resource for identity construction, direct reported speech serves other relational functions in spoken interaction. As Tannen (1989) pointed out, direct reported speech can be a powerful strategy for recruiting listener involvement. Related to this function, direct reported speech also offers the interlocutor or audience the feeling of direct experience and, in so doing, provides the hearer with a sort of “access” to a previous interaction (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). In this respect, as Holt (1996) argued, direct reported speech may also have an evidential function: “It is clear that by reproducing the ‘original’ utterance or utterances speakers can provide access to the interaction being discussed, enabling the recipient to assess it for himself or herself” (p. 229). We turn now to a discussion of direct reported speech and direct reports of mental states—henceforth DRS and DRMS, respectively—and some of their structural and functional characteristics.

## REPORTED SPEECH AND REPORTED MENTAL STATES

Research on “what is quoted” or “what is reported” in interaction has traditionally focused primarily on reported talk, that is, reporting on what was said whether the talk being quoted is verbatim or rephrased, real or imaginary. More recently, scholars have started to pay attention to direct quotations used to represent thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and perceptions (Barnes & Moss, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Haakana, 2007; Rae & Kerby, 2007). Such constructions, according to Rae and Kerby (2007), provide “a way of showing the reported speaker's stance *and/or their cognitive state* [italics added], which may have implications for their character or identity” (p. 185). The difference between DRS and DRMS can be explicitly marked, for instance, when the quoted material, rather than being introduced by a verb of speaking, is instead introduced by a verb of cognition. We offer an example of DRMS from our own corpus:

I bought that calendar like five years ago and I thought “Oh these might be cool pictures for some class someday.”

Thus, DRMS can be constructed in many of the same ways as DRS: They may utilize a reporting frame (e.g., *I thought*), a shift in deixis (e.g., *these*), a change in prosody, or any combination of

these features. These structural characteristics are consistent with those discussed by Barnes and Moss (2007) in their work on RPTs.<sup>2</sup>

As noted, different scholars have discussed various interactional functions of DRS, yet far less is known about the interactional functions of directly quoted thoughts, perceptions, attitudes, and so forth (the category we refer to broadly as DRMS) within specific discourse events. To what extent are those functions the same as, or different from, the functions of DRS? In addition—if different—in what ways are they different? What roles do DRMS play in the construction of speaker identity? We agree with Haakana's (2007) assertion that, comparatively, "the use of reported thought has attracted much less attention in interactional studies" (p. 150) than has the use of reported speech. In fact, Haakana's recent study of the functions of reported thought in Finnish complaint stories and Barnes and Moss's (2007) study of directly reported thoughts occurring in a variety of institutional and noninstitutional English contexts are among the few studies in which reported thought has been examined as a distinct phenomenon from direct reported speech. Previously, however, reported thoughts—as well as direct reports of other internal, mental states such as perceptions, emotions, and attitudes—were most often treated as part of reported speech.

The fact that some constructions may be difficult to disambiguate constitutes one reason why DRS and DRMS have seldom been treated separately in the literature.<sup>3</sup> The sometimes fuzzy boundary between DRS and DRMS may be one of the reasons why Tannen's (1989) preferred cover term of "constructed dialogue" has appealed to many scholars working with reported, or represented, discourse phenomena: It not only highlights the "constructedness" of such an utterance, but it also avoids the problem of having to specify whether the information quoted was purportedly spoken or whether it instead occurred only in the mind of the individual being quoted. One drawback of this approach, however, is that instances of speech (whether they constitute verbatim recalls or paraphrases) and instances of reported thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and emotions, are all subsumed under the same category.<sup>4</sup> Although we certainly recognize that not all cases of reporting discourse are clear-cut, in this study, we were chiefly concerned with those cases that are the least ambiguous: that is, those direct quotations that are framed by a verb of speaking or some other indicator of speech, as well as another category of direct quotations that clearly report a speaker's internal, mental state (including thoughts and perceptions, attitudes, dispositions, and emotions). Once again, we refer to the former as DRS and the latter as DRMS. It is important to stress that what we are primarily concerned with are not, for example, issues of whether quoted material was actually said versus thought in the context in which it originally occurred. Rather, our analytic focus makes a distinction in how the

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<sup>2</sup>Barnes and Moss's (2007) category of RPT may strike some readers as very similar to our own category of DRMS. However, our preference for our terminological choice of *mental states* as opposed to *thoughts* is guided by our belief that *mental states* is more inclusive and encompasses a wider range of internal phenomena (feelings, attitudes, etc.), some of which may or may not be considered coterminous with *thoughts*.

<sup>3</sup>Janssen and van der Wurff (1984) suggested that "both cross-linguistically and intra-systemically, reported speech shows many empirical and theoretical connections with reported thought and perception" (p. 4). Similarly, Tannen (1989) and Romaine and Lange (1991) have argued that the line between reported speech and thought is often fuzzy, particularly when material is introduced by "*be + like*," a quotative that "... blur[s] the boundaries between direct and indirect representations of both speech and thought reports" (Romaine & Lange, 1991, p. 234).

