This concordance study uses a corpus of applied linguistic articles to explore how and why accomplished academic writers use quotations and citations, specifically the word 'say,' and analyses the lexical and grammatical choices they make. Citations were examined in almost 50,000 words from 11 articles to document use by expert writers. Overuse of 'say' by English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) students is symptomatic of a lack of vocabulary as well as a lack of understanding of the requirements of academic writing in acknowledging sources. Findings suggest that students lack knowledge of the citation behavior of expert writers and that concordanced research and classroom exercises may help teachers become better able to empower students to make better lexical awareness and choice. Appendixes present the corpus list, most frequent reporting verbs, and concordanced worksheet. (Contains 20 references.) (NAV)
Citing Previous Writers: What Can We Say instead of 'Say'?

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Abstract

Most ESL teachers would intuitively agree that student ESL writers grossly overuse the word "say" when citing the work of other authors. Now concordance studies can produce quantifiable evidence showing this overuse by learners, and document authentic patterns of use by "expert" writers. This concordance study is of a corpus of applied linguistics articles. It explores how and why accomplished academic writers use quotations and citations, and analyses the lexical and grammatical choices they make. The results of this analysis are discussed with reference to a number of possible pedagogical applications.

Introduction

One spin off of the increasing use of computer concordancers and large corpora is that statistical evidence has become readily available to support and supplement teacher intuition. For example, Granger (1994) compared a corpus of over 1 million words of academic writing produced by non-native speakers of English (the International Corpus of Learner English) with over 83,000 words from native speakers, and was able to identify significantly overused and underused words in the learner corpus. The verb 'say', she reports, has a "very significant overuse". Likewise, Tribble (1991) investigated "speech-related words" in history articles, an engineering text and a student corpus, and though he discovered a very interesting difference in the use of the verb in the first two corpora, he also found that the high ratio of 'said' to other 'speech' words in the student corpus was "the most significant indication of the relative paucity of the 'speech' vocabulary in the Student corpus" (Tribble 1991:7).

These findings come as no surprise to teachers in tertiary institutions teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP) who all too frequently see something like "as Smith says..." or "Hall says that ...", or even more frequently, "Hall said ...", when marking student essays. Many students themselves also express an awareness of this, and feel their language lacks variety and sophistication.

The overuse of 'say' is not only symptomatic of a lack of vocabulary, but is part of a much larger problem related to understanding the requirements of academic writing especially when acknowledging sources. From her study of the incorporation of an original undergraduate anthropology textbook into the essays of 30 (20 ESL, 10 native speaker) undergraduate students at UCLA Campbell observed that:

In fact, none of the students in this study, native or nonnative, seem to have a mastery of the appropriate acknowledgment of another author. (Campbell:1990:223)
However, as she points out, this picture is very different from "the language use of experienced academic writers who acknowledge the author or text for every quotation and most paraphrases in their revised work" (ibid.:221). If students are seen as trainee academics then mastery of citation techniques (which include direct quotation and paraphrase) is necessary in order to gain admittance into the academic discourse community (see Swales, 1990, for a comprehensive discussion of the term 'discourse community'). Ivanic and Roach (1990) present a revealing account of a mature student's struggles to produce the sort of writing acceptable in a university and still maintain a strong sense of her own identity. Using an extended 'clothes' metaphor Roach explains how "different disciplines required you to use different disguises, thus my skeleton [the essay] had to be dressed in different clothing ... using their clothes (that is their language) seemed to gain me access to the privileges of academic life" (Ivanic & Roach, 1990:9). Thus, to continue Roach's metaphor, as teachers of EAP we need to put clearly on display the sort of clothes which gain admittance into the academic club, so that our students can then choose which ones suit them best after trying them on for size. The conventions and language of citations form part of this necessary academic garb.

This paper investigates certain features of citation and attempts to ascertain what expert writers are doing when they cite, why they cite, and most importantly how they cite, i.e. what (linguistic) devices do they employ and can these devices be categorised? In fact, do they fall into any patterns which can then be made more obvious and explicit for students trying to emulate them?

