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THE EVANS STATEMENTS

A CASE FOR FORENSIC LINGUISTICS

by

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Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis

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With a corpus of material as small as ours, too much importance cannot be attached to variations in sentence and clause lengths. What is considerably more relevant is the manner in which the clauses are combined and their function in the sentences. For a study of this aspect, all finite verb clauses in MT 2 and NH 2 were analysed in terms of six clause types: A, B, C, D, E, and F.¹⁰) These types can be defined and exemplified as follows:

Clause Type A: Free clauses, i.e. clauses which are unmarked in respect of formal clause linkage, for example,

"I was working for the Lancaster Food Products of Lancaster Road, W. 11." (NH 2:1)

Clause Type B: Clauses with mobile relator. Such relators include then and also. They are called "mobile" because they can occur either at the beginning or within the clause, as in the following sentence where the first clause has the order subject+relator+verb, and the third clause the order relator+subject+verb:

"I then made my baby some food and fed it, then I sat with the baby by the fire for a while in the kitchen." (NH 2:51)

Clause Type C: Clauses with immobile relator (and, or, but, or so), for example:

"My wife was always moaning about me working long hours so I left there . . ."

(NH 2:2)

Clause Type D: Clauses with elliptic subject linkage, i.e. clauses which have no overt subject since they share this with a previous clause. Such clauses may or may not have linkage of Types B and C.

"I then put the baby back in the cot and sat down in the kitchen and waited for Christies downstairs to go to bed." (NH 2:88)

¹⁰) This is not an *ad hoc* system for clause type classification. It corresponds basically to that evolved at the Survey of English Usage, University College London. For a more detailed presentation, see Jan Svartvik, On Voice in the English Verb. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 63, The Hague, 1966).

Clause Type E: Conjunctional clauses, i.e. clauses which are formally marked as being syntactically bound by clause-initial conjunction (as, if, before, until, when, that, etc.):

"He then asked me if it was paid for."

(NH 2:99)

Clause Type F: Relative clauses (who, which, that, etc.):

"He handed me the money which I counted in his presence." (NH 2:104)

The occurrence-rate in the three parts of NH 2 can be seen in Table 4, which is statistically very significant ($\chi^2=52.2$, df=10, $\phi<0.0000005$).

NH 2	Part (a)	Part (b)	Part (c)	Total
Type A	53 (41.4%)	32 (26.2%)	17 (35·4%)	102
Туре В	5 (3.9%)	25 (20.5%)	2 (4.2%)	32
Type C	22 (17.2%)	6 (4.9%)	3 (6.3%)	31
Type D	17 (13.3%)	41 (33.6%)	9 (18.8%)	67
Туре Е	23 (18.0%)	15 (12.3%)	12 (25.0%)	50
Туре Р	8 (6.3%)	3 (2.5%)	5 (10.4%)	16
Total	128 (100%)	122 (100%)	48 (100%)	298

Table 4. Statement NH 2.

Table 5. Subject/relator order of Type B in Statement NH 2.

Type B in NH 2	(a)	(b)	(c)	Total
Subject + relator	1	21	1	23
Relator + subject	4	4	I	9
Total	5	25	2	32

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	Type B: Subject+mobile relator	Type B: Mobile relator+subject	Type C: Immobile relator
Part (a), Paragraph (i)	I then found she was in debt with the	and then I had a letter from J. Brodericks then I showed her the letter then she admitted she hadn't been paying for it so then I left the furniture business to my wife	so I left there and the job was very nice there so I borrowed £20 off the Guvnor under false pre- tences so he give me the £20 but she would not tell me so a week later I got sacked and she was moaning she wasn't getting enough wages so one of the regular drivers at the Lancaster Food Products left so the Guvnor asked me if I would like my regular job back at a wage of £5 15s. od. a week and my Guvnor used to pay her £5 what she used to sign for and she said she had
	rent		so that started a terrific argument in my house so she said, "You can leave any time you like" so I told her she would be surprised one day so I washed and changed so she said she was going to take the baby down to Brighton with her so I said it would be a good job and a load of worry off my mind so I went to work as usual so when I came home at night I just put the kettle on so I said, "I thought you was going to Brighton?" so I washed and changed and went out so I went straight to bed