<sup>4</sup>It is worth noting that Tannen (1989) herself occasionally found it necessary to make a distinction between directly reported speech and directly reported thoughts or mental states, referring to the latter as "inner speech" through which "people often report their own thoughts as dialogue" (p. 114). Once again, we prefer not to use this previously applied term of *inner speech* to avoid terminological confusion with the Vygotskian/sociocultural notion of "inner speech," which denotes an *internal* phenomenon—as opposed to the externalized, verbalized phenomenon that we are concerned with.

speaker, in this interaction, *depicts* the quoted material—in other words, is the quoted material presented as speech, or is it instead clearly represented as an internal, mental state?

Barnes and Moss's recent (2007) study is the first of its kind to have described common structural characteristics and explored some of the functions of direct reported thoughts; however, their study does not address any comparisons between reported thought and reported speech in their data. Scholars such as Chafe (1994) have claimed that directly reported thought is relatively infrequent compared to reported speech. Similarly, Haakana (2007) pointed out that in his Finnish corpus, "reported thought occurs much more seldom than reported speech" (p. 160). Although both Chafe and Haakana make similar claims about the relative frequency of these constructions, unfortunately neither offers any quantitative data to support those claims. We therefore believe that it is important to begin the analysis that follows by first establishing the relative frequencies of both types of constructions in our data set.

In contrast to the literature on reported speech, very few studies have addressed what functions the direct representation of a speaker's mental states may serve in interaction. Evidence of growing interest in this topic (e.g., Barnes & Moss, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Haakana 2007; Rae & Kirby, 2007) indicates that the phenomenon of DRMS does merit further analytic attention. Therefore, in this study, we compared DRS with DRMS in a specific institutional context, that is, mentoring conversations within a university-based English language program. In the analysis, we show how DRMS occurring in novice teachers' talk within one particular type of speech activity (mentoring sessions) constitute an important resource for identity construction, and one that is distinct from DRS. Based on these findings, we propose that DRS and DRMS provide speakers with two nonequivalent types of discursive resources, which are used differentially to accomplish specific functions in light of overall interactional goals.

## THE STUDY

### The Speech Activity: Teacher Mentoring Meetings

In the analysis that follows, we investigate a particular type of institutional speech activity: interactions between novice teachers and mentors/supervisors. The aim of this analysis is to explore the functions of DRS and DRMS in teachers' talk and the role these particular linguistic constructions play in the verbalization of an emergent teacher identity. Our focus on novice teachers comes at a time when educators are increasingly concerned with understanding how novice teachers construct a teaching self to enhance teacher education programs and foster continuous professional development (e.g., Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). There is growing awareness that the construction of a professional identity is a complex, dynamic process, influenced by both internal (self-confidence, motivation, investment) and external forces (cultural norms, contextual constraints). We adopt current constructionist views of identity as situated and coconstructed during social interactions with different interlocutors (de Fina, Bamberg, & Schiffrin, 2006), so that "[w]ho we are to each other, then, is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 4).

Conversations during mentoring and supervisory meetings have multiple goals: to promote reflection (problem posing and solving, planning, assessment), to foster collaborative learning, to facilitate teacher socialization and induction, and to support teacher development. Mentoring and

supervisory meetings serve as discursive spaces in which novice teachers can begin to construct their identities as teachers. Participating in conversations with mentors and supervisors requires a number of discursive choices to articulate a sense of self as teachers, that is, communicating where they stand (their beliefs, thoughts, attitudes, reflections, assessments) with regard to various aspects of teaching and learning (goals, materials, roles, assessment techniques, etc.). At the same time, these meetings represent unequal interactions in terms of the power, knowledge, and authority exercised by the participants. Novice teachers are expected to communicate and interact in a professional manner and to cooperate with the purported goals of the interaction. Furthermore, during their interactions with their mentors and supervisors, novice teachers must negotiate the need to present themselves as sufficiently capable while, at the same time, they may also need to acknowledge gaps in their knowledge and abilities (which are to be expected, given their status as newcomers to a profession). To address these conflicting needs, teachers are required to construct identities according to the goals of the interaction: for instance, by introducing actions accomplished by them (i.e., positioning themselves as responsible agents) or by identifying problem areas whose solution is not readily apparent (i.e., positioning themselves as problem experiencers).

## METHODOLOGY

Benwell and Stokoe (2006) explained that the process of identity construction can be located between two powerful forces—those exerted by social discourses and practices and those emerging from an individual's sense of agency—and that any interaction is shaped by both the demands of the context and by the participants' goals. Given contemporary views of identity as fluid and dynamic, constitutive of and constituted by context, it is to be expected that speakers may construct multiple, and at times conflicting, identities within a single discourse event, depending on their rhetorical goals (e.g., de Fina et al., 2006).

