Quotatives in the Jamaican acrolect:

Corpus-based variationist studies of vernacular globalisation in World Englishes

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1. Introduction

In the last thirty years or so, exciting changes have taken place in the field of quotatives: The quotative system is no longer restricted to rather traditional verbs such as *say* and *think* since new quotatives such as *be like* and *go* have emerged in varieties of English. One of these innovative quotatives in particular, *be like*, has spread rapidly and is attested in various varieties of English. Previous research suggests that American English is the epicentre of *be like*, given its first attestation in the United States (see, for example, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).

Innovative quotatives (especially *be like*) have received much attention in the literature. So far, however, research on these quotatives has only covered certain varieties of English. Previous studies mainly focus on American English (e.g. Barbieri 2007), Canadian English (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007), English English (e.g. Buchstaller 2006a), Scottish English (e.g. Macaulay 2001), Australian English (e.g. Winter 2002) and New Zealand English (e.g. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).[1] This suggests that little is known about the use of the new quotatives in varieties of English in which English is not the mother tongue of the majority of speakers.

In two of the varieties investigated so far, American and Canadian English, developmental trajectories for *be like* have been proposed, and the hypothesis presented that "the pathways of change we have documented here may well be happening elsewhere" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 511). Various social and linguistic factors have been shown to condition the use of *be like* and other quotatives. Some constraints were suggested as being universal – at least in the early phase of *be like* use in a variety (see, e.g., Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). As previous studies focus on varieties in which English is the first language of the majority, there is still the need to test these hypotheses on the basis of data from other types of varieties (see Bonnici 2010, D'Arcy 2013). Indeed, there is an awareness in existing research that much more work needs to be carried out. Buchstaller (2008), for example, concludes her paper on the use of *be like* in American English and English English with the words "more research needs to be done on how global innovations are adopted in local communities of various sizes" (Buchstaller 2008: 37-38).

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[1] Bonnici (2010) studies quotatives in Maltese English, concentrating on English-dominant bilinguals. In addition, there are studies which focus on the use of quotatives in specific speech communities such as African American and Latino communities in the United States (e.g. Kohn & Franz 2009), different ethnic groups in New Zealand (D'Arcy 2010) and the rural vs. urban contrast (Cukor-Avila 2002).

One special case that has not been considered so far is Jamaican English. The official language of Jamaica is English but for the majority of the population Jamaican Creole is the mother tongue (see Shields-Brodber 1997). Given the colonial history of this country, it is understandable that research before the 1980s focused on Jamaican Creole, an English-lexifier Creole that developed from the need of different ethnolinguistic groups of slaves and their English-speaking masters to communicate (see Holm 1994). One major reason why the standard variety in Jamaica was not the subject of intensive investigation is that the latter was assumed to follow British norms. Since the 1970s (DeCamp 1971) and more forcefully since the late 1980s (see, e.g., Shields 1989, Mair 1992, Mair & Sand 1998) linguists have, however, suggested that a local variety is emerging. Following this suggestion, research on the emergent variety has been taken up in different fields of linguistic research, including lexis, phonology and morpho-syntax (see Chapter 1.1 for an overview). Fields that still require attention are the analysis of discourse features and the study of the American influence on the standard end of the creole continuum. The creole continuum stretches from conservative Jamaican Creole (basilect) through a range of intermediate varieties (mesolect; see Patrick 1999) to the standard variety (acrolect; see Chapter 1.1 for a more detailed discussion). Mair & Sand (1998) emphasise that

> much more work needs to be done on the mesolectal and acrolectal segments of the continuum. […] The study of the influence of American English both on official usage in the press and the media and on the spontaneous speech of individuals should be promoted from the level of anecdotal comment and developed into systematic investigation. (Mair & Sand 1998: 196)

This study takes one of the first steps towards closing the research gap on quotatives in postcolonial varieties, in which the majority of the population does not speak English as a mother tongue. At the same time, it contributes to research on discourse features in and the American influence on the emerging local variety in Jamaica by studying its quotative system. The present study takes a predominantly quantitative variationist approach but offers also a qualitative analysis of selected passages. Moreover, it compares the use of quotatives in Jamaican English with Irish and Canadian English and examines the social meaning of *be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh* in Jamaica on the basis of a survey.

As in previous studies, I will first examine the overall distribution of quotatives to reveal possible local peculiarities in the quotative system. This is essential in light of

the creole influence on the emerging local norm in Jamaica. In a second step, I will investigate the extent to which linguistic and social factors constrain the use of the most frequently occurring quotatives in the three datasets. This will reveal which investigated factor(s) mainly influence(s) the rise of the new quotatives in Jamaican English in comparison with Irish and Canadian English and, ultimately, whether there is an obvious trend of influence, i.e. whether usage patterns on the British Isles or North America exert a greater impact on quotative use in Jamaican English. A question of particular interest is the extent to which linguistic and social constraints are locally reorganised or parallel the constraints observed in other varieties, as reported in previous research. This question is especially relevant with regard to the constraints suggested as operating in a globally consistent way (see Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). The findings will show whether the use of quotatives in Jamaican and Irish English, two varieties that have not been studied so far, support or refute hypotheses both regarding the suggested developmental trajectories for *be like* and regarding the globalisation and local reorganisation of constraints on *be like*. Whether or not the findings corroborate previous ones is also an interesting question with respect to the social meaning of quotatives. The results of the survey will show the attitudes Jamaicans have towards the new (and traditional) quotatives and the extent to which these are similar to or different from those observed in other varieties.

In the following section, I will describe the Jamaican language situation and offer an overview of corpus-based studies on the emerging variety of English in Jamaica, before presenting the outline of the study in the last section of the introduction.

1.1 Corpus linguistics and Jamaican English

Jamaica has a population of over 2.8 million, with more than ninety per cent of African origin (see CIA 2011).[2] To sketch briefly the linguistic history of Jamaica: the island in the Caribbean had been occupied by the Spanish in the 17th century but was attacked and conquered by British soldiers in 1655. Under British rule, sugar production flourished, which required an ever-increasing amount of labour. To this end, the colonists imported slaves from Africa, resulting in a fast increase in the slave population (see Holm 1994).

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[2] Shields-Brodber describes the Jamaican society of the 1990s as "primarily matrifocal" (Shields-Brodber 1998: 190).

The English language spoken by the colonialists "generally meant regional forms of Early Modern English" (Holm 1986: 5). There has been controversy in the literature as to whether African slaves who worked closely with British servants spoke a regional variety of English as a second language at the time when Africans were still in the minority. As the plantation systems developed and the slave population increased, the slaves soon outnumbered the British population and the social distance between the former and the latter increased (Holm 1986: 5). At that time, slaves who had arrived earlier in Jamaica worked on the plantations together with newly imported ones. Since the slaves had different ethnolinguistic backgrounds (see Holm 1994),[3] the question remains as to how they communicated among themselves and with the plantation owners. Holm argues that

> social conditions prevailed that were likely to produce pidgin and creole English among slaves. […] After the establishment of Creole as the identifying language of the local community (or at least its slaves), newly arrived African slaves learned Creole as a second language if they had not already learned creolized […] or pidginized […] English in Africa. (Holm 1986: 5)

Whether the use of an English-derived pidgin or creole began in Africa or the Caribbean is a controversial issue in the literature (see, e.g., Hancock 1971, Holm 1988) as is the question of whether a creole develops from a pidgin by being adopted by a speech community as the first language (see, e.g., Holm 1994, Mufwene 2007). These questions have been discussed elsewhere and will not be addressed further here. What is important for the purposes of the present study is to note that a creole emerged from a need to communicate and was established in Jamaica. It is an English-lexicon Creole with elements of phonology, semantics and syntax that were transferred or preserved from the African languages spoken by the slaves (see Carrington 1988). Let us now take a major leap, leaving aside the abolition of slavery in 1838, and turn to the language situation in Jamaica since the 1940s.

Shields-Brodber (1997) describes the situation between the 1940s and 1960s, i.e. the end of the colonial time and early years of political independence from Britain, in 1962, as follows: Jamaican Creole (also referred to as *Patois* or *Patwa*) was the first language for the majority of Jamaicans, being used in informal/personal domains; while English was learned at school and used in writing and formal/public oral domains (see

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[3] Holm (1994) points out that slaves with different linguistic backgrounds were mixed on purpose in order to impede rebellion.

Shields-Brodber 1997: 59). Social mobility depended largely on proficiency in Standard English, i.e. adherence to the British norm.[4] This was to be achieved via the education system. Shields-Brodber points out that back in those days

> Jamaicans of all levels of education and social status, for example, avowed categorically that they spoke only English, although conceding a distinction between what they labelled "good" and "bad" […] English, generally corresponding […] to SE [Standard English, N.H.] and JC [Jamaican Creole, N.H.] respectively […]. As it was not considered respectable to speak "bad" English, they were highly motivated to aspire towards mastery of what they regarded as "good" English. (Shields-Brodber 1997: 58)

As the motivation to aspire towards proficiency in Standard English resulted in various degrees of proficiency among speakers, the range of linguistic variability in Jamaica increased. Various attempts have been made to account for this variability. DeCamp, for example, describes it in the 1970s as follows:[5]

> The varieties of Jamaican English themselves differ to the point of unintelligibility; but some Jamaican English is mutually intelligible with standard English. […] Further, in Jamaica there is no sharp cleavage between Creole and standard. Rather there is a linguistic continuum, a continuous spectrum of speech varieties ranging from the 'bush talk' or 'broken language' of Quashie to the educated standard of Philip Sherlock and Norman Manley. […] Each Jamaican speaker commands a span of this continuum, the breadth of the span depending on the breadth of his social contacts […]. (DeCamp 1971: 350)

DeCamp's (1971) account of the linguistic variability in Jamaica is just one of several models that have been developed (see Sand 1999: 35-67 for an overview). However, his creole continuum is the most widely accepted approach (see, for example, Mair & Sand 1998, Deuber 2009a).[6] A central point in DeCamp's model is the non-discreteness in the transition from the standard end point (the acrolect), e.g. Standard English in Jamaica

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[4] Jamaican Creole was traditionally associated with "illiteracy, rural-origin, and lower socioeconomic status" (Akers 1981: 9; see also Carrington 1988 with regard to attitudes towards Creoles in the Caribbean in general).

[5] It has been suggested by linguists (e.g. Alleyne 1980, Mufwene 2001) that "the spectrum of variation dates back to the early colonial days" (Deuber 2009b: 24).

[6] DeCamp (1971) also established the method of implicational scaling "as an analytical tool in the study of the creole continuum" (Sand 1999: 53). Also, it is noteworthy that he called his concept "post-creole speech continuum" (title of DeCamp 1971). This implicates a process of *decreolisation*, a process of change of the Creole towards English that has allegedly started with emancipation (see DeCamp 1971, Alleyne 1980). The idea has been widely criticised in the literature (see, for example, Patrick 1999, Mufwene 1999, Deuber 2009b). In the following, the term *creole continuum* will be used rather than *post-creole continuum*.

(following British norms), through a range of intermediate varieties (see Patrick 1999: 16) to "the conservative creole exteme (the basilect)" (Winford 1993: 7), e.g. Jamaican Creole. The range of intermediate varieties is the result of "mutual infiltration" (Carrington 1988: 9) of Jamaican Creole and Standard English. The question of whether Creole and English constitute only one or two separate linguistic systems underlying the continuum has led to considerable controversy in the literature (see also Sand 1999: 57-58). DeCamp (1971) suggests that it is not feasible to describe the linguistic variability in terms of a concrete number of "discrete social dialects" (DeCamp 1971: 354) as

> given two samples of Jamaican speech which differ substantially from one another, it is usually possible to find a third intermediate level in an additional sample. (ibid.)

Holm (1994), one of the opponents of this view, proposes that

> On structural grounds a good case can be made for basilectal Jamaican constituting a linguistic system quite different from English, while on the same grounds the acrolect is clearly the same language as English, with only negligible differences from the British standard in certain areas of lexis and intonation. (Holm 1994: 332)

I disagree with Holm (1994) in both respects and support DeCamp's view mentioned above (like, for example, Romaine 1988, Sand 1999 and Mair 2003) as well as the view that a local variety of English is emerging in Jamaica (see, for example, DeCamp 1971, Shields 1989, Mair 1992, Mair & Sand 1998). This point will be discussed in more detail below.[7]

To return to the point of departure for this theoretical framework, the language situation described above, i.e. Standard English being considered highly respectable and Creole being socially stigmatised, began to change at the end of the 1960s, early 1970s – i.e. after political independence from Britain – when a national identity was promoted (see Shields-Brodber 1997, Christie 1989). For example, even highly educated Jamaicans began to orient themselves towards both end points of the continuum, considering Jamaican Creole as a means to indicate national pride and identity (see Shields 1989). Furthermore, Craig (1967) suggested that teachers should not label

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[7] Mair & Sand (1998) point out that "in theory there are two codes which by phonological and grammatical criteria are sufficiently distinct to be considered separate languages but in practice shade into each other, to the extent that most attested speech cannot be assigned clearly to one or the other of the two languages" (Mair & Sand 1998: 187).

Jamaican Creole as inferior, and the use of Jamaican Creole was partially allowed in the media. Thus, its use spread to formal/public domains, in which previously only Standard English had been accepted. This also meant that the role of Standard English was redefined in the process (see Shields-Brodber 1997: 60-62, Christie 2001: 5-8).

Today, English is the official language but many Jamaicans affirm that Jamaican Creole is "the language of national identity, the first language of the majority" (Shields-Brodber 1997: 63; see also Christie 1989). Therefore, Standard Jamaican English, the acrolect, is the first language of a minority and learned by others as a second language via the education system and other channels such as the media (see Patrick 2004). As Deuber (2009b) remarks, there are nevertheless "many persons who are equally at ease in English" (Deuber 2009b: 35). What about the present-day role of Jamaican Creole in spoken Jamaican English? Mair (1992) emphasises that Jamaican Creole is a "visible presence" (Mair 1992: 80) even in the most formal contexts in the speech of educated Jamaicans, fulfilling, for example, rhetorical purposes. Shields-Brodber points out that "code-switching has become a norm" (Shields-Brodber 1997: 63) in the spoken language in an increasing range of domains. Similarly, Mair (2002) argues that spoken Jamaican English "comprises an upper-mesolectal range on the continuum, and additionally allows for occasional forays into more basilectal territory" (Mair 2002: 36). In addition to this functional expansion of Jamaican Creole, linguists have observed that the standard variety is undergoing significant transformation, diverging from British norms. Papers in which an emerging local standard is proposed include, for instance, DeCamp (1961), Christie (1989), Shields (1989), Mair (1992) and Mair & Sand (1998). It is worth noting that Jamaican Creole is not the only influence on the emerging local variety, as "American English with its increasing prestige represents a powerful third player" (Mair & Sand 1998: 189) in addition to the "diminishing but still important British influence" (ibid.).[8]

With this picture of the linguistic history of Jamaica in mind, let us turn to the question of how the suggestion of the emergence of a local variety has been taken up in scholarly work. While extensive research has been carried out on Jamaican Creole for

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[8] See also Holm (1994) with regard to the influence of American English on English in the West Indies in general. He proposes that the American influence grew early in the twentieth century as the United States became a world power.

more than forty years (see, e.g., Bailey 1966, Cassidy & Le Page 1967), Christie pointed out in the late 1980s that

> Serious research into the formal spoken and written English of educated persons in the region, roughly defined here as those who completed at least seven years of secondary education and/or have had professional training, has so far been concerned only with the area of lexis. (Christie 1989: 247)

With regard to lexicography, a milestone project was initiated in 1971 which culminated in the launch of the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* in 1996 (see Allsopp 1996). Since the 1980s, however, research on the acrolect has steadily increased in other fields of linguistic investigation. For example, Miller (1987) studies phonological and morpho-syntactic features, Irvine (2005) looks at phonological variation, Christie (1989, 2003) summarises a number of lexical, syntactic and phonological features that are typical of Jamaican English, and Devonish & Harry (2004) address the topic of phonology.

Furthermore, there has been a notable upturn in research since the initiation of a corpus project at the Universities of Freiburg (Germany) and the West Indies (Jamaica) that entailed the compilation of a corpus of educated Jamaican English (ICE-Jamaica; see Chapter 3 for more information). Among the first studies based on this corpus is Sand (1999), which examines a broad range of lexical and morpho-syntactic features such as number concord and prepositions (which reveal expanded functional loads in Jamaican English) on the basis of newspaper and radio data. Further early publications are Mair (2002), in which the role of Jamaican Creole lexicon and grammar in the establishment of the emerging written standard is investigated, and Sand (2004), a study comparing article use in ICE-Jamaica with a number of other ICE-corpora. As the written component of ICE-Jamaica includes e-mails that were collected by Lars Hinrichs in a *Corpus of Jamaican E-mail and other CMC* (COJEC), his thorough investigation of code-switching on the web (Hinrichs 2006) should also be included here.

After the collection and transcription of the final set of texts between 2004 and 2008, further quantitative, corpus-based studies followed. These include, for example, Rosenfelder (2008), Mair (2009a, b), Deuber (2009a, b) and Jantos (2009). Rosenfelder (2008) conducted a socio-phonetic investigation of the most important segmental features of Jamaican English (rhoticity, linking /r/ and parts of the Jamaican vowel

system) on the basis of a selection of texts from different text categories. Mair (2009a, b) studies five variables from different linguistic fields: neutral *people* vs. formal *persons*, subject-verb inversion in main-clause *wh*-questions, modal expressions of obligation and necessity, full vs. cliticised or contracted forms of certain auxiliaries and the negator *not* as well as quotative *be like*. He points out that ICE-Jamaica comprises approximately 50 instances of *be like*, which stem predominantly from young women, and that there are Creole quotatives in the Jamaican data in addition to *say* and *think*, while *go* and *be all* are not attested. Deuber (2009a, b) looks at morphological and syntactic variation in a sample of forty conversations, focusing on various aspects such as past marking, agreement marking on verbs and main verb negation. She uses both a quantitative and qualitative approach to the topic of stylistic variation.[9] Finally, Jantos (2009) analyses subject-verb agreement, agreement in existential *there* + *be* constructions and existential constructions in selected texts from various text categories of the spoken and written parts of ICE-Jamaica.[10]

As can be seen from this overview of research on the emergent local standard, there is a lack of studies on discourse features. The present study takes a first step in addressing this shortage and contributes to our understanding of the quotative system in educated Jamaican English by reporting a detailed quantitative analysis.

1.2 Outline of the study

This dissertation is a study of quotatives – innovative, traditional and local – in spoken Jamaican English. It is the first corpus-based analysis on quotatives in a New English (see Platt, Weber & Ho 1984) in the Caribbean. Working within the paradigm of variationist sociolinguistics, I use quantitative methods for the spoken section of ICE-Jamaica, the Jamaican component of the *International Corpus of English*, and two parallel subcorpora of ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada in order to find the constraints conditioning quotatives in Jamaican English and to document the extent to which these constraints differ from those observed in other varieties.

The dissertation is organised as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the state of the art on quotatives. The term *quotative* and other relevant terms will be

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[9] Deuber (2009b) also studies stylistic variation in Trinidadian English on the basis of four text categories of ICE-T&T (Trinidad and Tobago), which is currently being compiled.
[10] Readers interested in the topic of subject-verb agreement are also encouraged to read Sand's (2008) cross-varietal comparison, drawing on data from Great Britain, New Zealand, India, Kenya, Jamaica, Singapore and Northern Ireland.

defined, and I will briefly explore the origin of innovative quotatives as well as their characteristics and functions. In the second part of Chapter 2, I will review previous studies of quotatives in various varieties of English. Chapter 3 describes both the nature of the data on which my study is based and the methodology that I used. Detailed information will be given on the extraction and coding procedures, and reading instruction for two types of tables presented in the main part of the thesis will be provided.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses the corpus-based results of this study. It is divided into four parts. The first part examines the use of quotatives in Jamaican English. It looks at the distribution of quotatives overall and across the factor 'register', before focusing on just one text category, private dialogues. After commenting on some peculiarities in the use of *be like* and *say*, I will present and discuss the distribution of the most frequently occurring quotatives across the factor 'collection period' and a range of social and linguistic factors. In a next step, various correlations between these different factors are considered before turning to a set of multivariate analyses. The first part of Chapter 4 ends with a qualitative-interactional discourse analysis of selected passages. In the second part of Chapter 4, the Jamaican findings are compared with the Irish findings for the respective distributional and multivariate analyses. In the third part of Chapter 4, a brief comparison is drawn between the findings of the distributional analyses in the Jamaican, Irish and Canadian data. The fourth part summarises the findings by offering a profile of the most frequently used quotatives in the three datasets. Chapter 5 offers an insight into the attitudes of Jamaicans towards *be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh* by presenting and discussing the findings of a survey carried out in Jamaica. The findings will be compared with both the Jamaican distributional data and previous survey studies carried out in other localities.

