

# Lesson 4

Cohesion in corpora: Corpus stylistics

# Corpus

A corpus is a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or a language variety as a source of data for linguistic research. (Sinclair 2004: 19)

... hence “corpus linguistics”

# Corpus characteristics

- Authentic language data
- Electronic/machine readable form
- Designed and collected according to sampling procedures
- Representative of language
- For linguistic investigation

## A TEXT

- Read whole
- Read horizontally
- Read for content
- Read as a unique event
- Read as an individual act of will
- Instance of parole
- Coherent communicative event

## A CORPUS

- Read fragmented
- Read vertically
- Read for formal patterning
- Read for repeated events
- Read as an example of social practice
- Gives insights into language
- Not a coherent communicative event

**N****Concordance**

1 xcellent speaker. He had a G23 157 quick and critical mind and a forceful  
 2 12 131 out. Then they sell cheap and quick and put in a loan insurance F1  
 3 , under the circumstances. Look here! Quick and quiet - like G09 140 this. '  
 4 eir only daughter's mind was lightning quick and what might K06 43 be co  
 5 t. "Bye." L07 69 It was as quick as that. One minute he was on  
 6 by P18 90 comparison. She drew a quick breath but didn't move away fro  
 7 . B17 71 Given his thespian gifts, a quick change should present no B17  
 8 n the neighbourhood. F20 11 A quick check in the Cumbria telephone  
 9 o make your work look professional: a quick E12 25 glance at the record c  
 10 "A festival has to be more than quick entertainment. It A39 177 has  
 11 123 She had learned never to make a quick entrance - learned it years P1  
 12 to stay and listen. I have a K26 159 quick glance before I go. Winston Mul  
 13 ey'd better come in. H30 190 A quick look in a reference book confirm  
 14 ing chores. P13 11 She took a quick look around her already neat - a  
 15 Bush and Mr Major, while hoping for a quick outcome, were careful B02 54  
 16 ut to make her way up to her flat for a quick P15 193 sandwich when Simo  
 17 see her. "How about P15 196 a quick pie and a pint at the Mucky Du  
 18 P29 80 "Yuk!" was Andy's quick response. "No, I P29 81  
 19 cottage in less than half a minute of a quick run, and as Mrs L19 131 Mac  
 20 nutes. P24 185 "You were quick," she said gratefully. P  
 21 sment. N14 169 "If you're quick," she heard the flight N1  
 22 137 up a stone, reached her side in a quick stride and laid a P28 138 restr  
 23 sciousness. G41 154 Three times in quick succession James recurs to Ot  
 24 es are J74 123 experienced in rather quick succession and all too often by  
 25 Scotsman beat off three attackers in quick succession, but N10 104 the  
 26 24 180 She had had two children in quick succession. Neither of them K  
 27 33 She had always known him to be quick-tempered, but now he seemed t  
 28 d Weinstock. A16 221 He should be quick to take the hint. Back in 1968 h  
 29 th Kesteven District Council has been quick to realise that they B22 21 ar  
 30 0 180 Edmund looked back, all too quick to pick up her meaning. P10  
 31 F29 142 Dundee craftsmen were quick to take advantage of the trading  
 32 H06 144 16. As witnesses were quick to point out, the IEC 705 standa  
 33 ng characters, but because they were quick to adapt to each G27 189 othe  
 34 . It needs N12 118 imagination, flair, quick wits." N12 119

# Criticism of corpus linguistics

- Such patterning can be regarded as somewhat atomistic if not analysed within a larger framework of various approaches to text linguistics, namely systemic-functional grammar and also genre and discourse analysis (Flowerdew 1998: 543)
- The general dilemma facing most projects on corpus research is the lack of a theoretical foundation for the interpretation of the results prior to the analysis. (Grabe and Kaplan 1996: 46)

# Corpora and discourse

- *Limits of Critical Discourse Analysis* - Widdowson (1995),
- Hardt-Mautner (1995)
- Stubbs (1996)
- CADS – *computer assisted discourse studies* – (Partington, Morley e Haarman 2004:19).
- Garzone/Santulli (2004).