In order to attempt an answer to some of these questions, I examined citations in almost 50,000 words (graphemes) from a corpus of 11 applied linguistics articles¹ (see appendix 1 for the complete list). The writers of these articles can be considered 'expert' writers insofar as they have been admitted into an academic discourse community by successfully having their articles published in a journal read by other applied linguists.

A concordanced search for citations

As the 11 articles were all taken from three issues of the same journal there was a consistent use of the Harvard parenthetical documentation format. Thus, a search for "(19??)" produces lines such as those below:

Sample KWIC (Key Word in Context Printout)

Concordance for "(19??)"

In this way, after dates with a non-citational function had been deleted, a total of 315 citations were identified in the corpus. An analysis of the example above illustrates how the 315 citations were identified, i.e. each line of the KWIC (key word in context) printout was counted as one citation. However this could be described as a 'quick and dirty' (Swales, 1990) analysis as results will account for all formal citations and most, but not absolutely all references to previous research. The most serious omission is that of renewed or extensive discussion of a previously mentioned writer without the repetition of the year in parenthesis (though I also conducted searches for 'ibid.' and 'op. cit.'). This is important when, as Jacoby contends longer discussions of a particular work are more likely to occur if a writer has to "devote some space to making a case for stronger denial or affirmation of predecessors" (Jacoby, 1987:45). An alternative strategy to overcome this problem would be to concordance all the names in the bibliographies. However, on a small corpus consisting of a number of articles this would not be cost-effective.
Furthermore, like Munby, in Swales' (1986) corpus, some researchers become so much a part of the discipline that their work is no longer explicitly referenced. For example, the phrase "a Whorfian reductionist view" was not located by means of the concordanced search.

Table 1 below presents the distribution of the citations found by the "(19??)" search throughout the eleven articles.

**Table 1: The distribution of citations in 11 applied linguistics articles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Number of Words in Text</th>
<th>Number of Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2543</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6231</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6973</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3543</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3004</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4106</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4958</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5255</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>6384</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3463</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3543</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49913</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Say'

Analyzing the reporting verbs in the introductions of approximately 100 journal articles from such diverse fields as applied linguistics, geology, and veterinary science Thompson and Ye (1991) observe that 'say' "appeared less frequently than would have been predicted" (ibid.:367). They found 9 occurrences of 'say' though 12 of 'remark'. Their findings are consistent with those from my own corpus in which the lexeme 'say' was used only 4 times in relation to citation. All four occurrences are given below in a KWIC format:

1. (1980, and quoted in Rutherford) had this to say: English speakers have, in effect, more wo
2. of this kind, as Biggs and Telfer (1987) say, help link the content being learned with existing k
3. ng comprehension. As Tierney (1983:9) has said, "It is easy to forget that the mastery of the strat
4. cal schemata for the text. A schema is said to be "a collection of concepts and associative link

Though all four occurrences of 'say' have direct quotation in common there nevertheless remains a variety of use that eludes our students:

a) the first introduces an 'extended' (and therefore, indented quotation) of over 50 words in two sentences whereas, the other three introduce 'shorter' quotations of one sentence or less which are incorporated into the writers' own sentences.

b) the second, closest to the pattern "x says ..." frequently overused by novice writers, is the only example of 'say' in the present simple (active voice). Numbers 1, 3, and 4 are past simple, present perfect and passive, respectively.

c) the fourth combines a definition of one term with short quotations from two separate sources within one sentence.

Given the above variety with the humble 'say' it is not surprising to find even more variety in other aspects of citation. Nevertheless, it is useful to look for some broad patterns of use.
CITING PREVIOUS WRITERS: WHAT CAN WE SAY INSTEAD OF 'SAY'?

The following sections investigate the citation habits of 'expert' writers in an attempt to answer the following questions:

- to what extent do they quote?
- do they use long or short quotations?
- to what extent do they incorporate quotations into their own language?
- do they refer to previous researchers within their own sentences or in brackets?
- which tense do they tend to use most?