Chapter 6 moves to a higher level with a discussion of quotative use in the light of grammaticalisation, globalisation of vernacular linguistic resources and the possible role of English as a Second Language (ESL) as a barrier to the spread of vernacular innovation. The final chapter will return to the main findings of this study and evaluate the extent to which the integration of corpus-based and variationist approaches to the study of quotatives are constructive.

2. The state of the art on quotatives

2.1 Definition of quotatives

Before turning our attention to more specific questions, it is necessary to define the term *quotatives*. According to Blyth et al. (1990: 225), a *quotative* is "any verb or expression which introduces any reported speech, either direct speech or inner monologue." The functional aspect of quotatives is elaborated further in the definition given in Winter (2002). Here, *quotatives* are described as items that "synthesize the content, i.e. the voices of the tale content, and the performance of the organization of the telling, i.e. the marking of what is to follow and the 'doing' of the performance" (Winter 2002: 8). These two definitions are taken together to explain the concept of *quotatives* for the purpose of this thesis. Other terms in use that refer to similar concepts are *verbs of saying*, *verba dicendi/agendi*, *introducers*, *overt introducers* and *dialog introducers* (cf. Blyth et al. 1990: 225, Johnstone 1987: 36, Ferrara & Bell 1995: 265). However, I prefer to use the term *quotative* for the reasons stated by Blyth et al. (1990: 225): semantic transparency, neutrality and applicability to direct speech and inner monologue.[11] Contrary to terms such as *verbs of saying*, the term *quotative* also allows the inclusion of items such as *be like* which are not considered as verbs of saying in literature, but still introduce reported speech or thought (see also the section on the historical origin of quotatives below).

The quotative *be like* is one of a number of quotatives that have emerged relatively recently in the English language. As the section on their historical origin below will show, they have been used at least since the 1980s. In the following, I will refer to them as *new* and *innovative* as their emergence as or expansion to quotative functions comes much later chronologically than verbs such as *say* and *tell*, although the former are not new literally (cf. Barbieri 2005: 251). Quotatives such as *say* that have been part of the quotative system for a longer period will be called *traditional*. In addition to these two types, which are used in many varieties of English, there is a local variant in Jamaican English: quotative *se* (also spelled *seh*, cf. Mufwene 1996, Jaganauth 2001). Background on the characteristics of this quotative will be given below.

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[11] Detailed information on the distinction between direct and indirect speech can, for example, be found in Coulmas (1986) and Li (1986).

Another term that needs to be defined in the context of quotatives is *speech*. Consistent with the literature on quotatives (cf. Blyth et al. 1990), I use the term to refer to any type of quotation, including utterances, thoughts and sounds. Naturally, it is questionable whether or not the utterances, thoughts or sounds presented as direct quotations were originally produced in exactly the way a speaker claims. Tannen (1986) points out that experiments have confirmed her intuitive assumption that humans are unable to reproduce precisely what they have heard (cf. Tannen 1986: 313, see also Clark & Gerrig 1990). She draws attention to examples in which speakers report speech that was not uttered in reality.[12] Such examples include quotations that serve to illustrate a common situation (cf. Tannen 1986: 313). Therefore, Tannen (1986) uses the term *constructed dialogue* instead of *reported speech*, *direct speech* or *direct quotation*.[13] Keeping in mind that speakers may not be expected to produce a faithful reproduction of what was actually said, these terms will be used interchangeably. In literature, various terms are also used as an umbrella term for the different subclasses of quotations: *discourse function* (e.g. Ferrara & Bell 1995), *discourse context* (e.g. Cukor-Avila 2002), *type of quotation* (e.g. Barbieri 2005), and *content of the quote* (e.g. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999). In my opinion, the last two terms indicate most clearly the concept that they specify, whereas *discourse function* and *discourse context* seem more ambiguous. Consequently, I will use *type of quotation* and *content of the quote* interchangeably.

Quotatives are one of two options available to the speaker for presenting speech. The second option is what Mathis & Yule (1994) call *zero quotatives*, "where direct speech is reported with neither a reporting verb nor an attributed speaker" (Mathis & Yule 1994: 63). As in the case of zero quotatives the hearer might attribute the quotation either to the speaker himself/herself or another person participating in the reported speech, the speaker usually uses a variety of features such as voice quality indicators, deictics, vocatives and an obvious turn-taking structure to ease the correct attribution (cf. Mathis & Yule 1994: 64-66). According to Mathis & Yule (1994), zero quotatives serve various dramatic purposes. For instance, they may be used to indicate the urgency

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[12] Note that speakers may deliberately adapt quotations to their story, style or idiom (cf. Clark & Gerrig 1990: 797).

[13] See Clark & Gerrig (1990) for a discussion on theories of quotation. These theories account for similarities between quotations and other types of language use. For example, Clark & Gerrig (1990) developed the theory that quotations are a type of demonstration. I will not go into detail here since my primary interest is in quotatives.

with which the reported speech was uttered in its original form; to express not real speech, but rather the speaker's or another participant's attitude towards a nonpresent addressee; and either to echo the attitude represented by another speaker in the communication or to construct the voice of a nonpresent speaker to emphasise shared knowledge or similarity between the present speaker (cf. Mathis & Yule 1994: 67-74). Zero quotatives are an interesting option for a speaker to represent speech. They are included for analysis in this study following the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972) along with the first option (explicit quotatives such as *be like*, *say* and *think*; see chapter on methodology).

A basic question with regard to the innovative quotatives is their origin. Where do they stem from? Why did verbs such as *go* broaden their functional scope to include quotative functions? Or in other words: Why did these quotatives emerge? With regard to the quotative *go*, Butters (1980) – the linguist who first attested *go* as a quotative (see also Section 2.2) – points out that "the imitative use of *go* – present in the language for centuries – would seem in a more general way the most likely candidate for the source of the semantic expression" (Butters 1980: 307). According to Butters (1980: 306), a case in point is the use of *go* by parents when imitating sounds of animals in front of their children, which can be dated at least back to the 1960s. Moreover, he gives an example of a song from the 1970s in which the verb *go* is used as a quotative (cf. Butters 1980: 306-307). Buchstaller (2006: 373) states that the quotative *go* was first attested in 1791 in British English, according to the OED. What the OED Online offers are early examples introducing non-lexicalised sounds, while direct speech is introduced with *go* only from the 1980s onwards (see also Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012, who point out that some of the early OED examples are onomatopoeic uses).[14]

In the first detailed study on the historical origin of *be like*, Romaine & Lange (1991) state that the quotative *be like* developed from existing uses of *like*, such as as a conjunction and preposition, where it serves the functions of approximation, similarity and focus (see Meehan 1991 for a very similar hypothesis). They suggest that these semantic properties in combination with the syntactic property that *like* can appear in the position directly before the comparison may have influenced the development of the quotative *like* (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 244-245, 259).[15] With respect to the type of

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[14] Accessed: March 17, 2009. The only example given for direct speech is from an American English source.
[15] Buchstaller (2001b) offers a model that captures the synchronic multifunctionality of *like*.

development, Romaine & Lange (1991: 261) assume that "we are dealing with a case of grammaticalization which originates within the propositional and textual component and which then undergoes further specialization within the textual component." In their opinion, the quotative *like* "has not become a verb of saying but retains its function as complementizer" (Romaine & Lange 1991: 248). This approach also helps to explain why the verb *be* is a part of the quotative *be like*: The dummy verb merely fulfils syntactic requirements in English (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 261). Meehan (1991), Ferrara & Bell (1995), Singler (2001), Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004) and D'Arcy (2004) also assume that the development of "*be like* is a case of grammaticalization in progress" (D'Arcy 2013: 487). Tannen (1986), however, implicitly offers a less detailed explanation for the origin of quotative *be like* when she states that it

> functions as formulaic introducer, not by its literal meaning but simply by convention. If the literal meaning functions at all, it is to suggest that the dialogue is not being quoted but simply represents the kind of thing that character was saying or thinking. (Tannen 1986: 321)

This statement includes reference to an important influence on the development of *be like* as conventional use has obviously contributed greatly to its spread. To me, however, Tannen overly plays down the role of its literal meaning and to that extent I find Romaine and Lange's approach is more convincing. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998, 1999) cannot find any evidence that the expansion and diffusion of *be like* is an instance of grammaticalisation on the basis of their British and Canadian data. Instead, they propose that it "may well be a case of pragmatically conditioned change in progress" (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 167). So further research is necessary to clarify the type of development we actually observe in the case of *be like*. Studies offering further discussion of this topic will be presented in Chapter 2.2. With respect to geographical origin, Macaulay (2001: 3) points out that *be like* "has spread from its assumed origin in California to much of the U.S, and even to Canada and Britain."

Studies on the historical origin of the quotative *all* are rare. Waksler (2001), the first study on this quotative, does not provide any details on its origin apart from the fact that it originates from the traditional use of *all* as a universal quantifier, but differs from it with regard to syntactic and semantic properties (cf. Waksler 2001: 135). Rickford *et al.* (2007) describe *all* as a quotative "which appears to have originated in California in the early 1980s" (Rickford et al. 2007: 4).

Let us now turn to the characteristics of quotatives. With respect to the quotative *go*, Butters (1980) states that it not only introduces direct speech, but also sounds, mimicking of gestures and similar actions (cf. Butters 1980: 305, Romaine & Lange 1991: 240). This list of characteristics is also supported in other studies such as Blyth et al. (1990: 218, 220-221). The quotative *go*, however, cannot frame indirect speech according to Butters (1980), Schourup (1982) and later studies on quotatives such as that by Romaine & Lange (1991) (although see Vandelanotte 2012 for an example of indirect quotation with *go*). Schourup (1982) notes that *go* is the only English quotative that is unambiguous about introducing direct and indirect quotation, but also general enough to introduce all sorts of direct quotations. In contrast to *go*, other unambiguous verbs like *sing* are too specialised for use in a large variety of contexts, and *say*, which can be applied to various contexts, is ambiguous for direct and indirect quotation. Thus, the quotative *go* has filled a gap in spoken English; this might explain not only its emergence, but also its rapid spread. Blyth et al. (1990) point out that *go*, like the traditional quotative *say*, cannot introduce inner monologue. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998, 1999) and Buchstaller (2008), however, provide evidence of this. There is widespread agreement that *think* and the quotative *be like* introduce thoughts (see, for example, Butters 1982, Blyth et al. 1990, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998, 1999). Whereas Butters (1982) limits the use of *be like* to this type of reported speech, Blyth et al. (1990: 215) emphasise that *be like* is extraordinary in that it can function as an introducer of both direct speech and inner monologue (see also Romaine & Lange 1991: 227, Ferrara & Bell 1995: 278-280). A plausible explanation for this inconsistency in the literature is that *be like* was more specialised in its initial stage of use in the 1980s and has broadened its semantic scope later in its development (see also Barbieri 2005: 225). This might also explain the different characterisations of *go* above. A characteristic that *be like* shares with *go* is that it cannot be used to introduce indirect speech (cf. Blyth et al. 1990: 222) and another is that it can also introduce sounds, gestures and other actions treated as dialogue (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 241, Ferrara & Bell 1995: 281). Similar to *be like* and *go*, the quotative *all* can introduce direct speech, thoughts, sounds, gestures and other kinds of nonverbal behaviour (cf. Waksler 2001: 133, 135). Also, the local quotative *seh* can introduce both direct speech and internal dialogue (and, additionally, indirect speech; cf. Jaganauth 2001: 136, 140). The quotative *think*, on the other hand, is categorically used to introduce internal speech

(see, for example, D'Arcy 2004: 327). Another characteristic of *be like* is that it sometimes co-occurs with other quotatives, resulting in collocations such as *say like, go like* and *think like*. Singler suggests that *like* may serve non-quotative functions in some cases, whereas other cases are examples of real double quotatives, particularly of a quotative verb plus quotative complementiser (cf. Singler 2001: 274-275).

Before turning to the next aspect of quotatives, it is useful to shed some light on the use of quotatives in various tenses. Certainly, there is no explicit association between individual quotatives and certain verb tenses. Instead of regarding tense as a characteristic of a specific quotative, it seems more promising to consider tense choice as one of the speaker's stylistic devices. This idea is supported in Johnstone (1987), a study of tense alternation in narratives. Johnstone investigates the use of quotatives (focusing on *say* and *go*) in thirteen stories involving figures of authority and determined that quotatives *say* and *go* serve functions that are different to those of fully lexical verbs, such as *ask* and *whisper*, because these quotatives contribute no details to the description of the reported situation apart from signalling that reported speech will follow (cf. Johnstone 1987: 42). However, the speaker's selection of a specific tense form for a quotative can highlight various aspects of the reported situation. Johnstone (1987: 43, 49-50) suggests that the use of quotatives in the marked historical-present tense in past narratives can, for instance, be a device to draw attention to the character who is introduced by the quotative (see also Yule & Mathis 1992) or to highlight the timeless and universal validity and/or the formulaic style of the speech introduced by the quotative. Furthermore, tense choice can indicate the degree of formality with which the reported speech is presented or the relationship between the characters involved in the narrative (cf. Johnstone 1987: 44-45, Yule & Mathis 1992: 213 and Singler 2001: 271). As it is the case with all types of stylistic devices, it is the speaker's decision whether or not to use the device deliberately so that, as Johnstone nicely expresses, "tense choice is in the end an individual matter" (Johnstone 1987: 50).

Apart from the origin and characteristics of quotatives, the question arises as to which functions each quotative serves.[16] One function of *be like* is to indicate that reported feelings, which are either explicitly stated or implicitly mentioned, express the speaker's subjective opinion (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 238). In a similar way, it allows the speaker to distance himself/herself from reported speech or the thoughts of

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[16] Functions of quotations in general are, for example, listed in Clark & Gerrig (1990).

others and to reduce his/her commitment to it (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 243, 263). Therefore, the quotative *be like* in this usage has the pragmatic effect of indirect speech. Another function of *be like* occurs in alternation with other quotatives to distinguish between various roles in the speech event (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 237). Furthermore, Ferrara & Bell (1995) suggest that *it's like* is used to express a thought shared by a group or to report an individual's thought or speech which habitually recurs (cf. Ferrara & Bell 1995: 278; for more examples see Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 63, 1999: 169). Winter (2002) offers two other functions of *it's like*: She found examples in her data where speakers use it, firstly, to construct an attitude of another person and, secondly, to express the speaker's attitude towards his/her story (cf. Winter 2002: 18). Ferrara & Bell (1995) claim that the "prototypical case of *be + like* is a theatrical, highly conventionalized utterance which makes the inner state transparent to the audience" (Ferrara & Bell 1995: 283). This concept of dramatic report is also mentioned in Blyth et al. (1990) when the authors point out that both *be like* and *go* "are used more for evaluation and dramatic effect" (Blyth et al. 1990: 222), while *say* is neutral. Possible functions that the quotative *go* can serve are its use in the present continuous tense to signal the persistent influence of the person being quoted or its use in the present continuous tense to introduce an expression of solidarity by a single speaker or a group of speakers (Winter 2002: 16). Recently, however, Barbieri (2005: 248) claims that speakers now use the quotative *go* in a similar way to *say*. The quotative *say* is an unmarked choice due to its lack of pragmatic effect (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991:235) which allows its use in a wide variety of contexts and explains its high frequency. Romaine & Lange (1991) thus describe *say* as the "default verb, the one the speaker chooses when there is no particular reason to choose another verb" (Romaine & Lange 1991: 242). In contrast to *go* and *like*, however, the quotative *say* signals that the quotation it introduces has been explicitly lexicalised (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 238 and Meehan 1991: 46). Thus, quotations introduced by *say* are interpreted as reports of what was really said, while quotations introduced by *be like* or *go* might just have been said or thought.[17] In this respect, the quotative *all* is used in the same way as *be like* and *go*. Its function in discourse is to signal that the reported speech offers a full

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[17] Note that Singler (2001: 262-265) questions this function of *go*. He suggests that *go* introduces quotations that are interpreted as literal reports. Recently, Blackwell & Fox Tree also proposed on the basis of data from undergraduate students in California that "*be like* is not used with reports that are less accurate" (2012: 1155) and that "speakers choose *say* in situations where status is a factor" (2012: 1158).

characterisation of the quoted person at the quoted moment (cf. Waksler 2001: 135, see also Singler 2001: 264). The quotative *all* can also co-occur with *be like*. Waksler believes that *be like* introduces the quotation in such cases and that *all* adds that the following quotation fully characterises the quoted speaker (cf. Waksler 2001:136).

The speaker's choice of quotatives is, however, not merely linked to their functions, it is also "the variation or shifting itself which creates meaningful stylistic opposition" (Romaine & Lange 1991: 243).[18] In addition, the meaning of a quotative is partly influenced by its context. For instance, a first-person pronoun preceding the quotative points to the representation of the speaker's own speech or thought (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 251). Macaulay (2001: 14-15) suggests that the innovative quotatives, at least *be like* and *go* in Scottish English, are context-sensitive in that they frequently occur with specific forms of quoted speech such as questions and answers. In this respect, the new quotatives seem to serve both rhetorical and pragmatic functions.

2.2 Previous studies on quotatives

The description of different aspects of quotatives in the preceding chapter stems from a series of previous investigations into the quotative system. In the following, I will address each study (plus others) in more detail. This will be presented in chronological order since this allows us to see more clearly the history of quotatives, their diffusion into varieties of English and the course of the discussion of claims and hypotheses regarding their social and functional variation. These studies provide essential knowledge for the investigation into and discussion of the quotative system in Jamaican English presented in the following chapters.

The earliest study on the innovative quotatives is Butters (1980). Butters found the first examples of the quotative *go* in the language of male American adolescents in the 1970s, and describes this new quotative in the 1980s as a feature of informal conversations among American speakers under thirty-five years (cf. Butters 1980: 304-305). He claims that the most frequently used tense for the quotative *go* is the present tense. Two years later, Butters says in an editor note to Schourup (1982) that his attention was called to the emergence of *be like*, which is another new quotative and used to introduce unvoiced thought (cf. Butters 1982: 149). Butters (1982) is the first

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[18] Note, however, that Stenström et al. (2002: 122) observe that speakers are rather uncreative and use the same quotative repeatedly in sequences of quotations with narrative speaker shifts.

attestation of the quotative *be like* in the literature. Though it is possible that both quotatives *go* and *be like* had existed before the time when Butter's attention was drawn to them, I believe that it is very unlikely that this phenomenon would not have received attention if it had existed earlier.

Still in the early 1980s, Schiffrin (1981) investigates tense variation in American narratives and compares the use of quotatives *go* and *say* with respect to tense variation. She notes that the effect of immediacy created by direct quotes is further supported when the speaker uses the historical-present tense (cf. Schiffrin 1981: 58, 60). Her comparison between 36 tokens of the quotative *go* and 322 tokens of *say* revealed that the historical-present tense is mainly used with *go*. Schiffrin suggests that the tense variation may be explained by the fact that the quotative *go*, in contrast to *say*, cannot frame indirect speech. She assumes that this limitation increases the probability of *go* being used in a tense that shares the effect of immediacy produced by direct quotation (cf. Schiffrin 1981: 58).

Early examples of the quotative *go* also exist for British English. Cheshire (1982) mentions that speakers in her sociolinguistic study, adolescents from a working-class background in Reading, use the verb *go* with the non-standard meaning *say* in their dialect (cf. Cheshire 1982: 42). She also notes that non-standard *–s* as in *I goes* frequently occurs with quotative *go* (cf. Cheshire 1982: 42-43).[19]

In her study of oral American narratives, Tannen (1986) proposes that quotatives can be placed on a continuum starting with zero quotatives in informal conversation and ending with quotatives associated with literary narratives such as *whisper*, *hiss* and *scream*. At the one end, the human voice has to contribute a high degree of expressive power, whereas this is not necessary at the other end as the meaning of the words fulfils this role (cf. Tannen 1986: 323). In Tannen's opinion, *be like* is next to zero quotative on the continuum as its effect depends on the speaker's voice, whereas the quotative *go* is identified as a very informal feature, just like the quotative *be like*, but shares a similar meaning with *say* (cf. Tannen 1986: 317, 324). She found that *say* is the most commonly used quotative in her 18 stories, followed by the new quotatives *go* and *be like* (cf. Tannen 1986: 315-317, 321).