Much patterning is beyond human observation and memory. It is observable only indirectly in the probabilities associated with lexical and grammatical choices across long texts and *corpora*. (Stubbs 1996: 20-21)



# 'Tools' for corpus investigation

- Wordlist
  - List of the words occurring in a corpus, arranged in both alphabetical and frequency order
- Keywords
  - Key words are those whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm
- Concord
  - A set of examples of a certain word or phrase, showing the context
- Wordsmith tools (Mike Scott)

# Corpora and discourse: concordances

hat your business in life is to be happy and to make others happy. That sound is to be happy and to make others happy. That sounds comfortable and easy, it? You begin making other people happy by doing good turns to them. You ne not worry about making yourselves happy, as you will very soon find that th itself; when you make other people happy, it makes you happy too. Later on, e other people happy, it makes you happy too. Later on, when you have a home y one you will make your husband a happy man. If all homes were bright and c hy and clean and busy they will be happy. Happy children love their parents. clean and busy they will be happy. Happy children love their parents. There hild. I am sure God means us to be happy in this life. He has given us a wor happiness into the world by making happy homes and by being yourselves good, who pass away; secondly, to bring happiness into the world by making happy nt of life. By giving out love and happiness in this way, you will gain for ind that Heaven is not the kind of happiness somewhere up there in the skies your own home. So guide others to happiness and you will bring happiness to rs to happiness and you will bring happiness to yourselves and by doing this

*Concordance 4.1 Happy and happiness in Girl Guides text.*

o think it over. I have had a most happy life and I want each of you to have and I want each of you to have as happy a life too. I believe that God put d put us in this jolly world to be happy and enjoy life. Happiness doesn't c our turn comes to die, you can die happy in feeling that at any rate you hav 'Be prepared' in this way, to live happy and to die happy – stick to your Sc this way, to live happy and to die happy – stick to your Scout Promise alway world to be happy and enjoy life. Happiness doesn't come from being rich, n self-indulgence. One step towards happiness is to make yourself healthy and loomy one. But the real way to get happiness is by giving out happiness to o to get happiness is by giving out happiness to other people. Try and leave

*Concordance 4.2 Happy and happiness in Boy Scouts text.*

# (Stubbs 1996)

## girls

- MAKE NP happy
- Make happy N
- BE happy
- BRING happiness
- GIVE OUT happiness
- GUIDE to happiness

## boys

- Happy life
- Be happy
- Dye happy
- live happy
- step towards happiness
- get happiness
- giving out happiness (only this construction implies that other people are involved)

# Corpus stylistics

- ✓ An emerging field recognized by both corpus linguists and stylisticians (cf. Chapelle 2011, Lindquist 2009, O’Keeffe and McCarthy 2010, Leech and Short 2007, Jeffries and McIntyre 2010, McIntyre and Busse 2010)
  
- ✓ Corpus linguistics
  - ✓ corpus: a large collection of computer-readable texts, collected on the basis of principled criteria
  - ✓ quantitative data
  - ✓ Allows to find patterns
  
- ✓ Stylistics (relation between linguistic form and literary effect)
  - ✓ The stylistician can draw on the full range of linguistic models (Simpson 2004: 3)

Elena Semino and Mick Short(2004). *Corpus Stylistics. Speech, writing and thought presentation in a corpus of English writing.*

London: Routledge

- “We hope that this book will be of interest to at least two different kinds of linguists: (i) **textlinguists** (e.g. stylisticians and critical discourse analysts) who are involved in the analysis of discourse presentation in written and spoken language, and (ii) corpus linguists or other linguists who are interested in developing dedicated electronic corpora to elucidate textual phenomena”. (P. 1)