### Length of Citations

Using Swales' (1986) definition of 'short' or 'extensive' (i.e. the discussion of the previous research extends over more than one sentence) this corpus shows that expert writers favour 'short' rather than 'extensive' citations. Looking from each of the 315 formal citations to their wider context I found that 96 (i.e. less than one third) were referred to in a discussion spanning more than one sentence.

### Number and Length of Quotations

Approximately one third of the citations involved direct quotation. Figures are very approximate here as they depend very much on the counting procedures and definition of 'quotation'. This is not difficult when extended quotations are involved, but problems arise particularly with one or two word quotations. For example, how many quotations from Swales are contained within the first sentence of the above paragraph? The answer depends on one's definition and could be 1, 2, or 4. In my own count from the corpus (using the function of looking from the citation as shown above, to the wider context on the computer screen and if necessary, the original articles) I would say that there are two quotations from Swales. The first two are separate words. However, the second two refer to the same thing and the source, Swales is not repeated. So, whenever short quotations are repeated and again attributed directly to a previous researcher, then I include them in the count. (This was especially problematic in one article containing a lengthy discussion of 'errors' and 'mistakes' and how various researchers had defined the terms). On the other hand, when a term such as 'discourse community' in either single or double inverted commas was attributed to more than one writer at the same time, it was not considered a quotation.

Interestingly, over 75% (ca. 84) of the direct quotations consisted of no more than 20 words (graphemes), and of these 50% (ca. 44) are one and two word quotations.

Thus, about a third of the citations in this corpus involve direct quotations and these are frequently short. How, and to what extent, do academics incorporate these into their own writing, and what do they do in the other two thirds of the citations?

### Integral vs. Non-Integral Citations

Swales provides us with a very simple and easily counted means of analyzing attribution techniques:

An integral citation is one in which the name of the researcher occurs in the actual citing sentence as some sentence element; in a non-integral citation, the researcher occurs either in parenthesis or is referred to elsewhere by a superscript number or via some other device. (Swales, 1990:148)

Though Swales makes no mentions of quotation, presumably seeing it as only one part of citation, I also investigated the relation between 'integration' of citations and 'integration' of quotations. As I had already discovered that over 75% of the quotations in my corpus consisted of 20 words or less, I expected to find writers incorporating the previous researchers' words into their own sentences. The results for the four categories are given in Table 2.
Table 2: Integral vs. non-integral citations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Integral</th>
<th>Non-integral</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Quotation</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Quotation</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (58%)</strong></td>
<td>184</td>
<td><strong>Total (42%) 131</strong></td>
<td><strong>315</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, as can be seen, the applied linguists most commonly (45%) referred to the previous researcher in their own words and as part of their own sentences. They also incorporated approximately 58% of the quotations from previous researchers into their own sentences (giving a ratio of roughly 60:40 for integral and non-integral quotations).

The Integral Citations

As these citations constitute the largest category (58%), it is worth investigating more closely how the integration of the previous researcher’s name into the writer’s sentence is realised. Again Swales (1990:149) provides some useful guidelines for further categorisation. His examples, however, though witty and illuminating do not account for all the irregularities and variety found in authentic journal writing. I have, consequently, adapted his model and sorted the integral citations into the following four categories:

1. Name of researcher (NR) as subject of the writer’s sentence:
   
   Stern (1984) includes evaluation as one of the 'curriculum processes'.

2. NR as agent:

   Studies involving Chinese writers have been conducted by Lay (1982), Arndt (1987) and Friedlander (1990).

3. NR as part of a possessive noun phrase:

   Odlin’s (1989) enquiry....

4. NR in other positions eg. as a direct object or after prepositions other than 'by' (2) or 'of' (3):

   ...., citing Cziko (1983), ...

   ... are suggested in Zepp’s quote from Lemon (1981):

The count for the above four categories is shown in Table 3 below as rounded percentages:

Table 3: NR position in integral citations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Researcher</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive agent</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive noun phrase</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CITING PREVIOUS WRITERS: WHAT CAN WE SAY INSTEAD OF 'SAY'?