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[19] See also more recently Cheshire et al. (2011) for an overall distribution of quotatives in Multicultural London English, including the use of a new quotative *this is + speaker*.

The question as to the ethnic origin of usages of the quotative *go* is studied in Butters (1989). Whether the quotative *go* has spread from white speakers to black speakers or the other way round is an interesting question in the context of Jamaican English, where the majority of speakers are of West African origin. Due to a lack of coverage in the literature on Black Vernacular English, Butters assumes that white speakers were the first users of the quotative *go,* which was then borrowed by black speakers. He suggests that it has subsequently spread rapidly in both white and black dialects around the world (cf. Butters 1989: 148-149).

In 1990, *be like* is still described as "a recent phenomenon in American oral narrative" (Blyth et al. 1990: 215). Blyth et al. (1990) studied the correlation between *be like*, *go* and *say* and social and linguistic parameters in a corpus of ten hours of informal conversations between thirty American speakers ranging from 20 to 72 years. Similar to the findings in Tannen (1986), *say*, *go* and *be like* are the three most frequent quotatives in their data. Blyth et al. (1990: 218-219) identified that the most influential of all social and linguistic factors is 'tense of the quotative', followed by 'age' and 'aspect'. In their corpus, *be like* and *go* are mainly used in the present tense by speakers in their early 20s, while the quotative *say* in the past tense is preferred by older speakers. Blyth et al. (1990: 219) notice that their findings regarding age differences also reflect the sequence in which the quotatives have emerged. Although, at first glance, it might seem anomalous in their study that speakers between 27 and 32 years of age use *go* less frequently than speakers from 38 years onwards, Blyth et al. (1990: 219-220) explain this apparent anomaly as a side-effect of the emergence of *be like*, a quotative that is not represented among the speakers older than 38 years. With respect to 'sentence type', the data reveal that *go* is often used to introduce gestures and sound, but rarely declaratives and interrogatives, whereas the opposite is the case with *say*. Other interesting findings are that *say* and *go*, in contrast to *be like*, are mainly combined with subjects in the third person singular, and that *be like* is used more often by men than by women in their data (cf. Blyth et al. 1990: 221).

In addition to this corpus-based study, Blyth et al. (1990) include the results of an attitudinal survey. Their fifty-four respondents describe typical users of *go* as lower-class males with a low degree of education and typical users of *be like* as female, middle-class adolescents, especially as "Valley Girls" (Blyth et al. 1990: 224). Thus, stereotypes about typical users of *be like* contradict the findings regarding sex variation

in their corpus-based study. Both quotatives are considered as ungrammatical and stigmatised features of informal conversation in the attitudinal survey (cf. Blyth et al. 1990: 223). Blyth et al. (1990: 225) argue that *be like* and *go* are nevertheless commonly used, as they are unique in serving specific functions.

Romaine & Lange (1991) focus on the use of *(be) like* in American English. Among their 80 instances collected from recordings, observations and media sources, they observe that the quotative *like* is mainly used by young women (contrary to the findings in Blyth et al. 1990) and they suggest that this trend towards sex differentiation is influenced by the use of *be like* to discuss more interpersonal topics given that these topics are favoured by women more than men (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 228, 255-256). Similar to the use of quotatives *be like* and *say* in Blyth et al. (1990), their data reveal that *be like* tends to introduce the speaker's own speech and *say* tends to introduce the speech of others, whereas *go* does not show any tendency (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 243). Moreover, Romaine & Lange (1991) note that, at that time, the quotative *like* was a phenomenon restricted to American English, "though there are perhaps traces of a similar development in British English" (Romaine & Lange 1991: 248-249).

Meehan (1991) presents a historical analysis of the major uses of *like* in American English and proposes a possible grammaticalisation path. At the end of her qualitative study, Meehan claims that the earliest documentation of the quotative *be like* is "1960+" (Meehan 1991: 49). As mentioned above, Butters (1982) is the first attestation that I am aware of. Therefore, more specific information on Meehan's claim would be invaluable. However, she does not offer any references. A potential explanation is that lacking information in the first place is exactly the reason why Meehan did not further specify the emergence of *be like*. On her list of the major uses, the quotative *be like* is at the very end after focus *like*, which was first documented in 1959 (cf. Meehan 1991: 49). Possibly Meehan simply wrote *1960+* to indicate that the focus use preceded the quotative use of *like*.

As these studies reveal, interest in the quotative *be like* rapidly increased in the 1990s in America. In 1995, another corpus-based study on this quotative appeared in which Ferrara & Bell (1995) investigate differences in the use of *be like* between urban and rural populations as well as between three ethnic groups, and its distribution across sociolinguistic factors. This study also sets itself apart from others by tracking the

development of *be like* in three corpora collected in 1990, 1992 and 1994. This real-time data, which include 284 tokens of *be like*, show that the quotative was rarely used in rural areas in the first half of the 1990s, while its use in urban areas was increasing among black, Hispanic and white speakers especially (cf. Ferrara & Bell 1995: 277). Furthermore, Ferrara and Bell observed a change in the distribution of *be like* across 'gender': while women were the leading users at the beginning of the 1990s (similar to Romaine & Lange 1991), both genders used it more or less equally in 1992 and 1994. Their findings regarding the distribution across 'age' support the finding in Blyth et al. (1990) that the use of *be like* has not spread to speakers older than 40 years (cf. Ferrara & Bell 1995: 274-275). However, the data in Ferrara & Bell (1995) reveal that *be like* seems to be used increasingly with third-person pronouns in addition to first-person pronouns, and to that extent their findings contradict those in Blyth et al. (1990) (cf. Ferrara & Bell 1995: 277-278). As to the future development of the quotative system, Ferrara & Bell (1995) suggest that the balance between quotatives may continue to alter and may lead to obsolescence of the quotative *say* (cf. Ferrara & Bell 1995: 286). They stress that a unique characteristic of *be like* is its flexibility in introducing speech, thought and other types of reported actions, thus helping speakers to increase their fluency (cf. Ferrara & Bell 1995: 286).

Literature on quotatives *go* and *be like* in American English already has a long tradition in the late 1990s, although these features are not studied in other varieties despite the fact that the quotative *go*, for example, was attested for British English as early as 1982. To my knowledge, the earliest studies on the innovative quotatives in varieties of English other than American English are Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998) and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999).[20] These two studies are very similar in many respects, including their title and examples, and it seems that the paper from 1998 is just an earlier draft of the more comprehensive paper from 1999. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998, 1999) focus on the quotative system of young British English and Canadian English speakers by investigating 665 quotatives taken from British English narratives and 612 quotatives taken from Canadian English narratives. Their findings reveal that the most frequent quotative in both British and Canadian English is *say*, followed by *go*,

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[20] Note that the quotative *be like* is absent from Miller and Weinert's (1995) study, which is based on a corpus of Scottish English conversations collected in 1977-1980 (speakers aged 17 to 30 years, plus two speakers older than 50).

be like and *think* in British English and by *go* and zero quotatives in Canadian English (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 58-59; 1999: 157-158). So the new quotative *be like* as well as *think* are less frequent in Canadian English than in British English. Furthermore, they identified that *be like* is favoured by female speakers and *say* by male speakers in the late 1990s in British English, while Canadian women favour *say* and *think* and Canadian men favour *go* (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 61; 1999: 160-161). Butters (1980) notes that the quotative *go* is associated with male speech in the USA and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999: 160) assume that this association is valid for North American speakers in general. The sex difference in the distribution of *say* between Canadian and British speakers in this study is discussed in D'Arcy (2004). D'Arcy suggests that the effect of 'sex' on traditional quotatives such as *say* differs across varieties of English (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 327). With regard to 'grammatical person', their results show that speakers from both varieties favour *be like* in the context of first-person subjects. Thus, their result differs from Ferrara & Bell's finding of an increasing use with third-person subjects. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999: 169) attribute this discrepancy to methodological differences in the two studies. Concerning the distribution of *go* and *say*, they found unequal patterns in their varieties: in Canadian English *say* mainly co-occurs with first-person subjects as opposed to the findings in earlier studies, and *go* with third-person subjects, whereas British English speakers favour *say* in third-person contexts and show no preferences regarding *go* (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 62-63; 1999: 161-162). Another similarity between the two varieties is that their speakers use *say* to introduce direct speech and *be like* to introduce sounds and thoughts. However, they differ in their use of *go* since their data reveal a correlation with direct speech in the British corpus and a correlation with thoughts in the Canadian corpus. As Canadian speakers choose between *be like*, *go* and *think* to report thoughts, they have more options than British speakers (using only *be like* and *think*; cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 63-64, 1999: 163-164), and this explains the higher overall frequencies of *be like* and *think* in British English (see above). Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998: 64, 1999: 165-166) suggest that this difference in frequency is also influenced by different narrative styles in these varieties in that British speakers report more thoughts than Canadian speakers. Another cross-cultural difference in narrative style is that British speakers use quotatives less frequently in the historical present than the Canadians (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 66; 1999: 166).

In order to observe the developmental stage of the quotative *be like* in the two varieties, Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998, 1999) compare their results with those in Ferrara & Bell (1995). This comparison reveals that US speakers are the most frequent users of *be like* in the context of third-person subjects, but nevertheless the developmental pathways in British and Canadian English are very similar to American English in that *be like* is used in those contexts in Canadian and British English where it was favoured in American English at an earlier developmental stage (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998: 67; 1999: 162, 167). An obvious difference between Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998) and their paper in 1999 can be found in the further interpretation of *be like* across the two varieties. While Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998: 67) suggest that the development of *be like* is more progressed in the Canadian than in the British data, this interpretation is missing in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), where more attention is paid to the presence or absence of the 'sex' effect. Since it is absent in the Canadian corpus, but present in the British corpus – in which *be like* occurs more frequently than in the Canadian data – Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999: 167) propose that *be like* seems to have to reach a certain level of diffusion in the early developmental phase in order to have a 'sex' effect. According to Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998: 67-68; 1999: 168), the diffusion of *be like* into both Canadian and British English also shows its systematic spread to other varieties of English in a uniform way irrespective of other quotatives and their functional distribution.[21]

In 2000, Dailey-O'Cain (2000) claims that certain aspects of the quotative *like* have been largely neglected in previous literature. She therefore devotes herself to both an attitudinal and a sociolinguistic study of *like* in its use as a discourse marker and quotative. To study its sociolinguistic distribution, she analysed 95 examples of the quotative *be like* taken from data provided by 30 US-American speakers. The findings of Dailey-O'Cain (2000: 66-67) reveal that it is mostly used to mark thoughts and sometimes, although only by speakers under 30, to introduce a direct quote. The most frequent users of the quotative *be like* in her data are also speakers under 30, which is not surprising, but provides further confirmation of previously published findings.

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[21] For a real-time comparison of the data in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) with data collected in 2006, see the recently published study by Durham et al. (2012). The study reports a constancy of the 'person', 'tense' and 'content' effects as well as a decreasing 'sex' effect in the two English English samples. Durham et al. (2012: 328) suggest "skepticism with regard to universals of grammaticalization of *be like* that dictate change in linguistic effects in *be like*, particularly quote content." Note that this study excludes from the analysis zero quotatives and other quotatives that do not carry tense forms.

Furthermore, Dailey-O'Cain (2000: 68) found no significant variation across 'gender' and this also supports the findings in other studies carried out in the 1990s such as Ferrara & Bell (1995) and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998, 1999 – regarding their Canadian data).

More remarkable are the results of her study on subjective attitudes. While Dailey-O'Cain (2000) does not offer a comparison with previous attitudinal studies, I believe that it is very interesting to compare her findings with those in Blyth et al. (1990) to see whether or not attitudes towards the quotative *be like* changed within a decade in the US. Indeed, almost nothing changed in the attitudes towards *be like* within this period, for Dailey-O'Cain's 40 informants predominantly associate its use with young women and several of these informants explicitly associate it with Californian Valley girls (cf. Dailey-O'Cain 2000: 68-70). An interesting finding is also that the majority of informants dislike it, although informants under 30 assume that they use it sometimes and even women over 45 assume they do so sometimes or at least rarely (cf. Dailey-O'Cain 2000: 69). In addition to a questionnaire, these informants were asked to evaluate the speech of various speakers. The use of *be like* is obviously a rejuvenation device as older speakers using quotative *be like* were rated younger than they actually were (cf. Dailey-O'Cain 2000: 72). However, these older users of *be like* are also perceived as less interesting than speakers of their age who do not use the quotative, while younger speakers are evaluated as more interesting when the quotative is part of their speech than when it is not. Moreover, it is surprising that users of *be like* are stereotyped as friendly, attractive and cheerful although its use is disliked by many informants who evaluate users of *be like* also as less educated (cf. Dailey-O'Cain 2000: 73). Dailey-O'Cain (2000: 76-77) suggests that the results of her investigation into both the use of and attitudes towards *be like* may be influenced by the fact that her study is based on well-educated speakers and informants so that further research is necessary to identify whether or not 'social class' and 'education' are significant factors.

Other neglected research areas are studied in Buchstaller (2001a).[22] The author investigates how the quotatives *be like*, *go*, *say* and *think* are used to indicate the degree of hypotheticality, how they co-occur with mimetic enactment and how priming effects play a role in quotative choice. Buchstaller's study is based on the *Switchboard Corpus*

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[22] Since the pagination is not reliable in Buchstaller's unpublished study, I decided to summarise her findings without detailed reference.

and the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken English*. She distinguishes between realis quotes on one end of the hypotheticality continuum, situational quotes on the other end, and hypothetical quotes spanning the body of the continuum. While her category 'realis' includes reproductions of speech acts that occurred in a communicative situation in the past, she describes the situational quotes not as reproductions but as comments made by the current speaker on the present communicative situation. Further, Buchstaller points out that it is difficult to code habitual speech as either realis or hypothetical talk since a speaker may vary in the choice of words and in intonation, and since multiple speakers may use different words for the same message. She observed that *go* and *be like* are frequently used in this context in the investigated corpora. Her findings also reveal that the most frequently used quotative with the realis category is *say*, followed by *go*, *be like* and then *think*, whereas the opposite is the case for the hypothetical category. The second most important context for *think* is its employment with the situational category, which is less frequent for *be like* and *say* and infrequent for *go*. With regard to priming effects, results show that *go* and, especially, *say* are very frequently surrounded by verbs of speech, while *think* is most frequently surrounded by verbs of thought and *be like* co-occurs with various types of verbs. Moreover, Buchstaller identified that both new quotatives tend to occur in clusters of *be like* and *go* respectively and that her speakers often alternate between *say* and *go* in order to differentiate speaker roles. Finally, her data show that the new quotatives are very much used to enquote sound effects, while traditional quotatives are less frequently used with sound effects. As *think* is by far less frequently used with sound effects than other quotatives that can also introduce inner monologue, Buchstaller claims that speakers deliberately choose *be like* and *go* to take advantage of their indeterminacy between direct speech and inner monologue.

The emergence of the new quotatives *be like* and *go* in British English is given further attention in Macaulay (2001). Macaulay investigates 246 tokens of quotatives in Scottish adolescent speech (speakers aged 13-14) and 558 tokens of quotatives in Scottish adult speech (speakers aged 40+). He discovered that the most frequent users of quotatives among adolescents and adults are female speakers with a working-class background, and that the most frequently used quotative among adolescents is *go*, followed by *say* and then by *be like*. While middle-class boys show the highest percentage of using *go*, middle class girls do so regarding the use of *be like* (cf. Macaulay 2001: 8, 10, 12-13). It would be interesting to discover the type of quotative

that is preferred by working-class girls, the group of speakers who use quotatives most frequently, but Macaulay (2001) does not offer any information here. He does, however, mention that Scottish adolescents mainly use the three most frequent quotatives with third-person subjects (cf. Macaulay 2001: 10), contrary to Tagliamonte & Hudson's (1999: 161) finding that *be like* is used mainly with first-person subjects in their British data. Furthermore, his data reveal that in adolescent speech, the preferred tense form for *say* is the present tense, whereas *go* and *be like* are more frequent in the past tense (cf. Macaulay 2001: 10). In contrast to Scottish adolescent speech, but similar to adult speech in American English, Scottish adults predominantly use *say* as a quotative and, if *go* is used, it appears mainly among working-class women (cf. Macaulay 2001: 12-13). In the datasets for both adolescents and adults, the new quotatives most frequently precede questions, followed by answers and statements which are introduced by discourse markers and then by simple answers to questions and responses to statements (cf. Macaulay 2001: 14). It is worth noting that the Scottish data includes examples of quotatives *be like that* and *go like that* in the past tense, which are used to indicate strong emotion according to Macaulay (2001: 9), as well as examples of *done that*. Such examples have not been documented for the American data. Macaulay (2001: 15-17) assumes that the emergence of the new quotatives may have started with *go* and then developed via *go like that* and *be like that* to *be like*, or that *be like* was possibly transmitted or assimilated in an imperfect way.

Waksler (2001) introduces the emergence of a further quotative. Her data, drawn from conversations among teenagers and young adults in San Francisco, includes more than 100 tokens of the quotative *all* (cf. Waksler 2001: 129, 131; see Section 2.1 for details of the results of her qualitative study). Waksler (2001: 137) suggests that the use of *all* is especially common in stories full of emotions.

Still in 2001, Singler (2001) studies the quotative system in the New York City area, focusing on the use of *be like*, *go* and *be all*.[23] His study is based on corpora compiled between 1995 and 1999 and including speakers from five age groups (9-15, 18-24, 27-33, 36-42 and 45-51). Before discussing his findings, Singler points out that the statistical program Varbrul is suitable only to a limited extent for the analysis of quotatives as the program is usually applied when variants can occur in full variation. He argues that "there are several environments where quotative choice is constrained"

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[23] Singler (2001: 268-269) explicitly states that he excluded zero quotatives.

(Singler 2001: 260). For instance, there are cases where the choice is restricted due to the type of the quoted material or the syntactic environment. While he simply excluded such cases, he explains that the program is still strictly speaking inappropriate as the quotatives on his list are not equivalent with regard to the domain of usage (cf. Singler 2001: 264-265).[24] In the second part, Singler presents his findings. It is worth noting initially that speakers frequently use *be like*, while *be all* and *all like* are infrequent in his corpora. He discovered that the latter primarily occur in third-person contexts and that they are used predominantly by college students. Furthermore, the findings reveal that *be all* often occurs in the present tense and that it is used especially by female Asian-Americans (cf. Singler 2001: 265-266). Moreover, a comparison of the distribution of quotatives across 'age' shows that new quotatives, especially *be like*, are very frequent among young speakers, but relatively infrequent among speakers over 35. Singler suggests that differences in the strategies chosen by young and old speakers may have an impact on this difference in distribution (cf. Singler 2001: 267). In addition, he proposes that the developments in the quotative system represent a generational change in progress, which may involve age grading (Singler 2001: 268-270). Due to the specific characteristics of *be like* and *be all* and their domain differences from other quotatives, Singler also suggests that it is likely that one or both of these new quotatives will become a permanent member of the quotative system if they have not already entered the system (cf. Singler 2001: 270). His findings regarding the quotative choice across social factors further reveal that *go* is favoured by male speakers (similar to Butters 1980 and Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998/99), that women favour *be like* in conversations with women, and that *be like* is favoured by Asian-Americans (cf. Singler 2001: 272). As this ethnic group is also leading in the use of *be all*, Singler hypothesises that

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[24] One of Singler's domain differences is that *be like* and *be all* can introduce inner monologue, while *say* and *go* cannot do so. Note, however, that Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998, 1999) and Buchstaller (2008) provide evidence that *go* can introduce inner monologue (see also Section 2.1). As Tagliamonte & Hudson focus on British and Canadian data, the use of *go* to introduce inner monologue was not attested for American English at the time when Singler's study was published. Another domain that Singler mentions is that *say* and *go*, in contrast to *be like* and *be all*, indicate an approximation of literalness. Again, this is a controversial topic since Romaine & Lange (1991) suggest that "*go* lacks the explicitness of *say*" (Romaine & Lange 1991: 238). A possible explanation might be that this aspect has changed since the early 1990s. However, irrespective of how we decide to characterise *go*, we are left with two categories.

the primary source of the introduction of *like* and *all* into the speech of other college students in the Northeast has likewise been California, with the difference between Asian-Americans and others in the Northeast in their rates of adaptation of the California features reflecting a difference in the strength of their ties to California. (Singler 2001: 272)

With regard to linguistic factors, he found out that quotatives tend to appear in clusters of the same quotative and that the subject *he* or *she* is very frequent for *go* in present tense contexts (Singler 2001: 271-272). Finally, Singler discusses the degree of grammaticalisation of *be like* and points out that it is incomplete according to his data. He argues that there are transitional forms, such as *say like* and *go like*, and that *be like* is also infrequently used in negation and questions (cf. Singler 2001: 273-275).