# What can Corpus stylistics do

- Model testing against a representative set of data

The Leech and Short model, like all theoretical models in stylistics up to that point, was developed through the use of scholarly intuition, based on extensive personal reading experience, which was in turn exemplified and tested through the analysis of examples chosen from previous reading. The model was also designed to account specifically for speech and thought presentation in fictional texts (indeed, most of the discourse presentation work by stylisticians and narratologists has concentrated on fiction). Hence it was difficult to know how generalizable the model was to other text-types, or how descriptively adequate it was when ‘tested to destruction’ on texts (including fictional texts) in a way that could not avoid inconvenient or borderline cases. It was for this reason that we decided to develop and annotate a dedicated corpus to test out the model.

# What can Corpus Stylistics do

## Case study: Characterization in Dickens (Mahlberg, 2012)

“[i]t is tempting to read Dickens’s work [...] as one long novel – partly because the plots seem to matter less than such things as his evocations of atmosphere and his handling of character” (Kucich 1994: 403)

Externalization of character (John 2001)

- relying on methods of popular melodrama
- emotions shown in exaggerated ways
- gestures and actions add to externalize character
- mind only takes a marginal place
- transparent character



# Suspensions

- Suspensions are interruptions of characters' speech by the narrator. They fall into three groups with regard to the character information that they provide. They can contain:
  - body language,  
And Lord, says Mr. Bucket, *opening his arms*, here's children too!
  - the narrator's interpretation of speech  
Sir Leicester Dedlock, Baronet, *returns Mr. Bucket very seriously*, I hope it may ...
  - direct characterization  
Sir Leicester Dedlock, Baronet, *proceeds Mr. Bucket, who delights in a full title and does violence to himself when he dispenses with any fragment of it...*
- Concordance searches of the characters' names in suspensions reveal character information.

# Bleak House

- Sir Leicester Dedlock is an idle, fashionable aristocrat. Lady Dedlock, his wife, keeps a secret: when she was young, she bore an illegitimate child, a girl, to her lover, Captain Hawdon. What she does not know, however, is that the child is still alive.
- **Tulkinghorn**, a corrupt and self-serving but clever lawyer working for Sir Leicester, discovers Lady Dedlock's secret, helped by Lady Dedlock's maid Hortense, and threatens to reveal it.
- A short time later, Tulkinghorn is found shot to death. A detective, **Mr. Bucket**, is hired to investigate. The suspects include Lady Dedlock but Bucket later discovers that the murderer is Mlle. Hortense.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I\\_9SBBK4KzI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I_9SBBK4KzI)



## Tulkinghorn



**The faithful lawyer to Sir Leicester.**

---

Tulkinghorn discovers that Lady Dedlock is hiding something, and will not rest until he has unearthed the secret and has her in his power.

## Bucket



**A coolly amoral detective.**

---

Initially employed by Tulkinghorn to assist him in the pursuit of Lady Dedlock's secret.

He soon finds himself at the centre of a whodunit mystery.