An institutional identity, in turn, can be considered a function of the relationship between participants (the way they interact) and institutional structures (definition of roles, allocation of power and resources, etc.). Benwell and Stokoe (2006), citing Agar (1985), noted that it is not uncommon that institutions produce asymmetrical roles (e.g., experts and novices) and that participants are expected to accommodate to institutional norms during their interactions either by domination, negotiation, or cooperation. Given the previously discussed connection established between quotations and identity, we began to analyze instances of direct reported speech in our own corpus of institutional interactions. However, as we examined the direct quotations in our data, we became aware that a large number of them represented quotations of thoughts or other internal states. Consequently, we became interested in the use of these features and focused our analysis on exploring the differences between DRS and DRMS, particularly as these constructions related to the identities of the novice teachers represented in our data set. In sum, in the study we report here, we investigated the process of identity construction, and presentation of self, by examining novice teachers' use of DRS and DRMS to perform distinct types of teacher identities during mentoring and supervisory sessions.

### Institutional Setting: Participants and Data

In our study, we examined direct quotations found in the talk of novice language teachers in a spoken corpus comprised of 39 teacher mentoring sessions, which were recorded over a 4-year

period. These sessions, consisting of both routine mentoring meetings as well as meetings following teacher observations, took place in a university intensive English program (IEP). Sessions, which lasted anywhere from 10 min to 1 hr, were audiotaped and transcribed. The IEP serves international students who are required to improve their academic English language proficiency prior to enrolling in general university courses. This particular program is unique in that all of the instructors in the program are concurrently enrolled in a Master's program in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages); consequently, as professionals in training, they can be considered novice teachers. The talk of 17 different IEP teachers/MA-TESOL students and 3 different mentors<sup>5</sup> are represented in these meetings. In this analysis, we focus exclusively on teachers' utterances: Our corpus of teacher talk consists of a total of 73,934 words.

### DATA ANALYSIS: CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION

The data were evenly divided, and each of us examined one half of the resulting transcripts of teacher talk. Each instance of a quotation, that is, information quoted by speakers during the interaction, was determined by identifying relevant reporting frames (e.g., *I said "Yes!"*), deictic shifts (e.g., *I was like "Oh my God, does this have to happen today!?"*), and/or changes in prosody (e.g., *"I know, I know. I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna do it."* [female teacher imitating deep pitch of male student's voice]). Every instance of a quotation included a deictic shift, and the most clearly identifiable instances of quotations included two or more of these features. To verify the reliability of the coding process, we exchanged a subsample of the coded data between researchers, which indicated an agreement level of 89%. Next, we classified all instances into the following categories: DRS, DRMS, and represented writing. We created a fourth category to include ambiguous cases, that is, those instances in which it was not possible to determine whether the quoted information represented DRS or DRMS.

The majority of instances, as indicated in Table 1, were clear cases of DRS (60%) followed by clear cases of DRMS (25%). We reiterate here that the former may include verbatim reports, paraphrases, or even instances of imaginary speech,<sup>6</sup> whereas DRMS, or direct reports of mental states, may include representations of thoughts, attitudes, perceptions, or emotions (see examples and discussion following).

In addition, instances were subclassified according to the source of the quoted material: Was the teacher-speaker quoting himself or herself, quoting a student or students, or quoting some other individual? For the most part, the novice teachers in our data tended to quote their own speech or thoughts (322 instances or 70% of all cases), although cases of teachers quoting their

<sup>5</sup>All participants, with the exception of one male teacher, were female.

<sup>6</sup>Any quotation that was presented as clearly "speech like" (i.e., framed by a verb of speaking) was included in the category of DRS, whereas anything "thought like" was included in the latter. Although not all scholars would agree that hypothetical or "unsaid" quotations belong to the category of direct reported speech, we choose to follow Schiffrin (2002) and Barnes and Moss (2007) by including such instances in our own categories. To summarize then, in DRS, we include quoted material that is represented as something that *was or could be* spoken, and in DRMS, we include quotations represented as something that *was or could be* thought, felt, perceived, and so forth.

TABLE 1  
Instances of Direct Reports Quoted by Novice Teachers

	<i>Teacher Quoting Himself/Herself</i>	<i>Teacher Quoting Students</i>	<i>Teacher Quoting Others</i>	<i>Totals</i>
DRS	180	84	14	278 (60%)
DRMS	96	18	3	117 (25%)
Represented writing	14	10	2	26 (6%)
Ambiguous	32	7	2	41 (9%)
Totals	322	119	21	462 (100%)

*Note:* DRS = direct reported speech; DRMS = direct reports of mental states.

students' speech or thoughts (119 instances, or 26%) or those of other individuals (21 instances, or 4%) also occurred, albeit with much less frequency.<sup>7</sup>

As shown in Table 1, instances of DRS occurred more than twice as frequently as instances of DRMS. This distribution confirms Chafe's (1994) observation, discussed earlier, and is similar to that reported by Haakana (2007), who also found more instances of quoted speech than thought in a corpus of Finnish speech. Nonetheless, the substantial number of clear examples of DRMS ( $N = 117$ ), even if not as frequent as DRS, certainly represents an important variant in the way novice teachers quote particular types of information in their discourse and one that deserves closer attention.