Prior research has already dealt with innovative quotatives in British English, but the study by Stenström et al. (2002) is special in that it is based on data from the early 1990s. The authors use data from the *Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT), which was collected in 1993. To my knowledge, there is only one other study based on English English data from the early 1990s that attests *be like* (Buchstaller 2011). Thus, one of its first attestations in English English is in COLT. The corpus merely includes 34 tokens of quotative *be like*, accounting for less than 0.5 per cent of all quotatives.[25] While Stenström et al. do not investigate the distribution of *be like* across social and linguistic factors, they do so for *go* and *say*. Their findings reveal that *go* is more frequent than *say* regarding overall frequency in COLT. Moreover, it is far more frequent than *say* in present tense contexts, while the opposite is true for past tense contexts. Concerning social factors, they also discovered that *go* is most frequently used by girls with an ethnic minority background (cf. Stenström et al. 126-127).

Another research gap is addressed in Cukor-Avila (2002), who observes that there is very little information on the use of *be like* and *go* by rural and/or African American speakers at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Her study focuses on a total of 3,202 quotatives recorded from both fourteen rural African American speakers aged between 20 and 95 and three rural white speakers. Data from the early 1990s (collected for a conference paper in 1991) reveal that African Americans did not use the quotative *go* at that point in time so that Butters' hypothesis in 1989 that *go* has spread

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[25] Note that the figure does not include tokens of *it's like*. This occurs ten times in the corpus (cf. Stenström et al. 2002: 117).

from white speakers to African American speakers is, at least for this speech community, not valid (cf. Cukor-Avila 2002: 8). Cukor-Avila's data from 2001 (description given above), on the other hand, show that the quotative *go* occurs in the speech of African Americans, albeit rarely, whereas it is frequent in the speech of her white informants (cf. Cukor-Avila 2002: 8-9). Thus, there is still no evidence for a rapid spread of *go* in the speech of African American speakers in this rural community. Concerning the use of other quotatives, Cukor-Avila's (2002: 11) findings are very similar to previous literature in that African American speakers predominantly use *say*, and the quotative *be like* merely occurs in the speech of those born after 1970. Moreover, zero quotatives occur frequently among African American speakers of all age groups. In a real-time study focusing on three adolescents over a period of five or eleven years respectively, she identified that the use of *be like* increases steadily while the use of *say* decreases (cf. Cukor-Avila 2002: 13-14). Furthermore, her findings reveal that the use of *be like* with both first-person and third-person subjects increases and that this increase is associated with both direct speech and inner monologue, although these African American adolescents clearly prefer to use *be like* as an introduction to inner monologue (like speakers in previous studies such as Dailey-O'Cain 2000). Similarly, the use of *say* decreases in both discourse contexts for both grammatical persons, whereas speakers maintain their preference for using *say* with first-person subjects in quoted dialogue (cf. Cukor-Avila 2002: 17-18). These findings do not provide evidence for Ferrara & Bell's (1995) hypothesis that *be like* is used increasingly with third-person subjects in quoted dialogue, but lend support to Ferrara & Bell's finding that *be like* spreads from urban to rural areas. The last point worth mentioning about Cukor-Avila (2002) is that she calls for further research based on data from various age-groups in order to confirm that *be like* is not an age-graded phenomenon, as her own findings cannot provide evidence due to the limitation of her real-time data to adolescent speech.

A further variety of English is studied in Winter (2002), which deals with quotatives in Australian English. This study is based on a corpus of 218 quotatives taken from the language of adolescents. The quotative *go* is the most popular form among these speakers, similar to the Scottish speakers in Macaulay (2001). Surprisingly, however, *go* is followed by *say* and then zero quotatives, whereas *be like* accounts for less than ten per cent of all quotatives (cf. Winter 2002: 10). Thus, Winter's (2002) findings clearly differ from the distribution of quotatives in previously published

findings. For example, *be like* is less frequent in Australian English than in the American, Canadian and British data collected by Ferrara & Bell (1995), Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Macaulay (2001). Since Winter (2002: 9) found examples of *be like* in combination with *go* such as *I was like going*, she assumes that *be like* is at an early stage of implementation in the quotative system. With respect to differences in the distribution of *say*, Winter (2002: 10) points out that 'speaker age' may account for the higher frequency of *say* in the British and Canadian data than in her Australian data, as Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) investigate the speech of university students. Her analysis of the distribution across the factor 'tense of the quotative' revealed that *go* and *be like* are predominantly used in the historical present, while *say* is equally distributed across historical present and past tense (cf. Winter 2002: 11). However, all three quotatives are similar with regard to 'grammatical person' in that third-person subjects dominate for *say*, *go* as well as *be like* (cf. Winter 2002: 13), contrary to the finding that there is no expansion of *be like* to third-person subjects in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999). Winter also identified the discourse meanings which these quotatives have in adolescent Australian speech (see Section 2.1), and explains the low frequency of *be like* not only in terms of its recent emergence in Australian English, but also in terms of a restricted range of discourse meanings. Due to structural constraints, *be like* cannot serve a function which Australian adolescents frequently express using quotatives *go* and *say* (cf. Winter 2002: 20). Finally, it is worth noting that Winter's data include multiple quotatives, i.e. the repetition of quotatives before a single quotation. This repetitive use of quotatives occurs most frequently in adversarial contexts in Australian English (cf. Winter 2002: 14).

Canadian English is the focus of both Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004) and D'Arcy (2004). While the former study investigates the use of quotatives among male and female adolescents and young adults in Toronto, the latter concentrates on the quotative system of young girls in St. John, Newfoundland, and draws comparisons with Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004). The findings of the study on Toronto Youth English, on the other hand, are compared with those in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), as the data in both studies are provided by university students and thus enable an observation of the development of quotatives in real time. Furthermore, this co-authored study includes a comparison of quotative use across various age groups in order to study progression in apparent time (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 497-498). Among the total of 2,058

tokens, *be like* is the most frequent quotative in the Torontonian corpus, showing a percentage of over 50 per cent, followed by *say*, *go* and then *think*. A tentative comparison with the quotative distribution in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) reveals that the use of *be like* has greatly increased, whereas the other quotatives have all reduced in frequency. In apparent time, there seems to be a sharp rise in the use of *be like* among adolescents aged 15 to 16, and this observed frequency remains constant among the following age groups (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 501-03). Moreover, their results show that 'speaker age', 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' are significant factors in the Torontonian data, thus supporting findings in previous studies such as Blyth et al. (1990). A similarity to Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) is that the speakers favour the same pattern for 'speaker sex' and 'grammatical person'. In addition, data from Toronto support Tagliamonte & Hudson's suggestion that a rise in frequency of *be like* increases the probability of a strengthening of the 'sex' effect. Contrary to the earlier Canadian study, however, the data in the 2004 study reveal that 17-19 year olds prefer to use *be like* to introduce direct speech and not inner monologue (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 505, 508). Concerning the question as to whether or not the development of *be like* is a case of grammaticalisation, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004: 505-07) point out that *be like* is associated neither with third-person contexts nor with a decrease of the 'sex' effect so that only the increasing use of *be like* and its expansion into direct speech provide the kind of evidence for grammaticalisation as suggested by Ferrara & Bell (1995). They believe that female speakers aged 15-16 are the leading force in this change (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 508).

As mentioned above, the findings of this study are compared with those in D'Arcy (2004). Firstly, *be like* is also the most frequently used quotative among the 184 tokens in the speech of young girls in St. John and shows a frequency similar to that in the data from Toronto (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 331-32). Furthermore, D'Arcy's data show that the 'content of the quote' is a significant factor contributing to the probability of the quotative *be like*, and her findings support those in the previous study regarding its direction of effect (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 335-36). Additionally, D'Arcy (2004: 335) investigated the effect of the factor 'tense of the quotative' and discovered that this is an even stronger factor contributing to the probability of the quotative *be like* in that *be like* is preferred in present tense contexts, whereby the historical present is completely restricted to the co-occurrence with *be like*. In contrast to Tagliamonte & D'Arcy

(2004), however, 'grammatical person of the quotative' is not a significant factor and *be like* is often used in third-person contexts in the data from St. John (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 336). Examples of *it + be like* occurred relatively often in her data and more frequently than in any other study reporting it (Ferrara & Bell 1995, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Cukor-Avila 2002 and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004; Winter 2002 does not provide information on the number of tokens). On the basis of a comparison of its use across corpora, D'Arcy suggests that a higher frequency of *it +be like* indicates a greater degree of grammaticalisation of *be like* (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 333-34). With respect to the quotative *say*, her data reveal that both 'content of the quote' and 'tense of the quotative' are significant factors. Thus, *say* is favoured to introduce direct speech in the past tense, corroborating Blyth et al. (1990)'s findings and providing evidence that the choice between *say* and *be like* is correlated with 'tense'. Similar to the report on Canadian English in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), but contrary to observations in various other studies such as Blyth et al. (1990), the data from St. John show that the use of *say* with first-person subjects is significant, suggesting a contrast between the use of *say* in Canada and other varieties of English (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 336-337).

Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2005) is very similar to the study that the two authors published one year earlier. A fundamental difference is that the latest study is based on a corpus of Toronto Youth English which comprises about 750,000 words and was collected in the fall of 2002, whereas the corpus of Toronto Youth English in the earlier study comprises 500,000 words collected in the fall of 2002 and 2003 (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 497, 2005: 259). The methodology seems to be almost the same in both studies, although the construction *it's like* is excluded from the multivariate analysis in the study from 2004 but not from that of 2005. Also, the methodology is described in more detail in the first study and the authors differentiate between three age groups in this study, while they compare the distribution of quotatives across four age groups in the second study, using two separate groups for the youngest group in 2004 (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 497-500 and 512, 2005: 259-261). Naturally, differences in corpus size and methodology lead to different numbers of tokens. However, it is surprising that there are two thirds more tokens in the smaller corpus than in the larger one (2058 tokens in 2004 vs. 1240 tokens in 2005). Still, differences in the overall distribution of quotatives are negligible in both studies and most findings regarding social and linguistic factors are more or less identical. One difference is that

all constraints that they investigated with regard to *be like* are significant for all age groups in the 2004 study, while all but one constraint is significant in the 2005 study. Here, 'content of the quote' did not turn out to be significant in the oldest group (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 504, 2005: 264). Moreover, the constraint ranking for 'content of the quote' is the same in all age groups in the study from 2005, whereas the oldest group differs from other groups in their preferences in the study from 2004. Yet another difference regarding 'content of quote' is that its relative strength decreases in apparent time in the second study, whereas it shows an average effect in the youngest and oldest group but a strong effect in the middle group of the first study. Apart from 'content of the quote', there is also a difference concerning 'grammatical person of the quotative': Its strength remains quite stable in apparent time in the first study, but increases greatly from the youngest speakers to the oldest ones in the second study (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 505, 2005: 264-266). Finally, in the study from 2005, women in the oldest group use *be like* as frequently to introduce inner monologue as for direct speech, while men use it more frequently to introduce inner monologue. In the study from 2004, both male and female speakers use the quotative more often with direct speech than with internal dialogue (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 507, 2005: 267-268). Thus, it seems that both male and female speakers participate in the expansion of *be like* into direct speech, whereas this development is more advanced for men in the study from 2004 than that of 2005. In conclusion, the study from 2004 includes data from both 2002 and 2003 and the speakers' use of *be like* in this study seems to reflect a later stage in the development of the Canadian quotative system than in the later study, which only comprises data from 2002. Considering the few differences between the two studies, it seems almost a pattern that the statistical significance is higher, that the relative strength is more stable, and that the constraint ranking reflects a more advanced developmental stage in this study compared with the study from 2005. The question then arises as to how the effect of 'content of the quote' fits into the picture. Methodological differences might account for different results. Does that explain the whole story? In a footnote, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004: 512) point out that the slightly modified methodology in 2004 compared with 2005 resulted in some changes in their interpretation of the findings. They consider the dataset in 2004 as a supersession of the materials in 2005 (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 511). This may be the reason, or at least one of the reasons, why they do not use the findings in

both studies for comparison. Provided that methodological differences do not explain the whole story, the comparison of the data might provide striking insights in that it might indicate how rapidly the quotative system can change.

Although all of the empirical studies mentioned so far cover a wide variety of research topics, there is at least one still missing: 'register'. Barbieri (2005) is the first to study the effect of the factor 'register' on the choice of quotatives. Her study of quotatives *be like*, *go*, *be all* and *say* is based on one subset of the *Longman Spoken and Written English* (LSWE) corpus and three subsets of the *TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language* corpus, four subcorpora of spoken American English representing four registers (casual conversation, university service encounters/ workplace conversation, university students' study groups, and academic office hour consultations; cf. Barbieri 2005: 230-232). Barbieri (2005) investigates the distribution of these quotatives across 'tense', 'grammatical person' and 'content of the quote'. Her analysis of 1,813 tokens reveals that in conversation and office hours, *say* occurs more frequently than *be like*, while *be like* shows a higher frequency than *say* in service encounters and workplace conversation and both quotatives are almost equally as common in the corpus of study groups. The quotative *go*, on the other hand, is the third most frequent quotative in conversation, while it shares with *be all* either infrequency or complete absence in the other subsets. With respect to 'tense', *say* in the simple past tense is most frequent in all subsets, followed by *be like*. In the present tense, *say* only dominates in office settings, while *say*, *be like* and *go* share equal frequency in conversation and *be like* is the most frequent quotative in service encounters/workplace conversation and in study groups. A comparison between simple present and past tense use reveals that the new quotatives are all favoured in the present tense (cf. Barbieri 2005: 239-240). Thus, this data supports the findings regarding differences between present and past tense in previous literature such as Blyth et al. (1990), Ferrara & Bell (1995) and D'Arcy (2004). Barbieri (2005: 242) suggests that the distribution of quotatives in the most formal register, during office hours, may be constrained by both the topics chosen for discussion and the high degree of formality. The subsequent analyses of quotatives with different grammatical persons and contents of quote are only based on the subsets of conversation. The remarkable finding in the distribution across 'grammatical person' is that *be like* occurs almost as frequently with third-person subjects as it occurs with first-person subjects (cf. Barbieri 2005: 243), corroborating

the findings in Ferrara & Bell (1995). With respect to 'content of the quote', Barbieri found out that *say* and *go* are predominantly used to introduce direct speech with both first- and third-person subjects, whereas *be like* is mainly used to introduce direct speech with third persons, but inner speech with first persons (supporting findings in a number of previous studies such as Blyth et al. 1990; cf. Barbieri 2005: 244-245). It is interesting, however, that there are several examples of *be like* with first-person subjects introducing direct speech. This result can be taken as counterevidence to a claim in Ferrara & Bell (1995) that "when dialogue is reported in first person it is impossible to distinguish thought from speech" (Ferrara & Bell 1995: 279). Indeed, a look at previous literature shows that the correlations of 'content of quote' with 'grammatical person' in Cukor-Avila (2002) and D'Arcy (2004) also refute Ferrara & Bell's (1995) claim. In sum, Barbieri (2005) makes a fruitful contribution to the study of quotatives by demonstrating that there is significant variation in the use of quotatives across registers. Thus, it seems worthwhile to fine-tune the analysis of quotatives according to 'register' in order to develop more authentic characterisations of quotatives.

Buchstaller (2006a) addresses the issue of variability in the distribution of quotatives and how it should be interpreted. In other words, Buchstaller discusses the most likely developmental scenario of *be like* and *go* in apparent and real time in both American and British English on the basis of a US corpus, the *Switchboard Corpus*, and a UK corpus collected by Milroy, Milroy and Doherty. The data reveal that 'speaker age' is a significant factor for *be like* in both varieties and that the distribution across 'age' is very similar in British and American English. After a small increase in frequencies among adolescents, the use of *be like* gradually decreases from one age group to the next (cf. Buchstaller 2006a: 8-10). The difference between the two corpora is that American speakers from an age of about thirty years onwards show slightly higher frequencies than the British speakers in the corresponding age groups and Buchstaller (2006a: 9) suggests that an earlier emergence and thus a greater diffusion in American English might account for this difference. In a real-time comparison with another US corpus (see Singler 2001 for more details), Buchstaller (2006a: 10) observed that the trend continues and accelerates in the younger data, indicating that the development of *be like* appears to be a change in progress. With respect to the quotative *go*, the data reveal greater differences between the two varieties: Though sharing a high frequency among younger speakers, the distribution of *go* varies extremely across age

groups beyond adolescence. While the developmental curve for the British data is similar to the corresponding curve of *be like* apart from a slightly increasing frequency among speakers over fifty years of age, the findings in American English reveal a decrease in use after adolescence, followed by a slight increase between those aged 30 and 41, and a final fall to zero per cent among speakers in their early fifties (cf. Buchstaller 2006a: 12-14). This developmental curve in the US corpus corroborates Blyth et al. (1990)'s finding of a lower frequency among 27- to 32-year-olds than among early tweens and speakers from 38 years onwards. On the basis of a comparison with the distribution of *be like*, Buchstaller (2006a: 16-17) suggests that this developmental pattern of *go* in American English might be the result of interaction between *go* and *be like* although there is no evidence for its replacement by quotative *be like*. In order to answer the question as to the interim low in frequency in the US data, Buchstaller (2006a: 20-21) superimposes the developmental curves of both varieties in a single figure. She proposes that the American and British English patterns of *go* might represent two different stages in one and the same developmental process. According to Buchstaller (2006a: 17-18), the up and down in frequency possibly reflect variation in the speakers' preferences. As quotative *go* and *be like* are associated with different stereotypes, one generation of speakers might prefer a specific quotative more than another, while earlier or later generations might have a different opinion. Therefore, Buchstaller claims that "we might have a case of variability that is not age graded but that does not lead to change either" (Buchstaller 2006a: 18).

Variation within and across age groups with regard to both the use of quotatives and attitudes about them is a central topic in Barbieri (2007). This study is concerned with the use of the new quotatives *be like*, *go*, *be all* and the traditional quotative *say* in American English and their distribution across 'age' and 'gender'. Similar to Barbieri (2005), the study is based on a subcorpus of American English conversations which was taken from the *Longman Spoken and Written English* (LSWE) corpus and includes spontaneous conversations between 107 speakers ranging from 16 to 87 years of age (62 female speakers, 45 male speakers; cf. Barbieri 2007: 31-32). Barbieri focused on simple present and simple past forms and analysed 960 quotatives with regard to both 'speaker age' and 'sex'. Her findings reveal that the youngest female speakers (16-26 year-olds) use the new quotatives, especially *be like*, most frequently and that speakers of both genders from age 40 onwards favour *say* (supporting findings in previous

studies such as Romaine & Lange 1991 and Dailey-O'Cain 2000), whereas women over 40 also use *be like* and *go* occasionally. Furthermore, her results show that men and women below the age of 40 differ strikingly in their use of the new quotatives. While women aged 27-40 do not use *be like* and *go* as commonly as the younger group of female speakers, men in their late 20s and 30s use these quotatives more frequently than men aged 16-26, and more often than women in their age group (cf. Barbieri 2007: 35-39). This increase among men aged 27-40 in combination with the decrease among women of the same age is really striking, as the finding contrasts with the results of previous studies on the use of *be like* and also with "previous research on the effect of speaker's sex on language change" (Barbieri 2007: 26). Barbieri interprets this finding in the following way: She points out that the use of *be like* is a stigmatised feature, stereotypically linked to the speech of female teenagers from California (see also previous attitudinal surveys), and suggests that men aged 16-26 and women aged 27-40 do not want to be associated with the language use of female teenagers (cf. Barbieri 2007: 41), whereas men in their late 20s and early 30s "generally aspire to, and thus socialize with slightly younger women, women in their early to mid-20s" (Barbieri 2007: 42) and therefore possibly adjust their speech to that of younger women. Barbieri concludes that her findings reflect "the socialization and dating practices of men and women that have often been documented in survey data and evolutionary psychology research" (Barbieri 2007: 43).