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 ¶ Normale ¶ Nessuna... Titolo 1 Titolo 2 Titolo Sottotitolo Enfasi deli...  
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1 other. "I don't mind telling YOU," says Bucket with an engaging appearance of frankness  
 2 inctly. "Now, what YOU want," pursues Bucket, again tapping Mr. Snagsby on the breast  
 3 n't what you endeavour to do," says Mr. Bucket, shaking hands with him and blessing him  
 4 right." "You see, Mr. Snagsby," says Mr. Bucket, accompanying him to the door and shaking  
 7 you suspect ME?" "George," returns Mr. Bucket, keeping his forefinger going, "it is cer  
 9 der?" "Murder!" "Now, George," says Mr. Bucket, keeping his forefinger in an impressive  
 12 with you, governor? And Lord," says Mr. Bucket, opening his arms, "here's children too!  
 13 ted station of society, miss," says Mr. Bucket, quite reddening at another narrow escape  
 14 YOU know life, you know, sir," says Mr. Bucket with a complimentary twinkle of his eye  
 15 rpose. "Why you see, miss," returns Mr. Bucket, bringing the finger into persuasive acti  
 16 eicester Dedlock, Baronet," returns Mr. Bucket very seriously, "I hope it may at one an  
 17 twenty-four hours. "And this," says Mr. Bucket, spreading it out on the table, "is in th  
 18 fference. Now I think of it," says Mr. Bucket, warming his hands and looking pleasantly  
 19 s a beautiful case, you see, miss," Mr. Bucket goes on, glancing gravely at Sir Leicest  
 21 eicester Dedlock, Baronet," returns Mr. Bucket with his head persuasively on one side a  
 23 r Leicester Dedlock, Baronet," says Mr. Bucket, and from this time forth the finger neve  
 25 y, of course you wanted to get in," Mr. Bucket asserts with cheerfulness; "but for a ol  
 26 a menace. "Now, mademoiselle," says Mr. Bucket in a cool determined way, "you go and si  
 27 man of business, you are," returns Mr. Bucket, very attentive, "and consequently you're  
 29 w, Sir Leicester Dedlock, Baronet," Mr. Bucket begins, standing over him with one hand  
 30 m limb." "Bless you, darling," says Mr. Bucket with the greatest composure, "I'm fully  
 31 Don't you think any more," returns Mr. Bucket with admonitory finger, "of throwing you  
 32 er serjeant of the same name," says Mr. Bucket, offering his hand, "and consequently fee  
 34 y man." "Now I tell you what," says Mr. Bucket, instantaneously altering his manner, com  
 43 ce. "In consequence of which," said Mr. Bucket, dismissing his agreeable manner all at o  
 44 d so you chance to find, you know," Mr. Bucket went on, stooping over him with an air o

# Bucket's characterisation

- Bucket as pleasant or cheerful:
  - line 1 with an engaging appearance,
  - line 18 looking pleasantly at the blaze,
  - line 25 asserts with cheerfulness.
- But there are also examples showing him more serious and composed:
  - line 19 glancing gravely at Sir Leicester,
  - line 26 in a cool determined manner,
  - line 30 with the greatest composure.
- At the same time, the concordance also contains information that helps explain such variety in behaviour.
  - Line 34 instantaneously altering his manner
  - line 43 dismissing his agreeable manner all at once and becoming strictly business-like.
- He is able to adjust his behaviour and uses this ability strategically. Versatility as a characteristic feature. By highlighting Buckets variation in manner and attempts of being calculating and appearing controlled the opposite effect is created. He is not portrayed as a subtle person.

- Mr. Bucket and his fat *forefinger* are much in consultation together under existing circumstances. When Mr. Bucket has a matter of this pressing interest under his consideration, the fat *forefinger* seems to rise, to the dignity of a familiar demon. He puts it to his ears, and it whispers information; he puts it to his lips, and it enjoins him to secrecy; he rubs it over his nose, and it sharpens his scent; he shakes it before a guilty man, and it charms him to his destruction. The Augurs of the Detective Temple invariably predict that when Mr. Bucket and that *finger* are in much conference, a terrible avenger will be heard of before long.

(C. Dickens, *Bleak House*)



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 G C S abc x<sub>2</sub> x<sup>2</sup> Aa ab A  
 Carattere Paragrafo  
 AaBbCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBbCc AaBbCc AaBbI AaBbCcl AaBbCcDc  
 Normale Nessuna... Titolo 1 Titolo 2 Titolo Sottotitolo Enfasi deli...  
 Stili Cambia stili