In their most straightforward expression, examples of DRS include instances in which the speaker represents speech that was purportedly uttered at some time in the past, as in Example (1):

Example (1) ... and so I gave them a rubric for the oral presentation but I said "This is kind of a practice one" cause they were really nervous ...

However, DRS can also be explicitly marked as a paraphrased version of an actual utterance as in Example (2):

Example (2) ... but I told them on the first day of class but of course they might not have understood. They forget you know [...] "If you don't come to class you're responsible. This is the university you know? You need to approach me. It will be better if you approach your classmate so I don't have to deal with it." [...] I didn't say it like that [laugh] but that surprised me ...

This category also includes cases in which speech that was *not* actually uttered by the speaker is nonetheless quoted as reported speech, as can be seen in Example (3) in which the quoted utterance is presented as a hypothetical one (i.e., something the speaker could have said but didn't):

<sup>7</sup>Most of the students' words represented in the data are in the form of direct reports of speech, and most typically, these are parts of dialogic exchanges with the teachers. The "others" category includes direct reports of speech, thought/perception, or writing by individuals who are relevant in the lives of teachers—most often these included their spouses/partners, other teachers, their own professors, and so forth.

Example (3) ... I could say you know “Write as many as you can” but then that- that- that kind of frustrates people too ...

In contrast, in DRMS, the quoted information may represent specific thoughts or ideas the speaker had at a previous time or a more general process of reflection or introspection as expressed in Example (4). It is worth noting that, in this case, the quotation in Example (4) is framed by *be like*, which can be ambiguous in terms of introducing reported speech or thought (see footnote 3). However, because in Example (4), the *be like* frame is immediately preceded by the verb of cognition *think*, we categorized this instance—and others like it—as DRMS:

Example (4) ... I mean I’ve been thinking about it. I was like “Is that really appropriate to combine my classes in that way?”

In addition, examples of this category also include reports of teachers’ attitude or descriptions of their feelings and emotions as in Example (5):

Example (5) ... but because of my own feeling that I was just like “Oh my god, this is terrible. I don’t-” uh [...] it wasn’t terrible but I wasn’t happy with it.

Once again, the quotation in Example (5) is introduced by *be like*; however, because of the noun phrase that precedes the quotation (i.e., “*my own feeling*”), it is clear that the speaker is characterizing some internal phenomenon as opposed to speech. The extent to which *feelings* and *attitudes* can be considered the same as *thoughts* is a complex question and one that falls outside of the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it was precisely these types of quotations—characterized by speakers as *feelings* or *attitudes*—that we were not comfortable treating as *thoughts*. This led us to our selection of *mental states* as a more inclusive alternative to *reported thoughts*.

As can be observed in the previous examples, the quotatives used to introduce represented discourse in our data are fairly typical, that is, speech act verbs (e.g., *say*, *tell*), verbs of cognition or affect (e.g., *think*, *realize*, *felt*), as well as the zero and *be + like* quotatives. For the next step in the analysis, we excluded ambiguous cases and instances of represented writing,<sup>8</sup> and we grouped and

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<sup>8</sup>The following example illustrates a direct report of writing:

I would [do so] for students who e-mail me and tell me “I’m not coming to class, can I come by and get the homework?”

Ambiguous cases, such as the one in the example following, were those in which it was not clear whether the quoted information represents speech or rather an internal, mental state:

... I decided to switch it up because every class we’ve done like minimal pairs and I was like “Well you know let’s not do that today.”

This example can be interpreted either as an utterance addressed to the students or as a representation of the teachers’ internal monologue, a thought that was not externalized vocally at any moment. (As discussed earlier, many of the cases coded as ambiguous were preceded by the frame *be like* and occurred as “isolated” quotations—i.e., not part of any larger dialogue.)

examined only clear examples in the two main categories, that is, DRS and DRMS, to determine functional patterns in context. The results from this analysis are reported following.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For our functional analysis, we concentrated only on clear examples of DRS and DRMS. Because most of these quotations consist of teachers' representations of their own words—and because of our focus on *teacher* identity—these constitute the bulk of the data used in the analysis, that is, 180 instances of DRS and 96 instances of DRMS. We turn now to a closer examination of the content of the quotations represented as directly reported speech and directly reported mental states, respectively.

### Reported Speech as a Resource for Presentation of an Agentive Teaching Identity

As was pointed out earlier, in general conversation, direct reports of speech can have an evidential function. For example, as Holt (1996) argued, direct quotations allow the hearer to, in a sense, draw their own conclusions from that which is represented. In our context, we believe that this function of direct reported speech is key to understanding its predominance in our data. Specifically, by using DRS, the novice teachers in our study were able to provide their mentor with a kind of verbal snapshot of their actions while in the midst of teaching. For example, in many instances, the teacher's use of DRS portrays her in the role of instruction-giver and guide as in Example (6). In this example, the teacher is explaining to the mentor the detailed instructions that she gave her students as they began to work on an in-class assignment during a test preparation course:

Example (6) I gave them a sheet that had those options and I said “Some of them will not have every form so you have to remember that.” I said “Try your best to fill in the forms. If you can't do it it's OK.”