In Barbieri (2007), *be all* is the least frequent quotative. Rickford *et al.* (2007) focus on the quotative *be all* and provide interesting insights into its development, which might also explain its infrequency in Barbieri (2007) and other studies. Their investigation is based on four corpora. Two Californian corpora, the *Wimmer/Fought Tape-Recorded Corpus* and the *Stanford Tape-Recorded Corpus*, are used to compare the use of *be all* in 1990/1994 (total of ca. 250 tokens of various quotatives) and in 2005 (total of ca. 550 tokens of various quotatives). In addition, the *Google Newsgroup Corpus*, an archive of Internet newsgroup postings between 1981 and 2005, is used to study the change of *be all* across time in more detail (ca. 350 tokens) and the *Multisource* All *Corpus* provides further support although playing a minor role (ca. 250 tokens). For the Californian data from the early 1990s, the authors limited their study to speakers aged 14 to 18 since an earlier, unpublished study had shown that *be all* is not used by older speakers in the first part of this corpus. The findings reveal that *be all* is

the most frequently used quotative in the corpus from the 1990s. The quotative tends to occur in clusters of *be all*, and the young speakers mainly use it in the present tense to introduce reported speech (cf. Rickford et al. 2007: 13-15; similar to Singler 2001, although *be all* is infrequent in his data). In contrast, the quotative *be all* is scarce in the later Californian corpus and is favoured in other contexts. While it is still used to introduce reported speech rather than inner monologue, it no longer shows a tendency to cluster. Moreover, 'tense' is not a significant constraint anymore (cf. Rickford et al. 2007: 15-17). Rickford *et al.* (2007) compared the distribution of *be all* and other quotatives across time and found out that *be like* is more frequent in the corpus from 2005 than in the corpus from the 1990s, while the opposite applies to *be all* and the frequency of other quotatives remains stable across time. As data from the early 1990s to 2005 in the *Google Newsgroup Corpus* also show a decreasing frequency of *be all* since the end of the last century, they hypothesise that "after a brisk rise in the 1990s, the overall use of quotative [*be*] *all* is in decline" (Rickford et al. 2007: 19). Further support for the hypothesis is that almost two thirds of the *be all* tokens in the Californian corpus from 2005 are *all like*[26] – that is a combination of *be all* and *be like* – whereas there is only one token with this combination in the corpus from the 1990s (cf. Rickford et al. 2007: 21).

Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) analysed the quotative system of a cohesive Canadian speech community in order to track down the origins, influencing factors, as well as developmental path of *be like,* and to find out whether or not the development of this quotative tells us more about the type of linguistic change taking place in the community's quotative system. Their study is based on the *Toronto English Corpus* including interviews with 199 speakers, whose age ranges from 9 to 87 years (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 202). Tagliamonte and D'Arcy analysed ca. 6,300 tokens with regard to 'tense and temporal reference', 'content of the quote', 'grammatical person', and 'speaker sex' and 'age'. Their results regarding the use of *be like* and *say* corroborate those in Barbieri (2007) in that speakers aged 9-30 favour *be like*, speakers over 40 most frequently use *say*, and male speakers aged 30-39 favour *be like* slightly more than women of their age. Furthermore, their findings reveal that 30-year-olds as a

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[26] Rickford et al. (2007) treated *be all* as the primary quotative and *like* as a second quotative or an approximative. They suggest that one could also interpret *be like* as the primary quotative, treating *all* as an intensifier. Waksler (2001) decided to choose the latter option as the previous chapter shows.

group use *be like* almost as frequently as *say*. With regard to linguistic factors, they analysed all tokens of *be like* by speakers under 40 and identified that *be like* is more often used to introduce internal dialogue than direct speech, that the grammatical person favouring *be like* is a first-person subject – although this is only a weak effect - and that the most influential factor is 'tense and temporal reference', whereby *be like* is most frequently used in historical present (similar to many previous studies such as Blyth et al. 1990, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Winter 2002 and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004). Among 30-year-olds and, to a lesser extent, among speakers aged 20-29, *be like* is also favoured for the present tense (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 204-207). Based on their findings, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy suggest that *be like* is an integral part of the Torontonian grammar and that the way of using *be like* changes subtly from one generation to the next. They also suggest that its initial function was to introduce inner thought in the present tense (including historical present) as can be seen in the strong correlations among 30-year-olds. These speakers were probably among the first users of *be like*. Then, as the development between speakers aged 20-29 and those aged 17-19 shows, *be like* was increasingly associated with female speech and, at the same time, the correlation with inner thought weakened and the influence of historical present became more important than simple present before the correlation with inner thought once again became stronger (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 208-209, 212). Aside from this developmental path among speakers under 40, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) offer an interesting comparison of speakers under and over 40 and point out that "*say* has a completely different profile than *be like*" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 210) with regard to 'content of quotation', 'tense' and 'grammatical person'. They suggest that *be like* is not a lexical replacement of *say* (contrary to Ferrara & Bell's 1995 speculation), but "an innovation that arose out of a preexisting niche in the grammar" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 199). Their Torontonian data show that, during the past 65 years, it has become increasingly more popular among speakers to include inner monologues in their stories. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy propose that this development took place before *be like* emerged so that this new quotative later filled the existing gap (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 210-211). Finally, they state that their data provide evidence that the development of *be like* is a case of generational change rather than age-grading, and based on a comparison with the findings in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), they suggest

that it represents communal change, i.e. that speakers increase the use of *be like* as they become older (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007: 212-213).

Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) suggest that speakers in their thirties are most likely to have been among the first users of *be like*. With this in mind, let us briefly return to the discussion of the inception of *be like*. As mentioned above, the first attestation of *be like* is Butters (1982), who describes *be like* as an innovation. This account might be challenged by Meehan (1991). However, further support that the origin of *be like* can be dated to the early 1980s comes from apparent-time data, as D'Arcy (2007) proposes. In various studies on quotatives (as the studies above reveal), *be like* is infrequent among older speakers, but frequent among speakers in their thirties and below. This is also found in D'Arcy (2007), a study that is based on a sample of the *Toronto English Archive* from the early twenty-first century.[27] Concerning the typical *be like*-users, D'Arcy states that "this is the generation – born in the late 1960s and early 1970s – that comprised the teenagers of the 1980s" (D'Arcy 2007: 406). A controversial point might be how exactly the inception of the quotative *be like* can be determined with the help of apparent-time data. Looking at earlier studies such as Blyth et al. (1990), the findings reveal that the oldest users of *be like* are in their late twenties and early thirties. This group of speakers is slightly older than D'Arcy's speakers. Hence, the origin of *be like* might be dated to the 1970s on the basis of apparent-time data. So these data might allow us to draw just a rough picture. Nevertheless, they provide further support that the use of *be like* more likely began in the 1970s and 1980s than in the 1960s, and that the suggestion in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) is true.

Buchstaller (2008) focuses on the dissemination of the quotatives *be like* and *go*, a development described as "a global process" (Buchstaller 2008: 16), and investigates how these quotatives are adopted in varieties of English via local processes on the basis of two corpora, one from the US and one from the UK (the same corpora as in Buchstaller 2006). In accordance with earlier studies, Buchstaller suggests that "global developments tend to go hand in hand with increasing localization" (Buchstaller 2008: 18). Concerning global similarities, her British and American data reveal that both quotatives share the same content of the quote, that is mimetic, expressive or linguistic content, as well as the framing of the same types of quotes, i.e. reported thought and

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[27] Note that D'Arcy (2007: 389) considers Toronto English as representative of North American English concerning the use of *be like*.

speech (see also Section 2.1). Moreover, these two quotatives are mainly used by younger speakers in both varieties (as previous studies have also shown; cf. Buchstaller 2008: 23-25, 31-33). However, the British speakers differ from the American speakers in the following aspects: Firstly, the quotative *go* only co-occurs with an overtly expressed addressee among British speakers. Furthermore, speakers from the USA and UK vary in their preferences for a combination of *like* with other quotatives. In total, American speakers use the collocations more often than British speakers and they prefer collocations with *feel*, whereas collocations with *say* are most frequent in the UK data. In addition, there are differences in the social distribution of *go* and *be like* across the two varieties in that *be like* has a 'class' effect in the American data and *go* has a 'gender' and 'class' effect in the British data (cf. Buchstaller 2008: 26-33). Thus, Buchstaller's findings show that when the innovative quotatives have been adopted locally, speakers of the adopting variety have, at least partially, separated the quotatives from their original patterns and have attached to them locally developed social and/or functional properties. Concluding, Buchstaller (2008) insists that further investigations into the adoption process of global innovations are necessary in various speech communities.

Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) extend the cross-varietal comparison with New Zealand English and study *be like* in three comparable datasets: the American and English corpora used in Buchstaller (2006, 2008; see above) and the *Canterbury Corpus* with data from 1994-96. They note that these corpora allow them to investigate the quotative system in American English at the time when *be like* spread to other varieties and in English English and New Zealand English at an early developmental stage (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 300). The findings reveal that the frequency of *be like* is very similar in the English English and New Zealand English data, and that the 'content' constraint (thought over speech), the 'person' constraint (first over third) and the 'mimesis encoding' constraint (mimesis over none) are selected as significant in all three datasets. Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) therefore suggest that, at least in the early stage of the emergence of *be like* beyond American English, these three factors "may be universal constraints operating on this form" (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 306). As the 'person' effect is rather weak, they also hypothesise that the effect of this factor might be levelling, but later abandon this hypothesis because of counterevidence that they found in recent corpora (cf. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 307). With respect to 'tense of

the quotative', 'speaker sex' and 'socio-economic status', their results suggest that *be like* shows "locally distinct, and thus idiosyncratic, patterning" (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 311). Since the constraint hierarchies for the latter factor groups as well as the constraint rankings for the significant language-internal factors differ across varieties, Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009: 311-16) propose that the spread of *be like* is a case of weak transfer: Some of the linguistic components of *be like* are transferred as the quotative spreads, although reorganisation takes place in the adopting localities. They suggest that this can be explained by the fact that the quotative does not fulfill exactly the same functional and social niche in each variety, but rather locally specific ones. According to Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009: 320) suggestion, these functional and social niches that are filled by *be like* as it enters the quotative system are not empty, but rather niches that are 'negotiated' between the innovative and traditional quotatives.

Based on more recent data, Barbieri (2009) reports on the present status of *be like* in American English. She studies *say*, *go*, *be all* and *be like* in conversations in the Cambridge *Corpus of Spoken North American English* (CAMSNAE), which was compiled in 2004/2005, and draws a real-time comparison between these findings and those reported in Barbieri (2007) for comparable data from 1995/1996. Among the total of 732 quotatives that she found in the 2004/2005 data, *be all* is not represented. Her findings reveal that the quotative *be like* is favoured over *say* and *go* by speakers of both sexes below age 40, while *say* is the favoured quotative for all speakers over 40, supporting findings in previous research on the effect of the factor 'speaker age' on the American quotative system (see, for example, Barbieri 2007). Girls below the age of 16 turned out to be extremely frequent users of *be like* and, to a lesser extent, also of *go*. In addition, however, women aged 27-40 use *be like* very often, and (unlike men) even women over the age of 40 actively use it in CAMSNAE. With regard to the quotative *go*, women above the age of 40 show a higher frequency than men of the same age. Hence, among older speakers, innovative quotatives occur more often in female speech, and Barbieri (2009: 82) therefore suggests that "even at late stages of life, women are leaders in the advancement of innovative variants." In comparison with the findings in Barbieri (2007), the use of *be like* sharply increased between 1995/1996 and 2004/2005 among men below the age of 40 as well as women aged 27 to 40, and there is yet a moderate increase for the 41- to 54-year-old women, which further supports Barbieri's suggestion. Finally, Barbieri (2009) compares the use of *be like* among speakers aged 27

to 40 in 1995/1996 with its use among speakers aged 41 to 54 in 2004/2005 in order to identify whether speakers maintained or dropped the use of *be like* over ten years. The findings show that women maintained it, while men dropped it. Concluding, Barbieri (2009: 85) hypothesises that *be like* is "a true case of change in progress", and that its use represents an advanced stage of development in American English (cf. Barbieri 2009: 88). Compared with previous studies listed above, the most remarkable finding from this study is perhaps that *be like* increased in frequency over the years among women older than 40 (although these women still favour *say* in the 2004/2005 data) and, to me, this raises the exciting question of whether *be like* might become a strong competitor to *say* for these American speakers at one point in the future.

The development of *be like* is one of six features that are investigated in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009) in data stemming from the *Toronto English Archive* (dating 2003 to 2006). If we leave aside the main aim of this study – testing the legitimacy of a model for morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic changes, the findings for quotative *be like* reveal the following: The frequency of *be like* significantly correlates with 'speaker age' (both overall and for critical adjacent age groups specifically) to the extent that the use of *be like* decreases with increasing age (cf. Buchstaller 2006 for similar findings in American English and British English). This correlation implies that *be like* is a case of change in progress in Canadian English (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009: 86-87). According to the distributional analysis, the frequency of *be like* peaks at the age of 17-29 for both female and male speakers, although the multivariate analysis shows in more detail that the peak occurs for 17-19 year-old women and for men between 20-29 years. So Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009: 97) suggest that "men simply lag behind women" in the advancement of this change in Canadian English. Similarly, Barbieri (2007, see discussion above) observed in American English data that *be like* is used most frequently by female speakers aged 16-26 but by male speakers aged 27-40. In addition to this difference between female and male speakers, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009: 83, 93) point out that the clearly defined peaks for both sexes reveal that the use of *be like* changes quickly in apparent time.

Not speaker age, but ethnicity is the central topic in the following two studies: Kohn & Franz (2009) and D'Arcy (2010). The former investigates the quotative system in Latino and African American communities in two cities in the USA. An analysis of the quotative system of Latino speakers had been previously carried out; e.g. Hansen-

Thomas (2008)[28] provides evidence that *be like*, *be all* and *go* are common in adolescent Chicana English in Texas, but the groundbreaking approach in Kohn & Franz (2009) is to compare quotative use across ethnicities and regions. Based on 618 tokens stemming from sociolinguistic interviews with 35 Latino and 27 African American speakers aged 9 to 21, they identified that *be like*, *say* and zero-marked quotatives are the most frequent quotatives for both African American and Chicano speakers, with *be like* accounting for more than half of the overall tokens (cf. Kohn & Franz 2009: 266-268, 273-274). Among the *be like* tokens, there are tokens with what they call "the traditional AAVE features" (Kohn & Franz 2009: 269) copula absence (e.g. *he like*) and invariant *be* (e.g. *he be like*). While the former occurs in the speech of both ethnic groups in one place and merely in the speech of African Americans in the second place, the latter is infrequent but attested for both ethnic groups in both investigated places (cf. Kohn & Franz 2009: 275). In addition, there are examples of bare *like* (neither a subject nor *be* present) and combinations of *like* with other quotatives (e.g. *say like*; cf. Kohn & Franz 2009: 269-270, 273). According to their findings, African Americans use the zero quotative significantly more often than Latinos. Thus, the data support Cukor-Avila's (2002) finding that zero quotatives are frequent among African American speakers. The quotative *go*, however, is infrequent in the speech of the African American participants (cf. Kohn & Franz 2009: 269, 274). As this infrequency of *go* was also observed in Cukor-Avila (2002), it seems that *go* does not play an important role in the quotative system of African Americans. With regard to social and linguistic factors, Kohn & Franz (2009) note that *be like* is favoured by female speakers with first-person subjects in the group of Latino speakers, supporting previous findings for the use of *be like* in American English. Among African American speakers, however, 'speaker sex' is not significant for *be like*, and the quotative is more equally used with third-person plural and first-person subjects. Thus, the trend towards an increasing use of *be like* with third-person subjects (cf. studies on American English above, such as Ferrara & Bell 1995 and Barbieri 2005) seems to continue for American English. Moreover, the African American speakers use *be like* and *say* at roughly the same rate with the historical present followed by the present tense and past tense (cf. Kohn & Franz 2009: 277-280). When comparing quotative use across 'ethnicity', 'speakers sex' and 'region', Kohn & Franz (2009: 281) point out that female speakers in one place differ from (almost) all

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[28] Note that this study is based on data from only six teenagers.

other groups and that the two ethnic groups among these female speakers differ significantly from each other. Therefore, they hypothesise that "the importance of gender as a constraint appears to be even more locally defined than previously discussed" (Kohn & Franz 2009: 284).

D'Arcy (2010), on the other hand, focuses on differences in the use of quotatives between Maori and Pakeha English speakers in New Zealand. Based on two samples taken from the *Maori English Corpus* and the *Canterbury Corpus* which include data from men in their twenties from the sampling period 2006 and 2005 to 2008 respectively, her study reveals that *be like* occurs significantly more often among Pakeha speakers, while zero quotatives are used significantly more often by Maori English speakers (D'Arcy 2010: 68-69). These distributional findings are supported by the results of her multivariate analysis. A multivariate analysis run separately for the two varieties also shows that *be like* is preferred in the HP in Pakeha English, whereas it is preferred in the past tense in Maori English. Thus, the study suggests that *be like* patterns distinctly not only locally, as proposed in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009, see above), but also distinctly across ethnic groups in the same place. In both varieties *be like* is favoured in its traditional domain regarding 'grammatical person', 'content of the quote' and 'mimetic re-enactment' (cf. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009), i.e. in first-person contexts to introduce thoughts and voicing effects. The zero quotative, on the other hand, is favoured for mimetic direct speech in Maori English, while its probability is not significantly influenced by the factors 'content of the quote' and 'mimetic re-enactment' in Pakeha English (D'Arcy 2010: 69-73). A real-time comparison with a sample of comparable data for Maori English speakers taken from the *Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English* (focusing on data from 1988-1994) and a comparable sample for Pakeha English speakers taken from the *Canterbury Corpus* (focusing on data from 1994) suggests that the difference between the two varieties in the twenty-first century was not caused by the emergence of *be like*: While the null form is the most frequently used quotative by Maori English speakers in the sample from the late eighties to early nineties, it rarely occurs in the data from Pakeha English speakers in 1994 (D'Arcy 2010: 75-76).[29]

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[29] For a recent and slightly different focus see D'Arcy (2012), a study of the longitudinal development of the New Zealand English quotative system. D'Arcy (2012: 360) found that *be like* "entered an already volatile system."

Bonnici (2010) studies quotatives in yet another variety. She investigates the use of quotatives by Maltese English speakers aged 18-81 who are English-dominant bilinguals. Based on sociolinguistic interviews, she identified that *say* is the most common quotative followed by the zero quotative, *tell* and then *be like*, while *go* is restricted to a few instances. Her findings reveal that *say* is used most frequently by male speakers and in past tense contexts in Maltese English. Furthermore, older speakers favour *say* with internal dialogue. The quotative *tell*, on the other hand, almost exclusively introduces direct speech and is favoured in the present tense. Its high frequency in Maltese English, in comparison with other varieties, suggests that it is a special feature of this variety, i.e. a local quotative (cf. Bonnici 2010: 279). The quotative *be like*, however, is conditioned by the typical 'content' constraint (thought over speech), which supports Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2004) suggestion that the 'content' constraint on *be like* is universal. Moreover, *be like* is favoured in the historical present by young speakers, and it is significantly more frequent among young women than men, while the zero quotative occurs significantly more often in the speech of older women than in that of men.

Up to this point, Corrigan (2010) and Buchstaller (2011) are the most recent studies in the series of research on new quotatives. Corrigan (2010) offers an introduction to phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical and discourse features in Irish English. Based on twenty-nine sociolinguistic interviews with male and female speakers aged 12 to 90 from different dialect zones in Northern Ireland, she identified that, in addition to traditional quotatives such as *say* and *think* and the innovative form *go*, the form *be like* is used to introduce both internal dialogue and direct speech. With regard to 'speaker age', *be like* shows the typical pattern in this dataset in that *be like* occurs most frequently among speakers in their 20s and 30s and is absent from the speech of speakers over the age of 48. Thus, her findings reveal that *be like* is part of the Northern Irish English quotative system (cf. Corrigan 2010: 101). My analysis below will offer more detailed information on the use of *be like* and other quotatives in Northern Ireland as well as in the Republic of Ireland on the basis of ICE-Ireland.