Expert writers clearly tend to prefer integral citations with the name of the researcher as the subject of the sentence. The question, therefore, arises as to which tense they choose for these sentences. Though the question of tense and citation has been addressed at greater length by previous researchers (Een, 1982; Ard, 1982; Malcolm, 1987; Thompson & Ye, 1991; Swales, 1981, 1990; Adams Smith, 1984; Peritz, 1983) it is still valid to compare previous reading, and intuition with this particular applied linguistics corpus.

The table below shows the tenses for the integral citations with NR as the subject.

Table 4: Tense distribution in NR subject citations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present perfect</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, combining the above factors, a search for integral citations involving NR as subject in present tense sentences produces a total of 60 occurrences, almost 20%, of the formal citations within the corpus.

Verbs of Citation

Further analysis of the 60 occurrences of integral citations with NR as subject in present tense sentences yields 42 so-called 'reporting verbs'. There appears to be no clear consensus in the literature of discourse analysis as to the meaning of this term, e.g. Swales (1990:151) claims that a writer can select from about 50, whereas Thompson and Ye (1991:367) report that they have identified over 400, and have developed a classification system consisting of 22 categories and sub-categories. Hunston (1993), emphasising the potential conflict in academic writing between the previous researcher and present writer, reduces Thompson and Ye's categories to seven classes.

In this paper, I make no attempt to classify all the reporting verbs within my corpus though it is readily seen that some verbs are used more frequently than others. Table 5 lists the 14 verbs which occur more than once within the "(19??)" printout of integral citations (present tense and NR as subject). Using this list as an initial indicator of the frequency of the verbs, I conducted a further search for all occurrences of these 14 verbs in other sentences with the same features in order to find additional occurrences which do not appear close to the year in brackets. The combined results are given in the table below and the KWIC printout showing the actual verbs in their immediate context is provided in Appendix 2. I offer this list and the accompanying printout as the beginning of an answer to the question posed in the title of this paper. It must be remembered, however, that the verbs listed below are used under very specific conditions and no claims are made here regarding their overall frequency throughout the corpus.

Table 5: The reporting verbs occurring most frequently in integral citations with NR as subject in present tense sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Occurrence with (19??)</th>
<th>Occurrence without (19??)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>argue</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suggest</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>propose</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cite</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Selection of any of the above verbs as an alternative to 'say' obviously depends on the meaning of the word and the writer's aim in using it. The printout in Appendix 2 provides a starting point for students, with their teacher's help, to analyse this and then increase their vocabulary range when making citations in their own writing. Later stages would involve looking at the other verbs occurring less frequently, the use of the verbs in sentences with other tenses and those in which the NR is the passive agent. Another fruitful alternative would be to investigate the various possessive noun phrases.

The functions of citations

This aspect of the subject has been addressed very competently by various other writers. Swales (1986), for example, gives a comprehensive overview of work done by citation analysts and calls for an integration of their methods and findings into discourse analysis, while Jacoby (1987) applies an evaluation/originality cline to show how literary researchers manage to present their work as continuing in the scholarly tradition of their field while simultaneously claiming that they have an original point to make. In a previous paper (Pickard, 1993a) I used Swales's (1986) categories to analyze the amount of refutation in my applied linguistics corpus. The paper contains results showing that only 5% of the citations involved any negative assessment of the work of the previous researchers and speculation as to why this might occur can also be found in the paper.

Cynics may suggest that the majority of citations are used to show how widely the writer has read in the field. However, this could be a fairly important observation for students who, when they first come to university do not realize that they are actually expected to show where they have obtained their information. Thus, Roach (Ivanic & Roach, 1990) describes how friends, already initiated into university life, had to actually explain to her that she needed to include citations in the essay which she wanted to answer in only a few of her own words.

Campbell (1990) also observes how inexperienced writers are unable to acknowledge their sources when incorporating them into essays. Thus, the major reasons why students need to cite their sources are to avoid being accused of plagiarism through copying without acknowledging, and to show their width of reading.