In this example, the contents of the teacher's direct quotation serve a dual function. They not only reproduce the type of instructions that the teacher delivers—and thereby allow the mentor to judge for herself the appropriateness or effectiveness of such instructions—but in the second part of both quotations, the speaker simultaneously positions herself as a teacher who is compassionate, who cares about her students, reminding them that they “have to remember” that not all options will be used in an answer sheet and reassuring them that “it's OK” if they are unable to complete an assignment as long as they try their best.

Similarly, in Example (7), we have an example of instruction giving by another teacher whose talk often represents, almost in a verbal “replay” form, how she provides directions to her students. In this specific extract, the teacher relates instructions that she gave to students in her Reading class on how to prepare for a practice standardized test. The teacher uses a “list-like intonation” (see Schiffrin, 2006) here:

Example (7) So I told them, you know, “Take the five readings that you have done, read again, look for the words that you don't understand, look at the answer sheet, see- look at my feedback, [...] look at the reading again, try to find the correct answer you know, and work on that. And then come to class and [unclear].” And they did really good.

The sequential placement of the positive outcome (“*they did really good*”) linked with the causal connector *and*, immediately following the teachers’ multiphase instructions, leads the hearer to infer that the students’ ability to do well on the practice test was a direct consequence of the instructions that the teacher represents here, thus highlighting her effectiveness as an instructor. In listing her instructions in such a detailed manner, the teacher presents herself not only as methodical and organized but also demonstrates how she establishes expertise in the classroom.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to showing themselves as skilled instruction-givers, teachers also used direct reports of speech to draw attention to other aspects of classroom management. In Example (8), the teacher uses direct reported speech to demonstrate how she establishes classroom rules for comportment. This comes as a follow-up response to the mentor’s observation, and positive assessment, of late-arriving students waiting until the class had finished to ask about what they had missed in the first portion of the lesson:

Example (8) ... you know, in the beginning they would ask a question about something we did like an hour before, and I would say “You need to wait and ask me after class.” They know that they can only ask questions about what we’re doing right now or otherwise it doesn’t serve the other students so I don’t answer them.

Again, the teacher uses direct reported speech to illustrate the norms that she conveyed early on in the semester (“*in the beginning*”) and explains that these norms still apply. The verb “*say*” in this example is preceded by the modal “*would*,” a marker of habitual action, which underscores a repeated behavior and therefore some consistency of practice. In this manner, the teacher portrays herself as a skilled, and ultimately successful, classroom manager. Thus, even in direct reports of speech whose primary purpose appears to be the representation of how instructions are given or how classroom procedures are communicated, these direct reports of speech simultaneously provide insight into other dimensions of a teacher’s professional identity.

Other instances offer more overt examples of teachers’ managerial role in the classroom. Example (9) is taken from a meeting discussing a classroom observation. In this example, the teacher depicts her response to a student who has just explained to her that the reason why he cannot remain seated—and must instead walk around the classroom in the middle of the lesson—is because of his toothache: a reason that both the teacher and the mentor observing the lesson found less than convincing. Interestingly, the direct reported speech in this example<sup>10</sup> is used to present the teacher’s one major act of taking control during a lesson that was otherwise riddled with classroom management issues (Vásquez, 2005):

Example (9) ... when I was over there I told him, I was like “look, if your tooth hurts that bad, you need to go.”

<sup>9</sup>In a similar fashion, Johnstone (1996) showed how an auto mechanic establishes professional expertise by relating a set of instructions within a sequence of constructed dialogue embedded in a narrative (p. 48).

<sup>10</sup>As noted previously, the reporting frame *be like* can often be ambiguous in terms of whether it is prefacing speech or thought; however, because the frame in this instance is preceded by the verb *tell*, this utterance was coded as an example of DRS.

The way in which the teacher asserts her authority in the classroom—or at least the way that she presents herself in that role during her conversation with the mentor—projects an image of a teacher who is able to take control of a potentially disruptive situation.

Example (10) shows another teacher taking an assertive stance on matters of classroom management—this time with an entire class rather than with an individual student. The events she recounts in this example came after a turning point in the semester during which none of the students had completed a reading assignment prior to coming to class. The excerpt occurs as the coda of a brief narrative in which the teacher explains to her mentor why it is that her students are now so well-prepared for her class:

Example (10) ... so I had to make a speech [...] yeah basically I told them “If you are not prepared just don’t come.”

Here, in showing how she delivered an ultimatum, the teacher takes responsibility for an action that produced the desired results, that is, students being more diligent in their preclass preparations. Examples such as this one highlight the following functions of DRS. DRS brings a sense of vividness and veracity to a recounted event while at the same time enables teachers to portray themselves as responsible agents whose words and actions have an impact on their classrooms and on the lives of their students.