Karen Corrigan and Isabelle Buchstaller are both members of the team that compiled the corpus on which the latest study is based: the *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE), consisting of sociolinguistic interviews collected in the 1960s, 1990s and late 2000s (2007 and 2009). Buchstaller (2011) studies real-

time changes in the quotative system in Tyneside English on the basis of a subcorpus of DECTE. The study reports that the quotative *go* shows much lower frequencies in the data collected between 2007 and 2009 than in the data collected in the 1990s. The findings also reveal that there is a gender difference (young women over young men) in the 1990s but not in the 2000s, and that the quotative is frequently used with both the simple past and HP in the second collection period but almost exclusively with the simple past in the latest period. On the other hand, the effects of the factors 'grammatical person of the quotative' (third over first) and 'content of the quote' (direct speech over internal dialogue) do not change across time in Tyneside English according to Buchstaller (2011: 70-82).

Her findings concerning *be like* show that men and women share similar rates in the 1990s, whereas the new quotative is used most frequently by women in the data collected between 2007 and 2009. Furthermore, she found that the 'tense' effect of *be like* (past over present/HP) remains stable across time, while the 'person' and 'content' constraints change (see Buchstaller 2011: 70-82). According to Buchstaller (2011: 76-80), young speakers in the 1990s use *be like* most frequently with internal dialogue and first-person subjects, while *be like* occurs most frequently with direct speech and with first- and third-person subjects alike in the 2000s. Note, however, that Buchstaller (2011) does not consider the proportion of *be like* (and *go* respectively) from all quotatives used in a certain context when she discusses the factors 'grammatical person', 'content of the quote' and 'tense of the quotative'. If we take the latter perspective, the 'content' effect of *go* neutralises between the 1990s and 2000s. Moreover, the 'content' constraint of *be like* (thought over speech) remains stable across time, whereas its 'tense' effect slightly changes in that *be like* shows very similar rates as for the simple present and simple past in the 2000s. Thus, in contrast to Tagliamonte & Hudson's (1999) suggestion about the trajectory for *be like* and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2007) finding in Canadian English, there is no levelling of the 'content' constraint over time in Tyneside English. However, the levelling of the 'person' constraint in Tyneside English aligns with Tagliamonte & Hudson's (1999) suggestion, and the development of a 'gender' effect across time is in keeping with Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2007) finding on Canadian English. With respect to 'tense of the quotative', the result here does not parallel that in the latter study on Canadian English. It rather

supports Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) hypothesis that the linguistic information on tense is locally reorganised.

2.3 Summary of the chapter

This chapter revealed that the innovative quotatives (in particular *be like*) and the traditional quotative *say* have received broad coverage in the literature. While the quotative *be like* seems to have spread to many varieties of English, this does not apply to *go* and *be all*. As the studies above have shown, *go* is infrequent in African American English (Cukor-Avila 2002, Kohn & Franz 2009) and Maltese English (Bonnici 2010). To my knowledge, the quotative *be all* has been extensively studied only in American English, and its use is in decline in this variety (see, for example, Rickford et al. 2007).

With regard to social and linguistic factors, the following observations were made: The quotatives *be like* and *go* are primarily used by speakers below the age of 40, i.e. infrequent among older speakers. The latter, on the other hand, show a preference for *say*. Moreover, it seems that older speakers use the quotative *go* more frequently than *be like* (cf. Blyth et al. 1990, Buchstaller 2006). In contrast to 'speaker age', there is little consensus on the use of quotatives in relation to 'speaker sex'. In some studies there is no significant effect for *say* (e.g. in American English data in Blyth et al. 1990), while it is favoured by women in other studies (e.g. in Canadian English data in Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999). In addition to variation across varieties, there appears to be variation within varieties (e.g. in English English data in Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999 and Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). Similar to *say*, there is neither consensus within nor across varieties regarding the 'sex' effect of *be like* (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004, Canadian English, vs. Dailey-O'Cain 2000, American English, vs. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Canadian English) and *go* (e.g. Blyth et al. 1990, American English, vs. Singler 2001, American English, and Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Canadian English).

Concerning 'grammatical person of the quotative', there is wide agreement across studies that *be like* is favoured in first-person contexts (e.g. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Cukor-Avila 2002). However, the new quotative is, for instance, preferred in third-person contexts in Australian English data in Winter (2002) and in Canadian English data in D'Arcy (2004), and some studies revealed that there is an almost balanced distribution (e.g. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). The quotative *go* is generally favoured in third-person contexts (e.g. Blyth et al. 1990, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999 for Canadian English data, Winter 2002), although speakers did not show

any preference in certain other studies (e.g. in British English data in Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999). Furthermore, a favoured use of *say* in third-person contexts was observed in a number of studies (e.g. Blyth et al. 1990, Winter 2002). Canadian English, however, seems to be an exception since studies based on Canadian English data (e.g. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, D'Arcy 2004) report that the use of *say* with first-person subjects is preferred. The new and traditional quotatives are also rather clearly distributed across the linguistic factor 'content of the quote'. The quotatives *go* and *say* traditionally favour direct speech (see, for example, Blyth et al. 1990, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009), whereas *be like* is favoured to introduce internal dialogue in various studies (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). Finally, Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) point out that *be like* patterns in an idiosyncratic way across varieties regarding 'tense of the quotative', and D'Arcy (2010) suggests that there might even be differences across ethnic groups in the same location. So 'tense of the quotative' seems to be the least predictable factor of the three linguistic factors listed here. Notice, however, that both linguistic and social constraints may change over time (see, for example, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007).

3. Data and methodology

The main aim of my study is to shed light on the previously neglected subject of the quotative system in educated Jamaican English both within the variety and in comparison with others. My particular focus is on how the use of new quotatives contrasts with that of more traditional ones. As the innovative quotatives are predominantly a feature of the spoken language, this study is based on the spoken components of three corpora: ICE-Jamaica, ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada. These corpora belong to the family of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE – for information on the project see Greenbaum 1988, Greenbaum 1991, Greenbaum & Nelson 1996). In the ICE project, the type of language aimed at in the sampling is Standard English. The compilation of corpora has already been completed in twelve countries including Kenya and Tanzania (East Africa), Great Britain, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, Australia[30], Canada, the Philippines, and Singapore and further corpora are planned for countries such as Fiji, Malaysia, Malta, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago as well as the USA.

The reader might now ask why this study is, in addition to ICE-Jamaica, based on the ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada corpora. Why not any other ICE-corpus? There is one straightforward reason: the comparability of data. In addition to the uniformity in collection and transcription methods that is characteristic of the ICE-family of corpora in general, ICE-Jamaica, ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada share roughly the same sampling periods. This is of vital importance for a cross-varietal comparison of quotative use since quotative systems tend to change rapidly. The compilation period of other existing ICE-corpora dates back to the early 1990s, which makes them too old for a comparison. Thus, the only ICE-corpora that lend themselves to a comparison with ICE-Jamaica are ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada.

The spoken component of each corpus consists of 300 texts of 2,000 words. This gives a subcorpus of approximately 600,000 words for each variety. The speakers represented in these subcorpora are adults aged 18 and above with at least a secondary level of education. They contribute to four text categories: private vs. public dialogue and unscripted vs. scripted monologue. On a continuum from informal to formal, the private conversations can be considered as the text category with the lowest level of

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[30] ICE-Australia has been completed, but is not publicly available yet.

formality, while scripted monologues, including broadcast news and talks as well as non-broadcast talks, are predominantly formal in their character (i.e. speakers pay a high degree of attention to speech, see Labov 1972). Both the text categories public dialogues and unscripted monologues are, however, somewhat broad: The former includes, for example, parliamentary debates, which are rather formal, and class lessons, which could be classified as rather informal (yet as more formal than private dialogues due to the fact that a person of authority participates). On the other hand, unscripted monologues comprise, for example, legal presentations, that are rather formal, and demonstrations, which can be relatively spontaneous and informal depending on the audience. Thus, public dialogues and unscripted monologues cover a rather broad spectrum on the formality continuum between mainly informal and mainly formal. As ICE-Canada became publicly available at a very late stage of writing my dissertation, I studied a sample of thirty texts taken from the private conversations in the spoken component and will present the results of this pilot study later on.

The following two tables offer information on the number of male and female speakers in private dialogues in the three corpora as well as on the total of words used by male and female speakers in the respective datasets.

Table 1: Number of male and female speakers in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica, ICE-Ireland and the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (30 texts)

	Male	Female	No information	Total
ICE-Jamaica	63 + extra-corpus	187 + extra-corpus		250 + extra-corpus
ICE-Ireland	91	284 + extra-corpus	extra-corpus	375 + extra-corpus
ICE-Canada (sample)	50	49		99

Table 2: Word totals for the factor 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in the three corpora (without extra-corpus speech)

	Male	Female	Unclear	Total
ICE-Jamaica	58 455	151 171	207	209 833
ICE-Ireland	41 097	152 930	307	194 334
ICE-Canada (sample)	31 725	29 401	109	61 235

As Table 1 shows, the Canadian sample has a balanced distribution. In contrast, ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland are skewed in their composition with regard to 'speaker sex' in that about a quarter of the speakers in private dialogues are male and three quarters

female. A similar unevenness in distribution was noticed in Barbieri (2007). She describes the unequal distribution across independent social variables as

> a necessary trade-off of the unobtrusiveness of the data collection methods […], which is precisely what allowed to obtain a corpus that may be regarded as an accurate representation of naturally-occurring spontaneous conversation. (Barbieri 2007: 33)

Social factors can more easily be controlled in sociolinguistic interviews, where the priority given to the control of factors, however, limits the naturalness of data (cf. Barbieri 2007: 33). The reason these two corpora show an extremely varied distribution across 'speaker sex' is the fact that the ultimate aim was to compile corpora that are comparable with the other corpora in the ICE family. Collecting texts for all of the categories was also not an easy task (cf. Meyer 2001: 18-19) and the specific conditions that the project teams had to struggle with might also have contributed to the uneven distribution across 'speaker sex' (as well as other independent variables, see Tables 3-7 for examples). Due to this unevenness within and across the datasets, it is essential to work with normalised frequencies, i.e. the number of quotatives used by one group is set into relation to the word totals that this group produced and then compared with the normalised findings in the other group. Tables 2 to 7 give the word totals for 'speaker sex', 'gender groups', 'speaker age' and 'collection period' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica, ICE-Ireland and the Canadian sample. Further tables with word totals for correlations of factors, e.g. for 'speaker sex' and 'speaker age', can be found in the appendices (see Appendices 1 to 3).

Table 3: Word totals for the factor 'gender groups' in private dialogues in the three corpora (without extra-corpus speech)

	Male only	Female only	Mixed	Unclear	Total
ICE-Jamaica	8 760	121 713	79 233	127	209 833
ICE-Ireland	1 850	91 841	100 525	118	194 334
ICE-Canada (sample)	13 066	9 196	36 752	2 221	61 235

Table 4: Word totals for the factor 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (without extra-corpus speech)

	17-25	26-45	45+	Missing information	Total
ICE-Jamaica	112 278	50 304	16 804	30 447	209 833

Table 5: Word totals for the factor 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (without extra-corpus speech)

	19-25	26-33	34-41	42-49	50+	Missing information	Total
ICE-Ireland	89 401	34 646	9 176	3 671	31 271	24 950	194 334

Table 6: Word totals for the factor 'speaker age' in the sample of ICE-Canada (without extra-corpus speech)

	19-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51+	Missing information	Total
ICE-Canada (sample)	8 954	13 210	18 187	15 292	5 483	109	61 235

Table 7: Word totals for the 'collection period' in private dialogues in the three corpora (without extra-corpus speech)

	1990-1994	1995-2001	2002-2005	Missing information	Total
ICE-Jamaica	20 895	17 243	170 712	983	209 833
ICE-Ireland	126 997		67 337		194 334
ICE-Canada (sample)		54 908	6 232	95	61 235

As we will later see, innovative quotatives mainly occur in the private dialogues. Data for this category were collected between 1990 and 2004/2005 for all three varieties. In ICE-Ireland, texts for all other categories also originate from this time period, while the collection of (a few) texts in other text categories in ICE-Jamaica was finished in 2007 or 2008.[31]

In order to find the quotative verbs in the Jamaican, Irish and Canadian subcorpora, I used various procedures, but the same methodology for all three corpora. For innovative quotatives, I consulted the literature in order to compile a list of innovative quotatives. I then located each instance of a quotative in the subcorpora by searching for the head of the quotative with the help of the concordance tool in WordSmith, e.g. *like* in the case of *be like* and *all* in the case of *be all*. This procedure enabled me to include both instances when the respective quotative is accompanied by *be* and when it is not. For the quotatives *go* and unaccompanied *be*, I used a slightly different procedure in that I searched for these verbs in their various tense forms – and in the case of unaccompanied *be* also in the various contracted forms – with the help of the concordance tool. As for traditional quotatives, I used the wordlist tool in WordSmith for each subcorpus, to obtain all the words included in the respective

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[31] Note that the Canadian sample only comprises texts taken from private conversations in ICE-Canada.

dataset in their various (tense) forms. I then produced concordance lists for every potential form of a quotative. At the end of any procedure, actual quotatives were extracted manually from the overall occurrences. In addition, I searched for zero quotatives by reading through the corpus texts, limiting myself to private dialogues.[32] As suggested in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), I coded a reported segment as two instances of a (zero) quotative "if a change in person or number was deemed to have occurred within the reported segment" (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 156); otherwise I coded it as one (zero) quotative plus quote. This approach resulted in a list of the complete inventory of quotatives in Jamaican, Irish and Canadian English respectively. The reason for doing so was not only to provide a complete picture of the quotative systems in these varieties, but also to be able to compare the extent to which the development of the innovative quotatives has led to (possibly) different results in these varieties. This approach was motivated by previous studies such as Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004). These linguists suggest:

> Given that *be like* has been implicated in ongoing grammatical change, it is necessary to consider the quotative system as a whole in order to assess the contexts into which this form may or may not be expanding. (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 498)

In keeping with the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972), this means the inclusion not only of all realised variants of quotatives but also of all unrealised variants – i.e. the zero quotatives – in the analysis. As mentioned above, both realised and unrealised variants of quotatives were extracted from the datasets.

In the following, I will describe in more detail what was excluded from further analysis and how I coded quotatives for a range of factors such as 'content of the quote' and 'tense of the quotative'. Firstly, instances of indirect quotation were excluded. Note, however, that a few instances where a quotative is followed by the complementiser *that* were retained as the quotation is obviously a direct quotation and not indirect speech. One of these instances is given in Example 1:

(1) The <}><-->first <.>cla</.></-> <=>first tutorial</=></}> I went to remember when *he said that* <quote>my room is always open just come in grab the books sit down and read</quote> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-009)

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[32] As the overall distribution of quotatives below will show, new quotatives predominantly occur in private dialogues, and so the discussion of the distribution of quotatives across social and linguistic factors will be limited to quotatives occurring in private dialogues. Therefore, I did not extend the tedious and very time-consuming extraction process for zero quotatives to other text categories.

Apart from verbs introducing indirect speech, I also excluded quotatives used within a quotation, as *asked* in Example 2.

    (2) He says I have *asked* them is it going to cure me (ICE-Ireland, S2A-021)

In these instances, the second quotative and the respective quotation were seen as part of the quotation introduced by the first quotative. Furthermore, I excluded cases in which the speaker switches from direct speech to indirect speech (see Example 3), in which quotations are used in a meta-linguistic way (see Example 4), and in which either the quotative itself or what follows the quotative was marked as unintelligible by the transcribers.[33]

    (3) <S1A-076$B> <#> And I was asking him what 's the story like <#> <{> <[> And </[> *he was like well I 'm he 's off to Australia in January*
        <S1A-076$A> <#> <[> Right </[> </{>
        <S1A-076$A> <#> Is he really definitely leaving the shop and everything
        <S1A-076$B> <#> Definitely (ICE-Ireland, S1A-076)

    (4) Now <,> when you say to somebody <,> hi how are you <,> what do you expect (ICE-Ireland, S1B-004)

Quotatives given by extra-corpus speakers, as illustrated in Example 5, were not retained for analysis:

    (5) <S1A-023$F> <X> <#> <[> Belinda McNaughton says </[> </{> I think five days is enough in the shopping centre for me </X> (ICE-Ireland, S1A-23)

I also excluded all quotatives that do not introduce human verbal behaviour such as human gestures and non-human sounds. An example of a non-verbal quote is:

    (6) I was glad it was going to be on my <{> <[> left </[> left-handed <,> I I I <.> m </.> I was going like <&> *makes gesture* </&> all the way down (ICE-Ireland S1B-015)

Here, the quotative is a collocation of quotative *be like* with *go* (see Buchstaller 2008 for further information on this term). Such non-human or non-verbal cases were also excluded in previous studies on quotatives (see, for example, D'Arcy 2004). Finally, I did not retain the first of two quotatives whenever a quotative is repeated or is part of a false start, i.e. directly followed by another quotative before the quotation itself is made. Examples can be found in what follows:

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[33] As for unintelligible content of the quote, my decision corresponds with Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004), but differs from Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999). Following Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), I did not retain "tokens of *like* with the meaning 'for example/such as/in other words/as if to say'" (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 153) for further analysis (see the latter study for examples).

(7) You understand and *<}><<->I'm <{3}><[3]>saying</[3]></-> <=>I'm saying</=></}> <#>Is* this a sign or something (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-045)

(8) And then *</[2]> and then he says <,> and Fintan goes* there 's fellas running out in front of his car in the middle of the night <#> And uh Mark goes yeah (ICE-Ireland, S1A-070)

(9) Jesus and *I always said to him him say*<,> until <indig>una</indig> get big live with somebody and have kids on your own then una will see <{1}><[1]><,>exactly</[1]> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-045)

Example 9 is also interesting from another point of view: It gives an example of the local quotative *seh*. This verb is most frequently transcribed as *say* throughout the corpus. The classification and analysis between the Standard English verb *say* and Jamaican Creole *seh* written as *say* was based both on phonetic and morpho-syntactic grounds. As for morpho-syntactic analysis, this means that whenever the grammatical person of the quotative and/or the quotation was in Jamaican Creole the quotative was counted as *seh*.

Let us now move on to the coding of quotatives for various factors. One of these factors is 'content of the quote'. Previous studies on quotatives distinguish between *direct speech* and *internal dialogue*. For reasons of comparability, I adopted the coding procedure outlined in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999). These methods were also replicated in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) as well as in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009). Thus, a quotation was considered internal dialogue if it "reported an attitude or a general feeling of the narrator or group of people" (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 156) or if it reported the speaker's thought, i.e. the speaker's repetition of an inner monologue (cf. Barbieri 2005: 235). On the other hand, a quotation was counted as direct speech if it was "contained in a sequence of reported dialogue (i.e. complicating action) which advanced the story-line, or was part of an utterance to which the protagonists responded" (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 156). This means that the wider context of each quotative and quotation was considered in order to distinguish between direct speech and internal dialogue. Without the context it would have been difficult to code some quotatives, especially those preceded by a first-person pronoun. However, using the key described above, it was obvious that the quotative in italics in Example 10 is an example of direct speech, while the quotative in Example 11 introduces an internal dialogue.

(10) And he was like <,> oh my God you 're never going to believe what just happened you know <&> laughter </&> <#> And *I 'm like* <,> what <#> So he said uhm <,> basically what 'd happened was his ex-girlfriend this Thai girl who he 'd been seeing for one month […] (ICE-Ireland, S1A-044)

(11) I really like the countryside </[2><#>When I got to this place then *I was like* <#>Oh my God how am I going to adapt to this place<{3><[3><,></[3> <#>I mean it's just going going going going <{4><[4>you know</[4> <#>And I'm thinking it might be a bit slower you know (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-029)

Quotatives may also introduce cited written material or hypothetical discourse (cf. Romaine & Lange 1991: 259). The latter subgroup includes conditional uses as in (12), negated uses as in (13) and hypothetical speech, i.e. the use of quotatives in hypothetical situations, as in (14). The difference between (12) and (14) is that the quotative in the latter does not show the irrealis reading (e.g. *would*) morphologically, but it draws on the wider context which reveals that the speaker talks about a hypothetical, imagined situation.