	Type B: Subject+mobile relator	Type B: Mobile relator+subject	Type C: Immobile relator
Part (b), Paragraph (ii)	She then hit me back with her hand I then took her into the bedroom I then came back upstairs I then made my baby some food I then went back to the kitchen and smoked a cigarette I then went downstairs I then tied it up with a piece of cord from out of my kitchen cupboard I then slipped downstairs I then blocked the front of the sink up I then slipped back upstairs	then I sat with the baby by the fire for a while	so I hit her across the face with my flat hand
Part (b), Paragraph (iii)	so I then shut the bedroom door I then got up I then changed her I then finished my tea I then changed her I then changed her I then poured myself out a cup of tea I then put the baby back into the cot	then I changed her then I put her to bed	and the baby drank the other half and I told him she had gone to Bristol on a holiday and I said so he said "You can call over tomorrow morning"
Part (b), Para (iv)	I then went home I then put the baby back in the cot I then locked the wash-house door behind me I then slipped back upstairs		
Part (c), Para. (v)	He then asked me	and then he asked me why I wanted to sell it	and he paid me £40 but I cannot read and it is all the truth

The outstanding distributional difference between the three parts is the high frequency of clauses with mobile relator (Type B) in Part (b): 20.5% as compared with 3.9% for (a) and 4.2% for (c).

If we analyse Type B in greater detail by noting the position of the relator in relation to the subject of these clauses, we get the distribution of Table 5, which has $\phi < 0.01$ (page 31).

Out of the 23 post-subject positions, 21 occur in Part (b). In comparison, Part (a), which is of roughly the same length as (b), has only one case of post-subject position but four of pre-subject position, with the small total of five clauses with mobile relator as against 25 for Part (b).

These extraordinary differences in the use of clauses with relators can best be seen by listing all Type B and C clauses in Statement NH 2 in order of occurrence. (B clauses are subclassified according to relator position. Relators are italicised. Three instances of clauses with overt subject that have both mobile and immobile relators are listed with mobile clauses.) See Table 6 (pages 32-33).

Part NH 2 (b) further differs from (a) and (c) in that its most frequent clause type is D, and not A as for the other two. Since elliptic subject represents a very close type of clause connexion, it is somewhat unexpected to find such a high proportion as over one out of three in an unprepared, spoken account of events.

In the internal analysis of NH 2, we have noted considerable distributional differences in respect of clause type (see Figure 2, page 36). At this point we turn to Statement MT 2 to obtain material for comparison. Table 7 gives the occurrence-rate of the six clause types in the three parts of MT 2.

This table, which is not statistically significant, shows firstly, that there is a much more even distribution in the three parts of MT 2 than in NH 2 and, secondly, that there is considerable similarity between NH 2(a), NH 2(c), MT 2(a), MT 2(b), and MT 2(c). NH 2(b) is very different from all the other five parts: it is alone in having D and not A as the most frequent type, and in having B as the third most frequent type (in the other parts, B is the least common in four and the second least common in one); it has the lowest ratio of E clauses, and, together with NH 2(c), the lowest ratio of C clauses. Figure 3 is a diagrammatic representation of clause types in Parts (a), (b), and (c) of MT 2. Compare this with Figure 2 for NH 2 (page 36).