In addition to reporting speech that was ostensibly uttered, direct reported speech can also be used to depict what was clearly “unsaid” (Schiffrin, 2002)—either something that the teacher would have liked to say but didn’t or something that she plans to say in the future. Example (11) illustrates a direct report of speech that is not yet uttered. In this excerpt, the teacher is reporting about students’ progress in the course to her mentor. She uses future-projected DRS to illustrate how, in a series of upcoming teacher–student conferences, she intends to address students’ declining performance in her class:

Example (11) ... several people have dropped off since midterm. Like they went from a B or an A to a D and I’m gonna tell them in their meetings this week “You have major issues now,” even though they should know ...

The quoted material here is unsaid in the sense that it is represented as an utterance that will presumably occur at some point in the near future. Yet in spite of its status as unsaid, the teacher adopts an assertive stance that is very similar to those expressed by teachers in the previously discussed examples of DRS.

Quoting speech that was not yet uttered was used by another teacher to indicate what she may actually say when presenting her lesson plan portfolio (which student teachers in the program are required to compile) to potential employers, as shown in Example (12). In this example, the teacher is commenting on how she has tried to keep her lesson plans and materials neatly organized, and she explains she has decided to spend time after the semester ends reorganizing them to make sure they are easy to use and ready to be shared with others in the future:

Example (12) I think it's a rich resource. You can show it to- You can say "Look." You can show it in an interview like "Here. Let me leave you with my portfolio of all these lessons that I created for a certain class. You can see some of my own work."

By formulating what she might actually say during a hypothetical job interview, the teacher projects an image of a future professional who, by the end of her current teaching experience, will have acquired sufficient knowledge and experience to present herself in a very confident and poised manner to a potential employer. Although, as in the previous example, this particular quotation represents a hypothetical or imagined utterance (as opposed to one that purportedly occurred), we see teachers adopting the same confident stance when they represent their own speech—whether that speech ostensibly occurred in the past or whether it is being projected as taking place in the future.

Following Schiffrin (1996), we believe that direct reported speech imbues the speaker represented with a strong sense of agency. In all of the preceding examples—and in the overwhelming majority of teachers' direct reports of their own speech—we find similar expressions of certainty, confidence, and assertiveness. This agentive stance is accomplished not only by the teachers' representations of their own speech but also by the actual contents of the quotations themselves. In the previous examples, which are representative of most examples in the DRS category in our corpus, when teachers represent their own words, the quotations most often take the form of a limited range of syntactic constructions: imperatives (e.g., *try your best, look at the answer forms*), hearer-oriented need statements (e.g., *you need to go, you need to wait and ask me*), or short, simple declaratives (e.g., *you have major issues now*). Such constructions, comprising direct reports of speech—whether represented as something that the teacher said to students in the past or whether represented as an utterance that she intends to say to her students in the future—highlight the teacher's agency and contribute to the construction of an identity as an authority in one's classroom.

In our data, DRS is most often used as a resource to depict the self as a capable, competent, resourceful professional and one who is clearly in control of her classroom and her students. The construction of such a teaching identity is extremely important, particularly among novice teachers, argued teacher educator Conway (2001), because developing a sense of control is crucial to be able to continue teaching with a certain degree of optimism and hope. We discussed elsewhere (Urzúa & Vásquez, 2008) that perhaps one of the most important functions of teacher mentoring/supervision meetings is to allow for the expression of an emergent professional identity.

### Reported Mental States as a Resource for Expressing Uncertainty or Insecurity

In contrast to teachers' DRS, which tend to foreground their competence, successes, and developing expertise, DRMS tend to highlight uncertainty or insecurity, lack of knowledge, or even negative feelings and emotions. The following two examples illustrate these general negative appraisals. In Example (13), the teacher expresses how she has had to deal with recurrent feelings of uncertainty with regards to her overall ability and readiness to teach; whereas in Example (14), another teacher comments on the challenge that teaching a completely new course represented. Example (13) comes from a segment in which the teacher reflects on the fact that she is teaching ESL at the same time that she is taking graduate classes on pedagogy and teaching methodology. She

explains that even though her teaching makes her own courses more interesting and relevant, she has also become painfully aware of how much she still doesn't know and how much she still needs to learn:

Example (13) ... sometimes I was like "Why are we graduate assistants teaching these classes, are we really qualified?" you know ...

Example (14) occurs in an end-of-semester interview and is part of the teacher's response to a question about problems encountered during her teaching and ways she attempted to solve them. In her case, one of the main challenges came from having to develop a new class whose goals and content she couldn't easily grasp during the first weeks of classes:

Example (14) I was sort of challenged by the Core Module like "What is this class? How am I- uh how am I gonna find interesting materials to teach these academic skills?" you know and "What are these academic skills I'm teaching?" you know

Excerpts such as these, with their quotations consisting of multiple interrogative constructions, provide a sharp contrast with the examples of DRS [Examples (6–12)] in which such constructions did not occur at all. If DRS enables the teachers to express confidence and certainty, then DRMS serves as a resource for highlighting the converse of those feelings: that is, lack of confidence and insecurity.