(12) I did that in my <unclear>words</unclear> it don't affect me like *some people would be like* I always wanna be around people talking (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-066)

(13) So *he's not like* <{4><[4>yeah</[4> <#>I went through all of this<O>speaker-B-laughs</O> <#>I have to see a psychiatrist because I have some money (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-035)

(14) [...] let's say the board of directors that uhm<,,> those people that in France or wherever uhm<,,><O>inhales</O> the S I people yes<,> <&>with-French-accent</&><foreign>Système International</foreign><,> Let's say they're the women<,> right and uhm <}><-><.>of</.></-> <=>us</=></}> physicists are the men<,> <#>So we're saying to her <#>You're best <#>You're the bomb <#>Your body is you know <}><-->it's</-> <=>is</=></}> <}><-->that</-> <=>the</=></}> greatest<O>$B-laughs</O><,> <#>And *she's like* oh yeah yeah<,> and then<,> he gets what he wants<,> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-071)

As in previous research (see, e.g., Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004), tokens introducing written material or hypothetical discourse are excluded from the analyses and discussion of the 'content of the quote' factor group (although not from others).

With regard to the linguistic factor 'tense of the quotative', I also used the coding procedure offered in previous studies. Following D'Arcy (2004), I coded verbs in past-tense forms as past tense, verbs in present-tense forms referring to the past as historical present (HP) and those in present-tense forms referring to the present as present tense (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 331). In the following sequences, for example, the first quotative in (15) was coded as past, the second in (15) as historical present and that in (16) as present.[34] The quotative *seh* was not coded for 'tense of the quotative'.

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[34] Quotatives that are encoded with types of tenses and aspectual morphology different from those listed above are excluded from consideration in this factor group. Also, it needs to be taken into account that not every token is classifiable in Jamaican English. Third person singular *–s* or the simple past *–ed* morpheme may be lacking in the more mesolectal passages (e.g. *he decide* instead of *he decides/decided*), leaving these tokens ambiguous between present, HP and past. When double-checking the list of tokens, I noticed that there are only very few cases in point and excluded them.

(15) [...] we went into an electronic store and the owner came to us and he was Indian and he just came over from India and <{19><[19>opened</[19> his store <#>And he was following us around the store following us around the store and we couldn't figure out why he was following us around the store until we finally *asked* you know <#>Is there a problem<O>$B-laughs</O> <#>And he *says* you look so much like my cousin you look so much like my cousin and we're like <#>Okay (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-041)

(16) And there's just basically nothing <#>I wanted to do public administration but then again *I'm like* that's boring government <{4><[4>you know</[4> and with that I don't know <#>There's nothing here that really comes out like you know <{5><[5><,>that I really like to do</[5> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-063)

Compared with other factors, coding for 'register' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' was a very simple task: The text code of the file in which the respective token can be found offers the requested information on 'register', while the relevant information on the 'grammatical person of the quotative' is encoded in the noun phrase that precedes the quotative and functions as the subject in the clause. Again following the coding procedure in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and later replications (cf. the studies listed for 'content of the quote'), I distinguish between first-, second- and third-person contexts but exclude second-person subjects from the discussion of the 'grammatical person' factor group due to both their infrequency and the lack of any reported effect (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004 and Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). This means that I will focus on the distinction between first- and third-person contexts in the presentation and discussion of the findings in Chapter 4.[35]

Coding for the factors listed so far was possible on the basis of the corpus texts, however, the markup of spoken texts in ICE corpora does not offer any straightforward metadata such as speaker sex and age. Moreover, a corpus utility program such as ICECUP or an online search program such as BNCweb is not yet available for ICE-Jamaica, ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada (cf. Lehmann and Schneider 2010). Therefore, I consulted the files with socio-demographic information that accompany ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Canada as well as the printed user's guide to ICE-Ireland and extracted the information given in the entries for the respective texts and speaker codes. Speakers are divided into male and female speakers for the sex distinction. For the factor 'gender groups', I consulted the entry for the text from which the respective quotative stems and checked whether the speaker and the other participants in the conversation are of the same sex or form a mixed group. With regard to the factor 'collection period', I

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[35] Naturally, zero quotatives are coded for neither 'tense of the quotative' (see above) nor 'grammatical person of the quotative'.

distinguish between the following periods: 1990-1994, 1995-2001, and 2002-2005/08 plus another category for quotatives with unknown collection dates. This distinction is based on that offered in the user guide accompanying ICE-Ireland (cf. Kallen & Kirk 2008: 31). The division into age groups differs slightly across the ICE-corpora used here. The Jamaican speakers were subdivided into three age groups: 17-25, 26-45 and 45+. Although the corpus allows for a distinction between four age groups, I have merged the two oldest age groups (45-65 and 66+) into one group with a rather wide age range because of the low number of speakers aged over 65. This is justifiable as it can be expected on the basis of findings from previous studies that a more fine-grained distinction would not provide deeper insights. The Irish and Canadian speakers, on the other hand, are split into five groups each. For the former, the age groups are 19-25, 26-33, 34-41, 42-49 and 50+, while the latter are divided into the groups 19-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50 and 51+. As I uniformly applied these extraction and coding procedures to the Jamaican, Irish and Canadian datasets, which also share a common corpus design and data-sampling period, direct comparability of findings is assured.

Before turning to these results, it is worth taking time here to facilitate the reading and comprehension of two of the types of tables that are presented in the following: those which show the distribution of quotatives across independent social and linguistic variables, such as Table 10 in the following chapter, and those which offer the results of the multivariate analyses, which were conducted using Goldvarb[36] (see Sections 4.1.7 and 4.2.7). The former tables are split into a table on the left side and a separate column on the right side. The top row of this type of table on the left side offers a list of the quotatives that are considered, whereas its first column lists the categories within a factor group, e.g. male and female speakers in the factor group 'speaker sex'. For each combination of a factor and a quotative, both a normalised frequency (see discussion above) and a percentage are given. The percentage does not explain how a quotative is distributed across different factors (= categories) of a factor group, but "how a context (independent factor) constrains the use of the (dependent) variant" (Tagliamonte 2006: 193). It tells the reader what proportion, for example, *be like* represents of all quotatives occurring in a specific category, e.g. male speakers in

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[36] I decided to use Goldvarb as this allows me to directly compare my results with published research on quotatives such as Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009).

the factor group 'speaker sex'.[37] Next to each of these tables is a separate column which gives the normalised frequency of the total of quotative tokens occurring in the respective category in each row. Furthermore, the percentages provide information about the proportion that each context represents of the total of quotatives in all contexts. The total (N) of all quotatives in all categories of a factor group (or in all combinations of factors in two different factor groups) is given in the title of the table. Since not all variants are discussed in each table on the left side (e.g. quotatives in the group called *others* are excluded), the percentages do not necessarily add up to one hundred per cent for each row and the normalised frequencies do not necessarily add up to the total offered in the separate column.

The tables summarising the results of the multivariate analyses are to be read in the following way: The title and first row of a table provide information on the subject of the multivariate analysis, the application value, for example the quotative being investigated, and the specific context in which it is studied such as the variety, the collection period and so on. In the following row, the input and significance values are listed.[38] The input is "an overall measure of rule application" (Tagliamonte 2006: 264), i.e. the probability that the investigated quotative is selected by speakers (= rule application) "regardless of the presence or absence of any other factors in the environment" (Bayley 2002: 126). The significance value shows at which level ($p <$ 0.05) the factor groups are significant, i.e. have a significant effect on the occurrence of the respective quotative. In the following rows, the left-most column lists the different factor groups and the factors that were included in the model as well as a measure called *range* at the end of the list of factors in each significant factor group. The next column to the right is divided into three sub-columns: the factor weight (FW), the percentage (%) and the number of applications and non-applications (N). The FW, with a value between 0 and 1, measures the influence that a factor has on the occurrence of the investigated quotative, compared with other factors in the same factor group. A factor weight over .50 shows that the investigated quotative is positively affected by a factor,

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[37] See Tagliamonte (2006: 193-194) for further information. Similarly, the percentages in a table which offers a cross-tabulation of factor groups for a specific variant (such as Table 17) provide information about the different proportions that this variant represents of all quotatives in the different combinations of categories in two factor groups, e.g. direct speech in first-person contexts.

[38] The variable rule analysis offers yet another measure: the log likelihood (not shown in the tables but mentioned in the discussion). It is a "measure of the goodness of fit of an analysis" (Tagliamonte 2006: 265). When comparing two models, the one with the log likelihood closer to zero is better than the other (see Tagliamonte 2006).

whereas a weight below .50 indicates that a factor disfavours the use of the quotative in comparison with other factors in this factor group (see Bayley 2002: 126). Factor weights for non-significant factor groups are given in square brackets (see the legend for each table for further information). After the factor weight, the table offers the percentage, i.e. the proportion that the investigated quotative represents of all quotatives occurring in the respective category of a factor group (see above), as well as N, the number (raw frequency) of all applications and non-applications considered in the respective line. Below the list of factor weights of each significant factor group, the range value is given, a number that results from the subtraction of "the lowest factor weight from the highest factor weight" (Tagliamonte 2006: 251). When comparing ranges across factor groups, the greatest range indicates that the factor with the highest factor weight in this factor group has the strongest effect on the rule application (see D'Arcy 2004: 334). Finally, the bottom line of the table offers the total N, the number (raw frequency) of all applications and non-applications considered in the model.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Results in ICE-Jamaica

Following the extraction and coding procedures outlined in the previous chapter, a total of 912 tokens (normalized frequency: 1453.7) from ICE-Jamaica were retained for further analysis.[39] Figure 1 shows the overall distribution of quotatives in ICE-Jamaica. It reveals that the complete inventory of quotatives in ICE-Jamaica comprises three major verbs: *say*, *be like* and *seh*. The quotative *say* clearly forms the majority, representing 73 per cent of the total number of all quotatives in ICE-Jamaica (1056.8). *Be like* accounts for 6 per cent of all quotatives (92.5) and the local quotative *seh* represents 5 per cent in ICE-Jamaica (78.1). Furthermore, there are a number of other quotatives, including *add*, *answer*, *ask*, *reply*, *shout* and *think* (15%; 218.4) as well as combinations of quotatives such as *say like* (0.4%; 6.4).
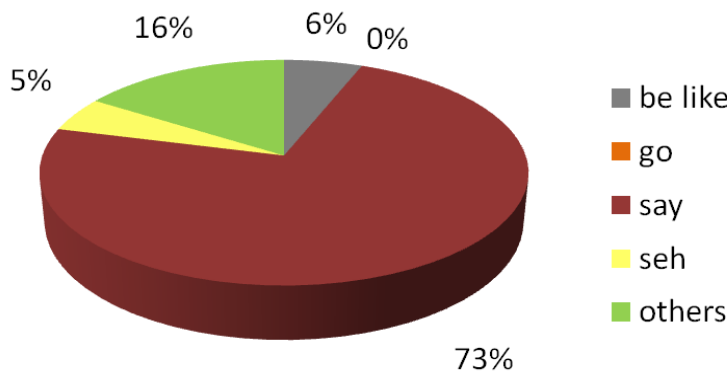
Figure 1: Overall distribution of quotatives in ICE-Jamaica

The quotative *go*, on the other hand, is practically absent in the Jamaican data, as I only found one debatable example, given in (17).

> (17) And I guess this is I guess <}><-->with with</-> in previous times <=>with</=></}> brain surgery people <}><-><.>the</.></-> <=>there</=></}> is always if you have the surgery <}><-->you're going you may</-> <=>you run</=></}> the risk of being totally paralysed and *you will go* boy it's better to live your life<{><[><,></[> with all your faculties and then when you go you go <}><-->than to to</-> uhm pass the blanket for me please <=>than to</=></}> go and do the surgery and then become a vegetable (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-012)

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[39] In addition to these explicit quotatives occurring in all four text categories, 37 zero quotatives from private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequency: 176.3) were retained for further analysis.

In this example, the grammatical person of the quotative is a generic *you* and the quotative introduces hypothetical discourse (cf. information on hypothetical discourse above).[40] Thus, in contrast to the findings of many previous studies on quotatives in various varieties of English, the quotative *go* does not have an important presence in ICE-Jamaica. Data from African-American speakers, however, suggest that *go* is also infrequent in African-American Vernacular English (cf. Cukor-Avila 2002, Kohn & Franz 2009), and Bonnici (2010) reports that the quotative *go* is rarely used in Maltese English.[41] So it seems that *go* does not spread to other varieties as easily as *be like*, which is used in Jamaican English as well as in the other varieties that show a low frequency for *go*. Let us now take a closer look at the distribution of quotatives across the different types of register.

4.1.1 Distribution across 'register'

As the four text categories that are part of the spoken component of the ICE-corpora differ in level of formality, it is to be expected that not all quotatives are used equally in the four categories. Figure 2 illustrates the results for the Jamaican data:
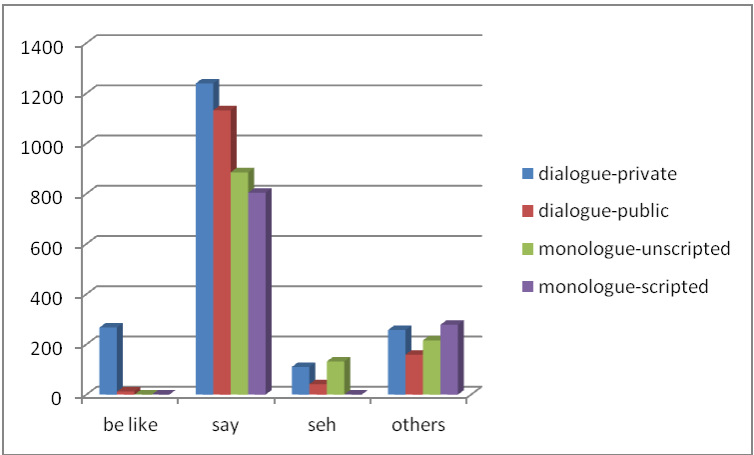
Figure 2: Distribution across 'register' in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies)

The figure shows that the new quotative *be like* is almost completely restricted to private dialogues, the most informal type of register. *Say* is used in all text categories, but with decreasing frequency. One might assume that there is a distorting factor in that

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[40] Another interpretation of this example is that *you will go* means 'you will die'.

[41] Buchstaller (2011) reports that quotative *go* shows much lower frequencies in her English English data collected between 2007 and 2009 than in her English English data collected in the 1990s, i.e. that *go* has recently reduced in popularity in English English. More data from other varieties are needed in order to test whether this is not just a local but possibly even a global trend.

the use of *say* to cite written material is particularly frequent in scripted monologues. Indeed, it accounts for 21.4 per cent in this category, while accounting for 2.7 to 7.8 per cent in the other text categories. So this use of *say* is typical of scripted monologues. Returning to Figure 2, we further find that the local quotative *seh* is used in the first three categories, although being less frequent in public dialogues, while the heterogeneous group of other, low frequency quotatives is represented in all four categories, showing a slightly higher frequency in private dialogues and scripted monologues. As the latter group comprises a number of quotatives, which may vary largely in their distributions across 'register', I filtered out those quotatives whose raw number of tokens exceeds five. The resulting list includes only four quotatives: *ask*, *decide*, *tell* and *think*, and, as Table 8 reveals, these quotatives indeed differ in their distribution across 'register'.

Table 8: Distribution of *ask*, *decide*, *tell* and *think* across 'register' in ICE-Jamaica (percentages are given in reference to the total of tokens in the group called *others*)

	Dialogue-private	Dialogue-public	Monologue-unscripted	Monologue-scripted
ask	6.4	6.4	3.5	5.7
decide	4.3	1.4	2.8	0
tell	14.9	3.5	5.7	0.7
think	8.5	4.3	4.3	1.4

The findings presented so far show us that it would not make sense to compare the distribution of quotatives across social and linguistic factors, ignoring the influence of 'register'. Apart from the relatively minor differences in the frequency of traditional quotatives across 'register', the frequency of the innovative quotative *be like* varies drastically across different levels of (in)formality. Due to its almost exclusive restriction to informal, private conversations, the following tables on the distribution of quotatives across social and linguistic factors will focus on this text category only.

To this end, Table 9 shows the overall distribution of quotatives in private dialogues, including zero quotatives. The table reveals that *say* is the most frequent quotative with 60.3 per cent of all quotatives in private dialogues. *Be like* ranks second at 13.0 per cent, followed by the zero quotative at 8.6 per cent, and the local quotative *seh* at 5.3 per cent. We will look at some peculiarities of the two major verbs in the following subchapter before turning to an analysis of the quotatives across social and linguistic factors. Using D'Arcy's (2004: 329) words, the low raw frequency of *be like*

(and less frequent quotatives) "somewhat mitigates a few of the observations to be made in ensuing discussions." As the following subchapters will show, however, my findings largely support those in previous studies. Thus, my results provide background for future studies on Jamaican English.

Table 9: Overall distribution of quotatives in private dialogues (S1A) in ICE-Jamaica

	%	Normalised frequency per million words	Raw frequency
say	60.3	1239.1	260
be like	13.0	266.9	56
zero	8.6	176.3	37
seh	5.3	109.6	23
go	0.2	4.8	1
other	12.5	257.3	54
Total	100	2054.0	431

4.1.2 Comments on the use of *be like* and *say*

It is worth noting that 8.9 per cent (N = 23.8) of all tokens of *be like* in private dialogues are actually used without *be*. Normally, *be* carries the tense morphology in the quotative *be like* and because of its absence in these tokens, it was not possible to code them for the factor 'tense of the quotative' in the same way as for the remaining tokens. Therefore I decided to label them as "no be". The respective tokens are given in (18) to (22):[42]

(18) <$A><#><[>Okay okay</[></{> <#>Yeah it's a lot you know and based on doing a work in Jamaica here you have to do something that you like <unclear>words</unclear> all that you know energetic like you get up like <quote><#>Oh I have to go to work</quote> like *Jamaicans like* <quote>ah I have to go to work this morning</quote> and they don't want to come out of bed is like sleepy <#>So you have to like your work you know [...] (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-008)

(19) <$A><#>No I wasn't there but I heard cos I had come out to use the bathroom <#>When I came back I'm like where is Miss <#>It's like well she was cussing and say how we're not focussed in class and bla bla bla and start crying and gone <#>I'm like okay cos how she was acting <#>She was acting uhm I'm tough but I'm strong uhm you know uh <#><{><[>I <}><-->when I heard</-> no but <-->when I heard</-> <=>when I heard</=></}></[> she was crying *I like* damn <?>with that</?> <unclear>word</unclear> Jesus <#>But <}><-->however</-></><O>laughter</O> <=>however</=></}> too many teachers start to cry (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-021)

(20) Friday nights we used to do like <}><-->basically</-><,> <=>basically</=></}> tape each other<{1><[1><,></[1> without anybody else being aware of it we'd tape each other

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and<O>$B-laughs</O> you'd just be going around saying stuff or if you're like <}><-​>this is this</-> <=>this is</=></}> really gross if you're passing wind or <{2><[2>anything you'd get caught on tape</[2> and in the night everybody sits down cos <}><-​>we weren't really</-> <=>we weren't really</=></}> T V fans or <{3><[3>anything</[3><,> in the night we'd sit down and play the tape and *everybody'd like* <#>Oh my gosh I did that<O> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-052)

(21) <$B><#>Uhm it's very fun and interesting you know <#>It's <}><-​>no</-> in <=>no</=></}> way boring because even though they look so much alike in personality wise<,> they're total opposites <#>One tomboyish the other one girly <#>Them always pick up each other them always gang up on me<O>laughter</O> in everything <#>And them cute you know cos it's twins and stuff and are like they go out *people like* they're twins and people always looking at them and stuff <#>So I kind of like that and stuff <#>And they're really fun<,> crazy <#>They're younger than me <#>They're like thirteen but and I think they <?>go now what</?> fifth form <unclear>word</unclear> so abroad so <#>Yeah that's basically it (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-067)

(22) <$A><#><[2>I think</[2></{2> <?>it's <.>jus</.></?> <#>Uhm especially being on campus I think the young men I think they need some sort of I don't want to say training they need help<O>laughs</O> <#>Uhm in the sense that I think just the basic approach <#>You walking on campus and somebody calling to you and I mean just the way they talk to you and <#>I mean you have some nice ones in the bunch you know but<&>noise</&> in general you have some out there when they're talking to you you wonder if you know they are really talking to you in the sense that some of the stuff that come out of their mouth <#>You know just the way they introduce theirself and they expect as a young woman cos we see ourself as woman <#>They expect us to turn around and look at them and say <#>Oh you're the love of my life or something like that <#>And I think they're seriously offended by the fact when we don't I guess acknowledge them and I think we don't acknowledge them because of the fact that they don't show us any respect on campus when we <{><[>walking by</[>

<$B><#><[>But don't</[></{> you think uhm uhm the behaviour that you're looking for <}><-​>is is</-> <=>is</=></}> traditional and old-fashioned

<$A><#>Yes but I want the traditional and the old-fashioned behaviour <#>I don't want somebody <#>I walking by and *somebody looking at me and like* <#>Skinny girl <#>You know that's not<,>

<$B><#>But that's a compliment <#>You're skinny <}><-​>and</-> <{><[><=>and</=></}></[>

<$A><#><[>I</[></{> don't see that as a compliment being said skinny girl or tall girl or psss <#>You understand I think <}><-​>that uh that's not</-> uh <=>for me it's not</=></}> appealing <{><[><,>for me I want somebody come up to me and</[> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-090)

While significant, these examples are not unproblematical. In (18), the speaker uses *like* four times within a text length of fifteen words. In Example (19), a large part of the quote itself is unintelligible although it is clearly a quote as the speaker slows and changes intonation. With regard to Example (20), it might be arguable whether or not the speaker actually uses the contraction *'d*, representing *would*, before the quotative just as before the preceding verbs.[43] Similarly, one word in the transcription in (21) might be a case for discussion: The question is whether the speaker says *are* or uses a

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[43] After double-checking the corresponding tape, I suggest that the speaker does use the contraction *'d*.

similarly sounding pause filler before saying *like they go out*. Finally, in (22), *like* without *be* is not directly preceded by a subject as the sentence *I don't want somebody* is continued with *looking at me and like*. The reasons why the speaker does not use the participle *being like* might be manifold, including the fact that it would sound unnatural in spoken language and that it is rather complex and might be difficult to pronounce in spontaneous conversation (see also the Irish example of "no be" given below).[44] These reasons together with the context suggest that *like* without *be* refers back to *somebody* and that *like* and *looking* are coordinated verb phrases.