The subclassification of Type B in Statement NH 2 into subject/relator

MT 2	Part (a)	Part (b)	Part (c)	Total
Type A	31 (37.8%)	63 (41.7%)	19 (45.2%)	113
Туре В	3 (3.7%)	13 (8.6%)	2 (4.8%)	18
Type C	9 (11.0%)	16 (10.6%)	5 (11.9%)	30
Type D	9 (11.0%)	19 (12.6%)	8 (19.0%)	36
Type E	23 (28.0%)	36 (23.8%)	6 (14.3%)	65
Туре F	7 (8.5%)	4 (2.6%)	2 (4.8%)	13
Total	82 (100%)	151 (100%)	42 (100%)	275

Table 7. Statement MT 2 ($\chi^2 = 8.9$, df = 10, p > 0.05).

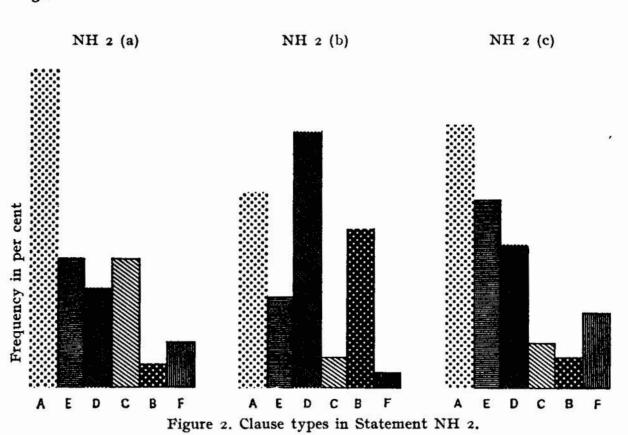
position revealed differences between Part (b) on the one hand and Parts (a) and (c) on the other. Table 8 shows the situation in MT 2. Again, there is no parallel here to the skewed distribution of Table 5 (on page 31).

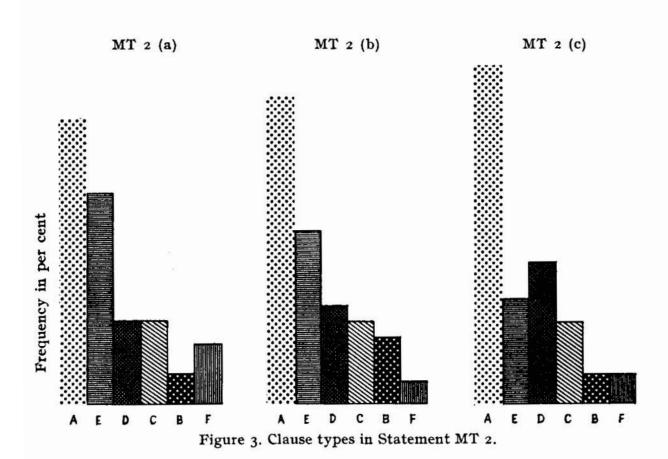
So far we have only discussed Statement NH 2 as consisting of three parts (a, b, c). However, the reproduction on pages 13–16 shows a division into five paragraphs (i, ii, iii, iv, v). The division was made by Mr. Justice Brabin in his discussion of the statement.¹¹) Part (a) is coextensive with paragraph (i), (c) with (v), whereas (b) is further subdivided into the three paragraphs (ii), (iii), and (iv).

Table 8. Subject/relator order of Type B in Statement NH 2 (p=0.9, "not significant").

Type B in MT 2	(a)	(b)	(c)	Total
Subject + relator	o	6	0	6
Relator + subject	3	7	2	12
Total	3	13	2	18

¹¹⁾ Report, pp. 99 ff.





Paragraphs (ii) and (iv) contain the account of the murders of Beryl and Geraldine Evans, respectively (see page 26). Since Evans, at the trial, denied having anything to do with either murder, it will be of some interest to isolate these two paragraphs and compare them with the rest of the statement. The question, then, is: will the isolation of the two paragraphs (ii and iv) of Part (b) and the adding of the third (iii) to the remainder of the statement (a+c) produce an even greater degree of skew in the distribution than we have noted for (b) as a whole? The answer to this question is given in Table 9 and Figure 4 (pages 37-38.)