Teachers also use direct reports of mental states to convey the nervousness and insecurity they felt when being observed, given that their teaching skills are not yet fully developed. One teacher, for instance, expressed her fear that classes are not always as interactive as she would like them to be [Example (15)], and another teacher reported being dismayed by the fact that her plan failed precisely when the observer visited her class [Example (16)]. Example (15) comes from a meeting in which the teacher asks the mentor for reassurance that her writing lesson was not "too boring." The DRMS in the excerpt follows the mentor's overall positive assessment of the lesson observed and the teacher's expression of relief in response to the mentor's approval:

Example (15) ...good, because my main concern is always "Oh is it too incredibly boring?"

In Example (16), another teacher verbalizes her internal reaction to a moment during the lesson in which the class erupted into chaos, which happened to be a day that a mentor was observing her class:

Example (16) ... I was like "Oh my God, does this have to happen toDAY?"

Thus, in our data, DRMS were often used to convey teachers' questions about, or negative assessments of, matters related to their own classroom performance as well as their attitude toward such incidents. Unlike the imperatives and hearer-directed *need*-statements found in DRS, we found very different structures in DRMS. More specifically, we observed that questions and negative assessments occurred frequently in DRMS. We were struck by how many

representations of mental states were formulated as questions [as seen in Examples (13–16)] and also by the fact that we found no examples of questions in DRS. In addition, although a few DRS quotations did include some negation, these negative expressions tended to relate to students' performance in DRS as opposed to those in DRMS, which related more to teachers' performance or ability.

Using direct reports of cognition and affect, our novice teachers introduced a variety of problems and areas of difficulty encountered during their teaching. Time management appears to be a common issue as is seen in the next examples. Example (17) comes from a brief narrative of a teacher explaining difficulties that she and a coteacher had in managing their time. In this example, the teacher explains how she made a decision in the midst of action during her class. She depicts her mental process as she gradually realizes, while she is teaching, that she and her colleague have underestimated and have not prepared enough materials for the 2-hr class period. A number of false starts and self-corrections indicate her heightened affective state:

Example (17) ... my thing was like "Oh we're not gon-" initially "We're not gonna have enough time. We're gonna- we don't really have enough activities for the amount of time that we have."

Notably, in these four latter examples—by three different speakers—the quotation is introduced by the discourse particle "*oh*." The frequency with which this "change of state token" (Heritage, 1984, p. 299) occurs in our data parallels the findings of Barnes and Moss (2007) who observed that discourse particles, such as *oh*, are not only a common element in reported thoughts but that when they occur, they are always the first element in such constructions and that they tend to signal some type of cognitive change.

Examples (18) and (19), both from the same teacher's narrative, also deal with time management issues. The DRMS in Excerpt (18) provides the abstract of the narrative; and Example (19), which occurs several turns later, functions as the story's coda. These examples appear to be directly representing internal, mental states, and both include a negative statement in which the teacher expresses her inability to conclude a pronunciation activity as smoothly as she had hoped.<sup>11</sup> Such examples of insecurity and inability provide a striking contrast to the more in-control and agentive identities expressed in the reported speech examples discussed earlier:

Example (18) Yeah I got a little nervous then, just because we were- and this is probably, I don't really notice when I'm being observed that much until something's kind of not going exactly right, and then I was like "I'm not gonna be able to finish this!"

Example (19) So at that point in time I finally, I realized "this isn't- this isn't [...] gonna wrap up that well I don't think."

Finally, in Examples (20) and (21), two separate teachers express their inability or lack of knowledge in responding to specific problems. In Example (20), discussing the challenges she is currently facing with a particular student, the teacher comments on her inability to respond to a piece of the student's writing, which she characterizes as incoherent:

<sup>11</sup>These three examples come from two teacher narratives, which are discussed in greater detail in Vásquez (2007).

Example (20) ... and I kept thinking “I don’t know what [unclear], what kind of feedback I’m gonna give,” cause it was all over the place ...

In Example (21), the teacher describes a student that she finds particularly problematic, given his low level of English proficiency in comparison to the rest of the class. She reports that even though she has tried to find ways to accommodate him, these have seldom worked well, which leads her to feel helpless and incapable first and then irritated and annoyed:

Example (21) I’m not like taking my aggression out on him but I find myself becoming frustrated and I think it’s with my own self like “How do I include him?”

The preceding examples show that DRMS was used by teachers in our study to present themselves as unsure or uncertain about their own abilities or as novices who are still trying to work out various professional challenges. Through their use of DRMS, teachers are able to communicate their problems and challenges by introducing them as issues that they find surprising and unexpected, as problems they are thinking about, or as situations that they feel need to be questioned or reflected on. Furthermore, the discursive “division of labor” of DRS and DRMS is especially pronounced when comparing the formal features of the DRMS quotations with those of the DRS quotations. More specifically, Examples (6–21) illustrate a pattern of different syntactic constructions that are associated with DRS and DRMS. When quotations are represented as DRS, we find that most often their contents include unmitigated direct imperatives, conditional constructions, or hearer-oriented *need* statements. In contrast, the contents of DRMS generally include questions or syntactic negation. In this respect, it is important to point out that we found very little overlap between the two categories, DRS and DRMS.