1 oceedings in a cause--cautious man Mr. Tulkinghorn, taking no more responsibility than neces  
 2 you say?" "I say I am afraid," says Mr. Tulkinghorn, who had risen hastily, "that Lady Dedloc  
 3 did." "There was one of them," says Mr. Tulkinghorn, carelessly feeling-- tight, unopenable o  
 4 it." "Hadn't you better see," says Mr. Tulkinghorn to Krook, "whether he had any papers tha  
 5 , my dear." "I supposed, sergeant," Mr. Tulkinghorn resumes as he leans on one side of his c  
 6 u can go. So you are the man," says Mr. Tulkinghorn, opening his door with the key, "in whose  
 7 es the air. "The question is," says Mr. Tulkinghorn in his methodical, subdued, uninterested  
 8 n--Mob. "It's the place, you know," Mr. Tulkinghorn goes on to say in the fast-increasing da  
 9 y. "And he was much assisted," says Mr. Tulkinghorn as a wind-up, "by his son." "By his son,  
 10 arable." "Go on!" "Therefore," says Mr. Tulkinghorn, pursuing his case in his jog- trot style  
 11 g more to be sald to-night?" "Why," Mr. Tulkinghorn returns methodically as he softly rubs h  
 12 wide open. "Now, let us see," says Mr. Tulkinghorn, tapping his chin with the key and lookin  
 13 dismissed by your lady, you know," Mr. Tulkinghorn observes, following her out upon the sta  
 14 r." "She seems after all," observes Mr. Tulkinghorn, loitering a little forward with his hand  
 15 concentrated. "This woman," thinks Mr. Tulkinghorn, standing on the hearth, again a dark obj

16 lly-- I was about to say," resumes the lawyer with undisturbed calmness, "that whether  
 17 have got it here, sir." "Sergeant, the lawyer proceeds in his dry passionless manner,  
 18 matters this much, mistress," says the lawyer, deliberately putting away his handkerchi  
 19 u dare to do it!" "And if," pursuesthe lawyer without minding her, "I place you in tha  
 20 former whisper. "And now," proceeds the lawyer, still without minding her, "you had bett  
 21 nt, sir?" "Why, Lady Dedlock," says the lawyer, taking a chair at a little distance from



# Mr. Tulkinghorn

•During this dialogue Mr. Tulkinghorn has stood **aloof** by the old portmanteau, **with his hands behind him**, equally removed, to all appearance, from all three kinds of interest exhibited near the bed -- from the young surgeon's professional interest in death, noticeable as being quite apart from his remarks on the deceased as an individual; from the old man's unctiousness; and the little crazy woman's awe. His **imperturbable** face has been as **inexpressive** as his rusty clothes. One could not even say he has been thinking all this while. He has shown neither patience nor impatience, nor attention nor abstraction. **He has shown nothing but his shell**. As easily might the tone of a delicate musical instrument be inferred from its case, as the tone of Mr. Tulkinghorn from his case.

- *with his back to the fire/chimney-piece* associated with power as the fire was the most prominent place of the room (cf. Korte 1997: 212).
- repeatedly depicted *with his hands behind him points to him being calm*, distanced and passionless. Tulkinghorn does not show any interest when the doctor examines Nemo's corpse and discusses his cause of death with Krook. Tulkinghorn is described as standing aloof, being removed, his face is imperturbable and inexpressive, all that he shows is his shell.

- In contrast to inspector Bucket, Tulkinghorn is portrayed as more reserved and calculating.
  - line 1 a cautious man,
  - line 7 his methodical, subdued, uninterested way, I
  - line 10 his jog- trot style,
  - Line 17 his dry passionless manner.
  - line 11 returns methodically
  - Line 16 with undisturbed calmness
- It is ironic that although Tulkinghorn appears to be cautious and systematic, he ends up being killed by Hortense, a minor character whom he thinks he can easily threaten.