In all cases except one (Type E), the rearrangement of the material has produced a more skewed distribution. Compare Figure 4 (on page 38) with Figure 2 (on page 36).

The list of the sequentially related clause types B and C (on pages 32-33) enhances this picture. There is a fairly clear break at the end of NH 2(a), in which part immobile relator clauses are dominant, and the beginning of NH 2(b), where the majority of the clauses have mobile

Table 9. Statement NH 2 ($\chi^2 = 33.7$, df = 5, p < 0.00002, ("very significant").

NH 2	(i + iii + v)	(ii+iv)	Total
Туре А	92 (37.1%)	10 (20.0%)	102
Type B	17 (6.9%)	15 (30.0%)	32
Type C	30 (12.1%)	1 (2.0%)	31
Type D	50 (20.2%)	17 (34.0%)	67
Type E	45 (18.1%)	5 (10.0%)	50
Type F	14 (5.6%)	2 (4.0%)	16
Total	248 (100%)	50 (100%)	298

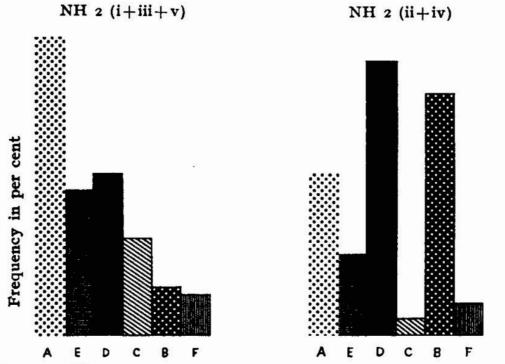


Figure 4. Clause types in Statement NH 2 divided into two sections (i+iii+v and ii+iv)

relator, but with a scatter of clauses with immobile relators. However, this scatter is not even: there is only one C type clause in paragraph (ii) (which, incidentally, occurs in the very first sentence) and none at all in (iv), whereas (iii) has five and (v) three.

For a proper evaluation of the results of this study it would be desirable to have a better knowledge of linguistic phenomena than we now have. One problem is the degree of connexion between content and style. It is obvious that there exists a correlation between these two factors, so that, for example, an emotionally "neutral" background description differs in style from an account of a series of emotionally loaded events. Since we do not know in what way content would influence the syntactic features discussed here, the question will have to be left open.

It would also be valuable to know more about clause type usage generally and its expected range of variation in one idiolect, or, more specifically, in a statement made by one person on one occasion. In the absence of such knowledge, we may find it interesting to compare with the Evans statements one made by Christie where he confesses the murder of Beryl Evans.¹²

Statement made by Christie

The Clerk of Court: "Further statement of John Reginald Halliday Christie: I have been told that I am not obliged to say anything unless I wish to do so, but that whatever I do say will be taken down in writing and may be given in evidence. (Signed) J. R. Christie.

- 1) The statement I made on the 5th June, 1953, is true so far as I remember what happened, except that a square scarf was not used when the gas was inhaled. 2) I cannot remember whether it was the Austrian girl Ruth Fuerst or the woman Eady who inhaled the gas. 3) I can't remember whether the gas was inhaled in the bedroom or in the kitchen.
- 4) In August, 1949, there was a terrific row upstairs on the top floor between Mr. and Mrs. Evans and a blonde who was living with them. 5) My wife told me afterwards that a woman who lives in Lancaster Road, overlooking the back of 10 Rillington Place, had told her that she had seen Mr. and Mrs. Evans fighting at their open kitchen window and that Mr. Evans appeared to be trying to push his wife out of the window. 6) I think it was Mrs. Hyde who told my wife this. 7) I think Mrs. Swan saw

¹³⁾ Jesse, op. cit., pp. 159 ff.