Discussion

The above study of the citations in this corpus is by no means complete, e.g. the non-integral citations have not been analyzed, but the idea has been in each case to look for the most common patterns. In this way we can begin to see how to grade materials for students and make explicit the basic techniques for gaining admission into the academic discourse community. The insights thus gained may be applied pedagogically as described below.
Pedagogical Applications

I concur with Campbell when she complains that handbooks on writing tend to "either avoid the issue of documentation altogether, or they present an anxiety-producing harangue about plagiarism, followed by confusing rules about the punctuation of footnotes and bibliographical citations" (Campbell, 1990:226). She also observes that though undergraduate students do a lot of reading, they take no notice of the style and techniques employed in the texts they are reading. Consequently, it becomes the composition instructor's duty:

to direct students' attention to how academicians reference their sources, when they provide quotations rather than paraphrases or summaries of information, and probably most importantly, how these references support rather than govern the writer's content. (ibid.:227).

Though, obviously, taking complete journal articles into class is a useful first move, I suggest that an essential tool in this process, for both instructor and students, is a computerised text analyzer or concordancer. With the aid of a concordancer students can 'physically' search for patterns which are otherwise not apparent. This approach is especially useful if students can also analyze their course books since they may be already familiar with the content. The ideal learning situation is one in which students have access to a concordancer and a corpus with which they are to some degree familiar in order to make their own learning materials. (Pickard (1993b) provides an account of a course which culminated in student-led seminars based upon concordanced exercises they had prepared themselves.)

Intermediate or supplementary steps towards this ideal situation are outlined below:

a) The teacher develops concordanced exercises (cf. appendix 3) concentrating on citation patterns frequently used within the students' disciplines.

b) The teacher discusses concordanced examples of student writing which rely heavily on the verb 'say', and elicits suggestions for making the writing more interesting and varied (see Tribble, 1991:14).

c) The teacher, using lists compiled from a concordanced analysis of authentic academic texts, asks students to classify/analyze the nouns and verbs of citation.

d) The teacher presents students with a simplified chronological representation of the reporting process and asks them to find examples of each stage in their own textbooks. Thompson & Ye (1991:378) present a cline which would be helpful for both teachers and students to identify the various stages in the reporting process (writer writes; writer evaluates; writer reads; author writes; author thinks; author researches) and examples of the reporting verbs which may occur at the different stages.

e) As part of project work the students conduct research into the quantitative and qualitative aspects of citation (Swales, 1987). Thus for the former:

each student takes an international journal from his or her field and analyzes an agreed number of recent articles in terms of the language(s) of the citations. The class-pooled expertise is used to identify individually unrecognized languages. A master table of all the findings is prepared, and then small groups discuss, draft, and redraft the emerging research paper. (Swales, 1987:53)

For the qualitative aspects, Swales's (ibid.:) suggestions include students interviewing first each other, and later members of staff who have successfully had journal articles published about their citation behaviour.

The above steps all have the one common purpose of encouraging student awareness of the citation behaviour of 'expert' writers. However, an alternative yet complementary approach is to encourage
greater student involvement with their sources. Work by Ivanic suggests that teachers "should set tasks that demand an interaction between received material and the student's own voice" (Ivanic, 1993). Such tasks, she suggests, might include having students 'write to the writer of this extract', or bringing to class quotations which they really like (Ivanic, 1993). Expanding her latter suggestion, I recently took a quotation I liked to my EAP class and explained what I liked about it and then showed the students two different ways that I might incorporate it into a piece of academic writing of my own. The students then discussed and compared quotations they had selected from their own fields. If they could see any relation such as contrast, comparison, expansion, etc. between them, they then tried to incorporate two short quotations into a paragraph of their own writing. Though I cannot ascertain whether the students carried the lesson of this activity over into their essays and project reports, it is certainly an activity I shall try again.

This paper has suggested that students lack knowledge of the citation behaviour of expert writers and proposes that we look at the choices most frequently made by expert writers when making citations. If, through concordanced research such as the above, we can inform ourselves and our teaching in order to make those choices more explicit for students, then we will be in a position to actively empower them to become members of their academic discourse community.

I would like to thank Dr. Desmond Allison for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

Notes

1 As far as possible, tables, bibliographies and examples of learner English were excluded from the corpus.

2 There are fewer quotations recorded here than referred to in the earlier section on quotations. This is accounted for by the fact that one citation may include more than one quotation from the same source.