- While Bucket in contrast appears less professional with his exaggerated gallantry or his business approach that resembles that of an upholsterer, he is successful in solving a murder case.
- Tulkinghorn's passionless manner not only relates to him being methodical, it also is a sign of him being aloof.
- While Bucket appears as more engaged, communicative and hands-on in the literal sense of the word, Tulkinghorn is portrayed as distanced and passionless. Buckets gets closer to people and the movements of his forefinger accompany his speech and actions.
- Tulkinghorn, in contrast, is shown to have his hands in his pockets or behind him, which in the given contexts can be interpreted as showing distance.

# Case study 2: characters' idiolect



The poster is red with white and black text. At the top left is the Sapienza University logo. Below it, the text reads 'Dipartimento di Studi Europei, Americani e Interculturali'. The main title 'Capire la forma' is in large white letters, with the subtitle 'linguaggio, testo, stile' below it. In the center is a colorful illustration of several stylized human figures. Below the illustration is the title 'Framing Form' in large black letters, with the subtitle 'language, text, style' below it. At the bottom, the dates '19 e 20 febbraio 2016' and the location 'Villa Mirafiori, Aula VI' are listed. The logo of the 'Associazione Italiana di Anglistica' is in the bottom right corner.

SAPIENZA  
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

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linguaggio, testo, stile

**Framing Form**  
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19 e 20 febbraio 2016  
Villa Mirafiori, Aula VI

Associazione  
Italiana  
di Anglistica

- Elena Semino, *Language and mind in narrative* (with Zsófia Demjén, The Open University)
- addresses the representation of mind in narrative
- A fictional narrative: *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*, by Mark Haddon (2003)
- A non-fictional narrative: *Henry's Demons – Living with Schizophrenia: A Father and Son's Story*, by Patrick and Henry Cockburn (2011)

## 'Key words' in *The Curious Incident*

- Keyword tool to compare the novel with the Imaginative Writing section of the British National Corpus (BNC).
- The top three 'overused' words (key words) in *The Curious Incident* are:
  - 'And'
  - 'I'
  - 'Said'

# Grammatical simplicity, but not always

There were lots of people on the train, **and** I didn't like that, because I don't like lots of people I don't know **and** I hate it even more if I am stuck in a room with lots of people I don't know, **and** a train is like a room **and** you can't get out of it when it's moving. **And** it made me think of when I had to come home in the car from school one day because the bus had broken down **and** Mother came **and** picked me up **and** Mrs Peters asked Mother if she could take Jack **and** Polly home because their mothers couldn't come **and** pick them up, **and** Mother said yes. But I started screaming in the car because there were too many people in it **and** Jack **and** Polly weren't in my class **and** Jack bangs his head on things **and** makes a noise like an animal, **and** I tried to get out of the car, but it was still going along **and** I fell out onto the road **and** I had to have stitches in my head **and** they had to shave the hair off **and** it took 3 months for it to grow back to the way it was before. (p. 196)

# Overuse of 'I' and self-focus

- Christopher tends to be happiest in his own company and often chooses to be by himself.
- He struggles to understand other people and to feel close to them.
- All of this may lead to inferences about an autism-spectrum disorder.

# Additional computer-aided analysis of the use of personal pronouns

- the same kind of comparison carried out between the novel and a 40,000-word corpus of *first-person* fiction.
  - 'I' is the third top keyword.
  - 'We' is underused.
- Limited sense of companionship/commonality with others?



## A 'concordance' of 'we'

he stood up and opened the door and we walked out into the corridor and back  
were all in a little plastic bag and we went out to Father 's car which was p  
's car which was parked outside and we drove home . 37 I do not tell lies .  
so I did n't say anything else until we got home . When we came in through th  
ything else until we got home . When we came in through the front door I went  
I went and found the secret key that we keep under a flowerpot behind the kit  
very long time , then he said , 'Can we visit her ? ' I asked , because I lik  
. Father said , I said , 'Why ca n't we ? ' And he said , I asked , 'Is it a  
us on the way to school next morning we passed 4 red cars in a row which mean  
was a stupid thing to think because we were n't in a competition . But Terry  
, and electromagnetic waves are how we get information about things which ar  
' And the Reverend Peters said that we should talk about this on another day  
s , like Rabbit did when he died and we buried him in the earth at the bottom  
orms and went into the plants and if we go and dig in the same place in 10 ye  
Romania at football which meant that we were n't going to go on an outing bec  
ike being in France , which is where we went on holiday sometimes when Mother

## *Henry's Demons - Living with Schizophrenia: A Father's and Son's Story*

- Co-written in 2011 by father and son Patrick and Henry Cockburn
- Temporally very close to Henry's most severe psychosis
- Reviewed in several psychiatry journals.