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it from her garden next door. 8) Mr. Evans's mother called while the fight was in progress. 9) After the row had quietened down, Evans's mother told the blonde to pack up and clear out. 10) I was in my front room when I heard this shouted. 11) I also heard Evans say that if she (the blonde) went he would go with her. 12) Evans, his mother and the blonde were at the first floor coming down the stairs, when I heard this said. 15) The mother went out and Evans and the blonde went back upstairs. 14) As the mother went out she said to us, me and my wife, that she was going to throw the blonde out there and then.

- 15) That evening Evans went out with the blonde and he was carrying a suitcase. 16) He came back alone later. 17) The next day Mrs. Evans told my wife that she was going down to the Police Court to get a separation from her husband. 18) My wife and I had a chat and we agreed between us that if they did separate we would adopt the baby, but Mrs. Evans told my wife that if they did separate his mother would take the baby. 19) At a later period Mrs. Evans told me that her husband was knocking her about and that she was going to make an end of it, meaning that she was going to commit suicide.
- 20) One morning shortly after this, it would be early in November, I went upstairs and found Mrs. Evans lying on a quilt in front of the fireplace in the kitchen. 21) She had made an attempt to gas herself, and I opened the door and window wide because there was a lot of gas in the 22) There was a gas pipe at the left-hand side of the fireplace with a tap about 2 feet 6 inches from the floor at about the level of the top of the kitchen fireplace. 23) There was a piece of rubber tubing from the tap to near her head. 24) She was lying with her head towards the window. She was fully dressed and was not covered over with anything. 26) When I opened the door and window she started coming round. 27) I gave her a drink of water. 28) I do not know what she said, but a little while after she complained of a headache, and I made her a cup of tea. 29) My wife was downstairs but I did not call her or tell her. 30) Mrs. Evans asked me not to tell anyone. 31) Mr. Evans was out and I don't know if there was anyone 32) I had a cup of tea too, because my head was thumping else in the house. as I had got the effect of it (the gas) too. 33) After a little while I went downstairs.
- 34) The next day I went upstairs again, I couldn't say if it was the morning or afternoon. 35) I think it was about lunch-time. 36) She still said she intended to do away with herself. 37) I am certain that there was a small fire in the grate in the kitchen when I found Mrs. Evans the day before, and that's why I rushed to open the window.
- 38) When I went up to Mrs. Evans at lunch-time the next day she begged of me to help her to go through with it, meaning to help her to commit suicide. 39) She said she would do anything if I would help her. 40) I think she was referring to letting me be intimate with her. 41) She brought the quilt from the front room and put it down in front of the fireplace. 42) I am not sure whether there was a fire in the grate. 43) She lay on the

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quilt. 44) She was fully dressed. 45) I got on my knees but found I was not physically capable of having intercourse with her owing to the fact that I had fibrositis in my back and enteritis. 46) We were both fully dressed. 47) I turned the gas tap on and as near as I can make out, I held it close to her face. 48) When she became unconscious I turned the tap off. 49) I was going to try again to have intercourse with her but it was impossible, I couldn't bend over. 50) I think that's when I strangled her. 51) I think it was with a stocking I found in the room. 52) The gas wasn't on very long, not much over a minute, I think. 53) Perhaps one or two minutes. 54) I then left her where she was and went downstairs. 55) I think my wife was downstairs. 56) She didn't know anything about it.

57) Evans came home in the evening about six o'clock. 58) It was dark when I heard him come in. 59) I went to my kitchen door and called him. 60) I spoke to him in the passage and told him that his wife had committed suicide, that she had gassed herself. 61) I went upstairs with him. 62) We went into the kitchen, and Evans touched his wife's hand, then picked her up and carried her into the bedroom and put her on the bed. 63) It was dark, there were no lights on in the kitchen or the bedroom. 64) I feel certain it was a stocking I strangled her with. 65) I didn't tie it round the neck. 66) I just wound it round the neck. 67) Before I went downstairs, I think I took the stocking off and threw it in the fireplace. 68) I think there was a fire in the grate. 69) I did not feel any effects of the gas.