That the same speaker can—and often does—produce *both* types of direct reports in the same meeting (on the one hand, using DRS to present a competent and agentive self; on the other hand, using DRMS to present the self as an insecure, unskilled novice) attests to the fluid nature of situated identities as well as to the role that contextual demands play on a speaker’s presentation of self. It also shows that teachers are exploiting the full potential of the meetings: performing a skillful, confident, optimistic professional self while at the same time acknowledging, expressing, and possibly working through limitations. We have shown that DRS and DRMS serve as resources through which these functions are differentially realized. Thus, in this context, they can be viewed as vehicles for two distinct modes of self-presentation.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study adds to a growing literature on reported discourse, particularly in terms of determining the differential use, forms, and functions of DRS and DRMS. Our findings support the notion that DRMS can be understood as a separate functional category from that of DRS. Using a small corpus of talk from one institutional setting, we have further established empirical evidence for prior claims (e.g., Chafe, 1994; Haakana, 2007) that DRMS tend to occur less frequently than DRS: In our own data, DRMS occurred approximately half as frequently as DRS. More important, we have shown that DRMS constitutes not only a significant category (we identified 117 instances of

DRMS in 39 mentoring meetings)<sup>12</sup> but also that DRMS functions as a distinctive resource for novice teachers' self-presentation during their interaction with their mentors and supervisors.

Our most striking finding relates to this nonequivalence of functions performed by DRS and DRMS. Within the context of mentoring sessions, we found that reported speech was used by teachers to express their skill, expertise, and competence in performing their tasks. For the most part, the novice teachers in our data used DRS to present themselves as capable and knowledgeable enough to carry out their assigned teaching and related responsibilities despite their lack of experience in the field. Thus, DRS allowed teachers to project themselves as efficient and in control. We agree with educational scholars (e.g., Conway, 2001) who have viewed the construction of such agentive, responsible, and capable teaching persona as crucial to develop a sense of accomplishment and to remain optimistic in light of new experiences and challenges.

In contrast, DRMS were mostly used to represent the opposite: moments of insecurity, inability, and problems in their teaching practice. By means of DRMS, the novice teachers in our data were able to demonstrate, in a tangible manner, their thinking and/or affective process whenever there was a mismatch between what was expected and what was observed or obtained, whether related to lessons, materials, student behavior, or their own development as teachers. Most often, these thoughts and perceptions were used to depict the identification of problems and challenges (and, in some cases, attitudes or emotional reactions to them), which may or may not have been resolved during the mentoring session. The use of DRMS, therefore, allowed teachers to, at the very least, pose problems and disclose their lack of knowledge or skills and at best, fashion themselves as reflective thinkers and problem solvers.

Complementing—and most likely contributing to—the nonequivalence of their functions, we found systematic differences in the types of constructions that appeared within the quotations themselves. The majority of instances of DRS (which often realized speech acts such as suggestions, directives, or admonitions directed to students) were most often formulated as imperatives, hearer-oriented *need* statements, or short, unmitigated declarative statements. In contrast, most instances of DRMS were formulated as questions or included negative constructions (or words with negative connotations) that were directly related to a teacher's classroom performance, ability, or knowledge. Significantly, we found little crossover between these categories.

We acknowledge that our study is limited in the sense that our data come from only one type of participant (i.e., novice second-language teachers) engaged in one type of institutional speech activity (i.e., mentoring meetings). Clearly, the contextual characteristics relevant to this type of meeting impinge on the type of talk that is produced in these interactions. For example, it may well be that novice teachers are especially inclined to report their thoughts, as well as other cognitive and affective states, because to do so embodies “reflective practice,” which is often an expectation in these types of interactions (e.g., Richards & Lockhart, 1994). Other researchers have found a significant number of reported thoughts in particular types of institutional interactions such as self-help group discussions, for example (e.g., Barnes & Moss, 2007). Institutional discourse, of course, is constrained by each institution's culture, history, conventions, and expectations (e.g., differences in power and expertise among participants, goals and needs, successes and failures) so that the situated use of DRS and DRMS in our data reflect specific ways in which novice teachers in our context enacted and displayed their teaching identities.<sup>13</sup> We recognize that different speech

<sup>12</sup>This trend seems consistent with that reported by Barnes and Moss (2007) who found 240 instances of reported thoughts in 73 different interactions (which represent five different types of speech activities).

<sup>13</sup>See Buttny (1998) for more on the relationship between context and reported speech.

activities are likely to vary in the frequency and distributions of DRS and DRMS. Therefore, we believe that it would be useful for future studies to compare DRS with DRMS, and their use by other types of participants, in other types of speech events and in other types of interactional contexts.

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## APPENDIX

### Transcription Conventions

- . pause of 1 s
- .. 2-s pause, etc.
- , phrase final intonation
- ? rising intonation, usually associated with questions
- cutting off of sound
- [ ] used to comment on nonlinguistic sounds, quality of speech or context
- [...] omitted data, usually minimal responses produced by interlocutor
- CAPS emphatic stress