3 I am aware that there are different types of research papers (Crookes, 1986:58) and that various disciplines have different conventions regarding citation, though Hunston (1993:133), investigating disagreement in academic discourse, warns that "assumptions about what is 'the same' genre and what is 'different' must be treated with the utmost caution”.

References


Pickard, V. (1993a) 'Should We Be Teaching Refutation? Concordanced Evidence from the Field of Applied Linguistics,' in Bird N., Harris J. & Ingham M. (Eds) Language and Content, 387-407, Institute of Language in Education, Hong Kong Education Department: Hong Kong

Pickard, V. (1993b) 'Lessons for Concordancing,' in Bird N., Harris J. & Ingham M. (Eds) Language and Content, 429-432, Institute of Language in Education, Hong Kong Education Department: Hong Kong


Tribble C. (1991). Some uses of electronic text in English for Academic Purposes in Milton J.C. & Tong K. (Eds.) Text Analysis in Computer Assisted Language Learning, 4-14, The Hong Kong University of Science & Technology and the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong: Hong Kong
Appendices

Appendix 1.

Corpus

Hong Kong Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching No. 12-14, 1989-1991, The Language Centre, University of Hong Kong

Allison, D. 1989. Sentence Sequence and Coherence: In search of Readers' Problems in Academic Discourse


Bruce, N. 1990. EL2-Medium in a Largely Monolingual Society: The Case of Hong Kong

Budge, C. 1989. Plural Marking in Hong Kong English


Foo, R. 1989. A Reading Experiment with L2 Readers of English in Hong Kong -Effects of the Rhetorical Structure of Expository Texts on Reading Comprehension

Green, C. 1991. Typological Transfer, Discourse Accent and the Chinese Writer of English

Lee, N. 1990. Notions of "Error" and Appropriate Corrective Treatment


Tong, K., Chan R. and Lewkowicz, J. 1991. To Test or Not To Test, That is the Question
Appendix 2

The most frequent reporting verbs found in the applied linguistics corpus in integral citations with NR as subject in present tense sentences

Citing previous writers: what can we say instead of 'say'?

As The most frequent reporting verbs found in the applied linguistics corpus in integral citations with NR

Appendix 2

Citing previous writers: what can we say instead of 'say'?

The most frequent reporting verbs found in the applied linguistics corpus in integral citations with NR as subject in present tense sentences

As The most frequent reporting verbs found in the applied linguistics corpus in integral citations with NR

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Citing previous writers: what can we say instead of 'say'?

The most frequent reporting verbs found in the applied linguistics corpus in integral citations with NR as subject in present tense sentences

As The most frequent reporting verbs found in the applied linguistics corpus in integral citations with NR

Appendix 2

Citing previous writers: what can we say instead of 'say'?

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Appendix 3.

Concordanced worksheet

Verbs of citation

Expert writers tend to use a wide variety of verbs when citing the work of others. The aim of this exercise is to focus your attention on some of the most common.

Task one (prediction)

Read quickly through the extracts below. How many of the gaps can you fill before you see the list of missing words? Write down only those verbs which you feel fairly certain about but also think about the various possibilities for the others. (Expert writers were able to guess two or three before seeing the words below). Also consider the verb tenses. Can you predict which tense expert writers will use most often for citations?

Task two

Fill in the gaps with the verbs on page 2. Use as many contextual clues (both before and after the gap) as you can. Cover the key while you do this exercise.


a) argues
b) citing
c) defines (2)
d) discusses
e) lists
f) makes (2)
g) observes
h) quotes
i) report
j) showed
k) shown (2)
l) suggests

Task three

Now check your answers with the key (these are the words from the original extracts though other possibilities may exist). The asterisks indicate which answers expert writers were able to guess correctly before seeing the list of possible words. Note also the phrases in bold print which may help in guessing the word.
CITING PREVIOUS WRITERS: WHAT CAN WE SAY INSTEAD OF 'SAY'?}

Key


NB: The present tense is used for the majority of the words above. Compare this with journal and textbook citations in your own field. You will probably find the same preference for the present tense.