70) After Evans lay his wife on the bed, he fetched the quilt from the kitchen and put it over her. 71) I then lit the gas in the centre of the room, the front room which is used as the bedroom. 72) I told Evans that no doubt he would be suspected of having done it because of the rows and fights he had had with his wife. 73) He seemed to think the same. 74) He said he would bring the van down that he was driving and take her away and leave her somewhere. 75) I left him and went downstairs. 76) I think this was on a Tuesday and on the following Friday Evans sold his furniture, and after my wife had given him some dinner he left saying he was going to Bristol.

77) At that time I was under the impression that he had taken his wife away in his van. 78) I didn't go into the bedroom that day until Evans came home in the evening. 79) I can't recollect seeing the baby there. 80) I think Evans told me the next day that he had fed the baby. 81) Evans called at the house some days later, but only stayed a few minutes. 82) I had my coat on ready to go to the Doctor's and we left the house together and both got on a No. 7 'bus. 83) I paid the fares. 84) I got off the 'bus near the Doctor's, and Evans stayed on the bus to go to Paddington.

85) Early in December police called at the house and said they were making inquiries about Mrs. Evans. 86) There were three officers—Detective-Sergeant Corfield, Detective Byers, and, I think, Inspector Black. 87) They told me that they had got Evans in Wales and that he had made a statement that he had put his wife down a drain. 88) They said they had already had the drain up before they came to the door. 89) They asked

me to go to Notting Hill Police Station to make a statement, and I went with them in a car. 90) I stayed there from 11 p.m. till five in the morning. 91) When I got back I found they had taken a statement from my wife. 92) They left a policeman there all night and came again the next day and made a search. 93) They found something in the outhouse and asked my wife to go to the outhouse (wash-house). 94) She told me afterwards that they pointed to a bundle and asked her if she knew anything about it. 95) She said she did not and they asked her to touch it to see if she knew what it was. 96) She said she touched it but didn't know what it was and she had never seen it there before. 97) An officer told us soon after that they had found a body.

98) When I left Evans in the bedroom on that Tuesday evening he did not know that his wife had been strangled. 99) He thought she had gassed herself. 100) I don't know when he first found out that his wife had been strangled. 101) I never mentioned it to him. 102) I never had intercourse with Mrs. Evans at any time. 103) We were just friendly acquaintances nothing more. 104) I went up that first afternoon to have a cup of tea as she had previously asked me once or twice. 105) I believe it was a couple of days previously that she had asked me to go up and get some sugar she had saved up for me. 106) When I was up there she said she had just made a cup of tea and asked me to have one. 107) I had a cup of tea with her then and she told me to come up any time I wanted a cup of tea.

108) The wash-house was a communal one, but actually it was only used for keeping rubbish and junk in. 109) There was no key to it and the lock was rusted and broken and not usable. 110) It could be opened and shut by turning the handle but could not be locked. 111) The wash-house was only used for getting water to rinse out pails or put down the lavatory.

112) I had some shoring timber and old floorboards from my front room which had been left behind by the work people and I asked Evans to take it to the yeard for me as I could not carry it owing to my fibrositis. 113) He took it to the yard and I suggested he put it in the wash-house out of the way. 114) I saw it in the wash-house afterwards and some of it was stacked in front of the sink. 115) I don't think it was possible to get to the tap after the timber was put in there.