# *Henry's Demons - Living with Schizophrenia: A Father's and Son's Story*

## An extract from Henry's narrative

I found myself walking on a road parallel to the train tracks. I felt I was going on a mission. You know fire hydrants are yellow and have an H on them. I thought the H stood for Henry. I climbed a barbed-wire fence and sat under a big tree. I put down all the stuff I had amassed: bits of metal, bits of wood, and a big bag of clay. I felt the tree telling me to take off my shoes. (pp. 39-40)

Demjén and Semino (*BMJ Medical Humanities*, 2015. The representation of Auditory Verbal Hallucinations in Henry's narrative)

## Auditory Verbal Hallucinations

- Sub-type of hallucinations
- Persistent AVHs are among the key diagnostic criteria for schizophrenia (DSM-IV and V).
- A linguistic analysis can begin to suggest some aspects of the 'felt experience' of AVHs that have not been discussed in previous studies.

## 'Overuse' of first-person singular pronouns: 'I', 'me' and 'my'

- electronic text analysis used to compare Henry's chapters with a 40,000-word 'corpus' of extracts from late 20th century autobiographies.
- 'I', 'me' and 'my' are overused and 'we' underused to a statistically significant extent ( $p < 0.001$ ).

Word	Log Likelihood score
I	483.71
me	81.59
my	60.94
we	-10.85

# Self-centered story-telling

- Focus on himself even when part of a group:
  - *My father took me travelling in the summer. I went to Rome, which I did not like as much as Venice. We visited Paris [...] (p. 86) [NB: the whole family went]*
- Heightened significance in relation to self:
  - *I thought H stood for Henry (p. 39) [on a fire hydrant]*
  - *I thought that Claren's story related to me but in a different way (p. 41)*
- Focus on his own mental world:

# Who/what is speaking?

Who speaks?	How often?
Plants	22
People Henry knows in real life	7
Disembodied/unattributed voices	7
Inanimate things	6
Animals	4
Henry's own voice	2
Supernatural	1
<i>Total</i>	49

Most of the time, Henry hears the voices of plants: e.g. trees and brambles:

*It [a tree] told me to come to London. (p. 125)*

*There is a tree I sit under in the garden in Lewisham which speaks to me and gives me hope. (p. 222)*

# How are the voices presented?

## Sensory verbs: *to hear*

- Eight instances where the verb *hear* precedes a reference to speech in reports of AVHs, e.g.:
  - *I **heard** two birds call to me to run away, but I didn't have the stomach to do it.* (p. 176)
  - *I went into the kitchen and could **hear** the girl in my head saying, "What do you want? I don't love you."* (p. 170)
- Markedness of *hear* in speech reporting in English:
  - *'Are you lost?' She **heard** someone say behind her* (from the Oxford English Corpus)



# Sensory verbs: to feel

- Seven instances in which the verb 'feel' precedes a reference to speech in reports of AVHs
  - I felt the tree telling me to take off my shoes (p. 39)
  - I felt a call from the natural world to run away

# Why does this matter?

- The way in which AVHs are reported (speech presentation, sensory/cognitive verbs) could potentially indicate how Henry experiences them and the (varying) degree and kind of reality status that he attributes to them.
- A linguistic analysis can enrich existing typologies of AVHs in ways that might be relevant to a better understanding of individual experiences, and to diagnosis.