116) I feel certain I strangled Mrs. Evans and I think it was with a stocking. 117) I did it because she appealed to me to help her to commit suicide. 118) I have got in the back of my mind there was some other motive, but I am not clear about it. 119) I don't know anything about what happened to the Evans's baby. 120) I don't recollect seeing the baby on the Tuesday or at any time afterwards. 121) It was about this time that my dog had been digging in the garden and I found the skull from the body of the woman Eady that I had buried in the nearest corner of the garden. 122) I just covered it up with earth and later in the evening, when it was dark, I put my raincoat on. 123) I went into the garden and got the skull and put it under my raincoat. 124) I went out and put it in a bombed house, the last standing bombed house next to the tennis courts in St. Mark's Road. 125) There was corrugat-

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ed iron covering some bay windows and I dropped the skull through the window where the iron had been bent back. 126) I heard it drop with a dull thud as though there were no floorboards.

getting them to sit in the deck chair in the kitchen between the table and the door. 128) There is a gas pipe on the wall next to the window, that at one time had been used for a gas bracket. 129) The pipe had been plugged. 130) I took the plug out and pushed a piece of rubber tubing over the pipe and let it hang down nearly to the floor. 131) There was no tap on it so I put a kink in the tube with a bulldog clip to stop the gas escaping. 132) When they sat in the deck chair with the tube behind them I just took the clip off and let the fumes rise from the back of the deck chair. 133) When they started getting overcome that's when I must have strangled them.

134) This statement has been read to me, and it is true to the best of my recollection. 135) It is true in substance but there may be one or two minor details about which I am confused. (Signed) J. R. Christie."

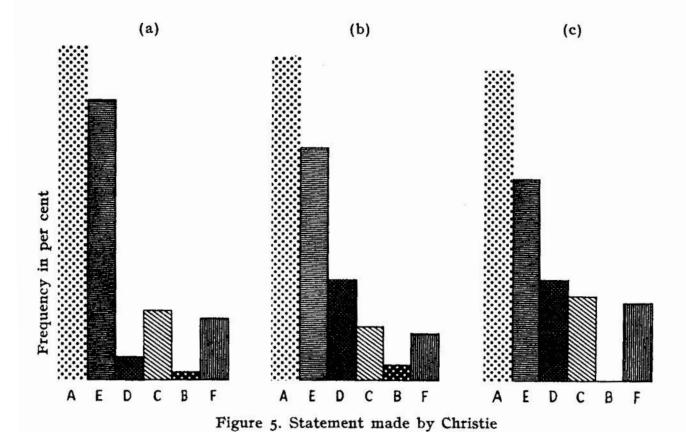
Then there is an addition: 136) "The pubic hair found in the tin at 10 Rillington Place came from the three women in the alcove and from my wife. 137) I feel certain of this, but I can't remember when or how I took it.

138) This statement has been read to me, and it is true. (Signed) J. R. Christie."

	Part (a)	Part (b)	Part (c)	Total
Туре А	45 (43.7%)	45 (42.1%)	44 (40.4%)	134
Туре В	1 (1.0%)	2 (1.9%)	(0%)	3
Туре С	9 (8.7%)	8 (7.5%)	13 (11.9%)	30
Type D	3 (2.9%)	14 (13.1%)	14 (12.8%)	31
Туре Е	37 (35.9%)	32 (29.9%)	28 (25.7%)	97
Туре F	8 (7.8%)	6 (5.6%)	10 (9.2%)	24
Total	103	107	109	319

Table 10. Statement made by Christie ($\chi^2 = 13.46$, "not significant").

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For internal comparison this statement has been divided into three equal parts, each consisting of 44 sentences, totalling 132. (Sentences 133–138 are omitted; 134 and 138 are of the formulaic kind which were rejected for the analysis of NH 2). As is evident from Table 10 and Figure 5, there is very close parallelism between clause type distribution in the three parts. The only notable exception is the lower occurrence of Type D in Part (a) compared with (b) and (c) (3:14:14). However, Part (a) has a lower overall frequency of sequentially related clauses than the other parts, and there is no compensating higher frequency of Types B and C. The general picture of clause type usage in this statement is vastly different from that in NH 2.

Taking stock of the chief results of this study, we have noted certain stylistic discrepancies in the four statements, such as double negatives, substandard forms of verbs and relative pronouns, mixed constructions, etc. occurring along with more formal features that are characteristic of written rather than spoken language (pages 19-24).

However, the criteria which underlie such observations were found to be inadequate in the present case (pages 24-25). Among the criteria that appear to be useful when working with such limited material as this, we selected external clause relation, that is to say the function of clauses in sentences and their relationships to each other. For a study of this aspect, all finite verb clauses in the statements were analysed in terms of six clause types (pages 30-31).

In the internal analysis of Statement NH 2—which is crucial to the case (pages 25–27)—Parts (a) and (c) turn out to have rather similar distributions, whereas Part (b) differs particularly in having a considerably higher frequency of clauses with mobile relator (Type B) and elliptic subject linkage (Type D) (pages 31–34). No such distributional differences obtain among the three parts of Statement MT 2 (pages 35–36). Table 4 (for NH 2) is statistically very significant, but Table 7 (for MT 2) is not significant.

Clause type usage in Statement NH 2 was then analysed separately for five paragraphs according to the division made in the *Report*. Part (b) was broken down into three paragraphs (ii), (iii), and (iv), whereas (a) and (c) were identical with (i) and (v), respectively. The distribution of Table 9, giving the figures for Paragraphs (i+iii+v) and (ii+iv), is extremely unlikely (pages 37-38). A comparison of Figure 2 (page 36) with Figure 4 (page 38) shows that the characteristics of NH 2(b) as compared with NH 2(a) and (c) are more marked in NH 2 (ii+iv) as compared with NH 2 (i+iii+v), in particular a greater proportion of clauses with mobile relator (Type B), and a smaller proportion of free clauses (Type A), clauses with immobile relator (Type C) and conjunctional clauses (Type E).

In order to get some similar, external material which the range of variations within a statement such as NH 2 can be set against, the same kind of analysis was applied to one of Christie's statements (pages 39-44). It was divided into three equally long parts, which show very close similarity in clause usage. As in the case of MT 2 (Table 7, page 35), the clause type distribution of this statement (Table 10, page 43) is not statistically significant.

Summing up, we must consider at least three factors that will thwart all hope of reaching any firm conclusions for this study. The first is the small size of the material which imposes heavy restrictions on the choice of possible criteria; the second, the highly artificial linguistic situation which produced it: a policeman, probably of limited education and subject to all kinds of prescriptive pressures in his written English, giving a graphic rendering of the speech of an illiterate; the third, our inadequate knowledge of how language is used in different situations, which poses problems in the interpretation of our results.

Yet, the differences in clause usage that we have noted in Statement NH 2 between, on the one hand, Paragraphs (ii) and (iv) and, on the other, (i), (iii), and (v), appear to be too remarkable to be explained by these factors. This result of our linguistic analysis should be correlated with the discussion in the *Report* (page 102):

"Evans said that everything in paragraph (i) was true and that he had said it. When he came to deal with paragraph (ii) Evans gave reasons for having said that which he claimed was untrue. They were that he was upset, having previously thought that his daughter was still alive, and that he did not think that he knew what he was saying: that he made it up and that he was afraid that the police would take him downstairs and beat him up. This paragraph, with paragraph (iv), is an enlargement of the essential parts of statement N.H. 1. To explain the making of that statement, made within a few minutes of arrival at the police station, Evans gave similar reasons, namely, that he was upset and did not care what happened and that he was frightened that he was going to be beaten up. It means on his evidence that, for the reasons which he gave, Evans made N.H. I which was untrue, then paragraph (i) of N.H. 2 which was true, then paragraph (ii) of N.H. 2 which was untrue and made for the same reasons which had affected his mind earlier but had not affected it during the making of paragraph (i). Similarly paragraph (iv) is untrue between paragraphs (iii) and (v) which are true."

Whatever the reasons are for the observed linguistic discrepancies, the results of this study corroborate Evans' standpoint: paragraphs (i), (iii), and (v) are, in respect of the linguistic features considered here, markedly different from paragraphs (ii) and (iv).

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