In Kohn & Franz (2009), this phenomenon of *like* without *be* is called "copula absence" (Kohn & Franz 2009: 269) and described as a traditional feature of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE). In addition to its use by African Americans, they report its use by Latino speakers (cf. Kohn & Franz 2009: 275). The Jamaican data reveal that such tokens also occur in Jamaican English. Interestingly, however, none of the tokens occurs in the more basilectal part of the corpus. It seems that Jamaicans use the local quotative *seh* rather than *like* without *be* in such passages.[45] In addition to copula absence, Kohn & Franz (2009) discuss the use of another feature that is typical of AAVE, the invariant *be* as in *he be like*. The latter, however, is not represented in the Jamaican data.

A further 10.7 per cent (N = 28.6) of the *be like* tokens introduce hypothetical discourse. Other quotatives in ICE-Jamaica are also used to introduce hypothetical discourse. For example, 37.3 per cent (N = 462.3) of all tokens of *say* are used in this respect. Moreover, it is a characteristic of *say* that 2.7 per cent (N = 33.4) are used to cite written material. Naturally, written and hypothetical use can also occur in combination with other quotatives. However, as minor quotatives such as *ask* and *think* do not exceed five per cent of the total amount of quotatives, I will not trouble the reader with more detailed information.

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[44] In a recently published study, Durham et al. (2012: 323) suggest that the use of *be like* in progressive environments "could be interpreted as a sign of further grammaticalization of the quotative system."

[45] To my knowledge, *be like* tokens with copula absence have not been reported in previous research for ethnic groups outside the USA. The reason might be that copula absence in general (e.g. before nominal and adjectival complements, locatives and progressive verb forms) is "widespread both in AAVE and in mesolectal creoles, but not in White Englishes outside of the American South" (Rickford 1998: 189), whereas previous research on the quotative *be like* focused on varieties of the latter type. Rickford's (1998) statement would also explain why *be like* tokens with copula absence do not occur in the basilectal part.

4.1.3 Distribution across 'collection period' in ICE-Jamaica

Before moving on to the classic linguistic and social factors, let us take a look at the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'collection period'. As mentioned earlier, texts for private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica were collected between 1990 and 2005. So the question arises whether the quotatives used in private dialogues come from roughly the same or from very different collection years. According to Table 7 above (see Chapter 3), there are clear differences regarding the amount of data that was collected per period. The largest part of the data in private dialogues stems from the last period, accounting for more than 80 per cent, while ca. 10 and 8 per cent of the data were collected in the first and second period respectively.

Table 10 shows normalised frequencies for each collection period. It reveals that *say* accounts for the (vast) majority of quotatives in any of the three collection periods, although its percentage clearly decreases between the first and the third collection period. Since it is well represented in all collection periods, the question of the extent to which the use of *say* may have changed over time needs to be addressed. This will be covered in a correlations section in Appendix 4.

Table 10: Distribution of quotatives across 'collection period' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 6245)[46]

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
1990-1994	N	1436	0	0	48		1579
	%	91	0	0	3		25
1995-2001	N	2030	58	174	58		2610
	%	78	2	7	2		42
2002-2005	N	1136	322	199	117		2056
	%	55	16	10	6		33

Especially interesting is the variation of innovative quotatives across this factor as their use may change over a short period of time. Since quotatives *go* and *be all* are practically absent in ICE-Jamaica, the only candidate left is *be like*. Table 10 shows that *be like* represents 16 per cent of the tokens in the last collection period, but only 2 per cent in the second period, and zero per cent in the first period. So we can safely say that

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[46] *Go* and other minor quotatives are included in the total number of tokens in this and the following tables. The proportions (e.g. 91% for *say* in the first collection period) report the rates that a quotative (e.g. *say*) represents of all quotatives used in a specific context (e.g. all quotatives used in the first collection period).

the functional and social load of this quotative, which will be presented in the remaining part of this chapter, is not blurred by variation across the factor 'collection period'. With regard to its infrequency in the first and second collection period, one might be tempted to blame the sample size. However, the sample size is not particularly small either in the first collection period (20,895 words) or in the second one (17,243 words). Indeed, a closer look at the metadata suggests that the factor 'speaker age' might be more important because the data collected between 1990 and 2001 predominantly stem from speakers of the age group 26-45 and above. According to the literature review (see Chapter 2.2), however, a typical user of *be like* is fairly young as it has repeatedly been shown that there is a drastic drop-off among speakers in their early 30s. Therefore, the Jamaican data do not allow any conclusions about the use of *be like* in the 1990s. What they do suggest is that the new quotative spread to Jamaican English and was (at least) quite popular in this variety in the early years of the 21st century.

The use of zero quotatives is also restricted to the second and third collection period. Therefore, its use can only be dated back to the period 1995-2001 on the basis of ICE-Jamaica. The variant accounts for 7 and 10 per cent of the total of quotatives in the second and third collection period. Note that the proportion of *be like* increases drastically between the second and third collection period, while the use of the zero quotative remains rather stable. The local quotative *seh* is represented in all three collection periods, although its proportion is below 10 per cent in any period and increases only marginally towards the latest period.

In the following, I will present quotative use across various independent variables introducing one variable at a time. Subsequently, I will approach the question of whether there are correlations between independent variables; for instance whether social factors have an influence on the distribution of quotatives across linguistic factors or whether there are correlations between linguistic factors.

4.1.4 Distribution across independent social variables

Let us first discuss the social factors before moving to the linguistic factors. One of these is 'speaker sex'. On the use of *be like*, different studies found different co-variation with this factor. While the quotative is used more frequently by women in some studies (e.g. Ferrara & Bell 1995 in American English data from 1990, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998/99 in English English data, Macaulay 2001 in Scottish English data, Singler 2001 in American English data, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy

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2004/2007 for Canadian English data and Barbieri 2007 in American English data from her youngest age group), it occurs more frequently among men in other studies (e.g. on American English data: Blyth et al. 1990, Dailey-O'Cain 2000 and Barbieri 2007 concerning her second age group; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007 in their oldest age group in Canadian English data; Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009 on English English data). In a further set of studies there is no significant effect of 'speaker sex' (e.g. Ferrara & Bell 1995 concerning American English data from 1992/94, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1998/99 concerning Canadian data, Buchstaller 2008 regarding English English data, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009 on American English and New Zealand English data).

Far less information is available for the traditional quotative *say*, and again different studies found different co-variation with the factor 'speaker sex'. Blyth et al. (1990) report no significant effect of 'speaker sex' within their American English data, whereas Barbieri (2007) observes an interaction between 'speaker sex' and 'speaker age'. In her American English data, men aged 16-26 use *say* more often than women in that age group; women aged 27-40, on the other hand, use it more often than men of the same age; speakers over 40 use it almost equally as often for both sexes. Apart from an interaction effect with 'speaker age', there seems to be variation across and within varieties as, in contrast to Barbieri's data, *say* is favoured by Canadian women over 40 in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007). Similarly, the Canadian women in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1998/99) use *say* more frequently than men. However, the same quotative is favoured by English men in Tagliamonte & Hudson's study, while Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) report that *say* is used more frequently by women in English English and New Zealand English data. The Jamaican English distribution of quotatives across 'speaker sex' is given in Table 11:

Table 11: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero, and *seh* across 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3921)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
Female	N	1230	351	192	132		2176
	%	56	16	9	6		55
Male	N	1266	51	137	51		1745
	%	73	3	8	3		45

As the table reveals, *be like* is favoured by Jamaican women over men (16% vs. 3%). The local quotative *seh* is also favoured by women. The quotative *say*, on the other

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hand, is more frequently used by male than female speakers in private dialogues, while there is almost no difference in the distribution of the zero quotative across 'speaker sex'.

Singler (2001) reports that 'gender groups' is a more influential factor than 'speaker sex' in his American data.[47] He identified that *be like* is favoured in female groups, but disfavoured in male groups and weakly disfavoured in mixed groups. Let us therefore compare the distribution of the most frequent quotatives across the factor 'gender groups' in private dialogues. In this text category, the speakers in 62 per cent of all texts form same-sex groups, with 58 per cent being female groups and 4 per cent being male groups, and the speakers in 38 per cent of the texts form mixed groups. Table 12 shows the findings in normalised frequencies.

Table 12: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero, and *seh* across 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 5557)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
Female only	N	1216	353	238	140		2243
	%	54	16	11	6		40
Male only	N	1142	0	0	114		1484
	%	77	0	0	8		27
Mixed	N	1287	164	101	63		1830
	%	70	9	6	3		33

As the table reveals, the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'gender groups' is similar to the findings in Singler (2001) in that *be like* mainly occurs in female-only groups and about half as frequently in mixed groups. The zero quotative shows the same pattern as *be like*. The quotative *say*, on the other hand, is in male-only groups and in mixed groups almost equally as frequent, while it occurs less frequently in female-only groups. The local quotative is used most frequently in same-sex groups although slightly more often in male-only than female-only groups.

Let us now recall the findings for the distribution across 'speaker sex', which are given in normalised frequencies in Table 11: The quotative *be like* is strongly preferred by women over men, *seh* is also preferred by women but not as strongly as *be like*, while the zero quotative is almost equally as frequent among women and men, and *say*

[47] I would like to thank John Victor Singler for his recommendation at the NWAV 37 conference in Houston (November 6 - 9 2008) to investigate the variable 'gender groups' in the Jamaican data.

is favoured by men. The private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica are skewed both towards female speakers and female-only groups, but nevertheless the traditional quotative *say* is favoured by men and occurs most frequently in male-only groups. *Be like*, on the other hand, is infrequent in male speech and never used in male-only groups. Since it is only used in mixed groups by men, the data suggest that Jamaican men accommodate themselves to women's quotative choice when women are part of the audience, i.e. they show convergence as defined and discussed in the Speech Accommodation Theory by Giles & Powesland (1975) and follow-up studies (see also Barbieri 2007 for more information). If so, the data would provide further support for the central hypothesis in Barbieri (2007) which holds that the similarity in the quotative choice of American men aged 27-40 and American women aged 16-26 is male convergence in quotative use. However, more data from Jamaican men are needed to confirm this finding as the corpus is too skewed against men to allow a firm statement. Similar to *be like*, the local quotative *seh* is preferred by women. As it occurs infrequently in male speech according to Table 11, the finding for 'gender groups' (almost equal frequency in male-only and female-only groups) should be treated with caution.[48] Finally, the zero quotative is roughly as frequent in male as in female speech, whereas it is not used in male-only groups. This suggests that Jamaican men might also accommodate their speech in this respect.

As discussed above, there are conflicting findings in previous literature as to how the new quotative *be like* is distributed across the factor 'speaker sex'. In contrast, there is wide consensus in the literature about the influence of 'speaker age', the third social factor to be investigated here, on the use of quotative *be like*. All previous studies testing on 'speaker age' found that it is favoured by young people. For example, Blyth et al. (1990) noticed a sharp decrease in the use of this quotative for speakers aged 25 and over in comparison with college-age speakers, whereas they did not find any tokens in the speech of speakers over 38. Similarly, Ferrara & Bell (1995) report that *be like* only occurs in the speech of speakers under 40. Dailey-O'Cain (2000) found that it is significantly favoured by speakers under 30, while the quotative is used very

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[48] It might surprise the reader that the Jamaican Creole variant occurs more frequently with female than male speech. On the one hand, the skewedness of the corpus against men might explain this fact. On the other hand, a closer look at the data reveals that there is one female speaker who uses *seh* more often than other women. If we remove this speaker, the probability of *seh* with female speakers becomes 4 per cent (i.e. almost as low as the probability with male speakers) and the probability with female-only groups becomes 4 per cent.

infrequently in the speech of her 30-49 age group. Singler's (2001) study deviates from these reports slightly in that his data show that not only adolescents and speakers in their 20s, but also speakers in the early 30s strongly prefer to use *be like*. In his data, this new quotative occurrs infrequently in the speech of speakers over 35; only two individuals of this age use it frequently. Barbieri (2007) provides support for these results in that her study reports both an expansion of the frequent use of *be like* to men aged over 30 and an occasional use of this quotative among speakers over 50. All of the studies discussed so far draw on American data, but the findings are confirmed in other varieties as well: Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) found that speakers over 35 do not use *be like* in their New Zealand English data. Macaulay (2001) reports very infrequent use of *be like* by adults (40+) in Scottish English and Buchstaller (2006/2008) noticed the same for speakers over 38 in English English data (see also Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009 on English English data). In a cross-varietal comparison, she observed a decreasing use of the new quotative with increasing age and a drop for the youngest age group in both American and English English data. Correspondingly, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) found a similar age curve in their Canadian data with a cut-off point at the age of 40 to 49. In contrast to the new quotative *be like*, the traditional quotative *say* is used most frequently by the older age groups, i.e. speakers over 38, as reported in studies on American English (see Blyth et al. 1990, Ferrara & Bell 1995), Canadian English (see Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007), Scottish English (see Macaulay 2001), English English and New Zealand English (see Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). In a more recent study on American English, however, Barbieri (2007) noticed a dramatic increase in the use of *say* already among women aged 27-40.

With these findings in mind, let us return to Jamaican English. As Table 4 (see Chapter 3) reveals, the corpus is skewed in its composition with regard to 'speaker age' and information on this factor is missing for many speakers. Therefore, caution is advised in the interpretation of Table 13. What it illustrates is that *be like* is used roughly twice as often by the youngest speakers as by those aged 26 to 45 both with regard to percentages and frequencies (despite the normalisation). Thus, ICE-Jamaica provides further support that the use of *be like* is a feature of young people and that its use decreases with increasing age. Unfortunately, the second age group is quite broad in the sense that it includes speakers below 30, who are reported to use the new quotative frequently, speakers in their early thirties, who use it frequently in some and less

frequently in other studies, as well as speakers on the other side of the watershed, in whose speech it occurs very infrequently or is non-existent according to previous studies. Hence, it is impossible to pinpoint where exactly the cut-off point for the use of *be like* in Jamaican English lies. Since the corpus is skewed in favour of young speakers, it is difficult to draw conclusions from its non-existence in the speech of speakers over 45. Speakers in this age group account for 8.0 per cent of the word totals in private dialogues (see Table 4 in Chapter 3). As proper representativeness is not guaranteed in the corpus, all we can conclude for certain is that none of the speakers over 45 used the quotative *be like*.

Table 13: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero, and *seh* across 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 7899; limiting the data to the period 2002-2005 results in (almost) identical percentages)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	1078	401	187	80		1933
	%	56	21	10	4		24
26-45	N	1551	219	298	239		2723
	%	57	8	11	9		34
45+	N	1488	0	60	0		1666
	%	89	0	4	0		21
No answer given	N	1182	0	0	66		1577
	%	75	0	0	4		20

Despite this lack of representativeness, the quotative *say* is used by speakers over 45 almost as frequently as by speakers aged 26 to 45 when we compare normalised frequencies. Focusing on the proportion represented by *say* in these two age groups, we can see that the traditional quotative occurs far more frequently with the oldest age group than with the middle age group. One possible interpretation of this finding is that the lower frequency among the oldest speakers is a result of the skewed composition of the corpus, while it would clearly lead in a more balanced corpus. An alternative interpretation is that the wider age range of the second age group accounts for it since the group includes speakers who are on the other side of the watershed according to previous studies. Still, the percentages show very clearly that the quotative system of speakers over the age of 45 is almost limited to *say*, while the repertoire of the first and second group alike is more varied.

Having discussed the influence of 'speaker age' on the newcomer *be like* and the traditional quotative *say*, let us turn to the third most frequent quotative in Jamaican English, the zero quotative. It is represented in all three age groups although it is less frequent among the oldest age group. Moreover, it is worth noting that it occurs equally as often in the first and second group if we consider percentages, but more often in the second than in the first group if we consider normalised frequencies. Hence, it seems that the zero quotative is not limited to the young in Jamaican English to the same extent as *be like*. It appears rather to be a quotative used by all age groups, even the oldest speakers, who lack representativeness in ICE-Jamaica. The local quotative *seh* is used most frequently by speakers aged 26 to 45.[49] Therefore, the data suggest that the local quotative has lost the battle against *be like* among the youngest speakers, while possibly representing local competition for the newcomer *be like* among people in the late 20s and 30s, along with the zero quotative.

4.1.5 Distribution across independent linguistic variables

In addition to the social factors presented so far, we will now take a look at the distribution of quotatives across the linguistic factors 'grammatical person of the quotative', 'tense of the quotative' and 'content of the quote'. As for 'grammatical person of the quotative', the distribution is given in Table 14.

Table 14: Distribution of *say*, *be like* and *seh* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N =1601)[50]

		say	*be like*	*seh*		Total
First person	N	434	129	38		705
	%	62	18	5		44
Third person	N	591	129	67		896
	%	66	14	7		56

It reveals that the quotative *say* and the local quotative *seh* occur (slightly) more frequently in third- than first-person contexts. This result is similar to observations regarding the use of *say* in various studies such as Blyth et al. (1990) and Winter

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[49] If we again remove the female speaker (aged 26-45) who uses the local quotative more frequently than other women in ICE-Jamaica, the probability of *seh* with the second age group becomes 5 per cent. Thus, its probability with the first age group is then almost the same.
[50] Zero quotatives are not coded for 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'tense of the quotative'.

(2002), differing only from the preference for first-person contexts in Canadian English (e.g. Tagliamonte & Hudson1999). The normalised frequencies of *be like*, on the other hand, are balanced in first- and third-person contexts in ICE-Jamaica and the new quotative accounts for a slightly higher proportion of first- than third-person contexts of the total data. While this is a rather weak tendency, a favoured use of *be like* in first-person contexts was observed in a number of previous studies (see Chapter 2.2). For example, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004: 509) point out that

> the consistency of this effect across major varieties of English – Canadian and British English (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999) and American English (Blyth et al. 1990; Ferrara and Bell 1995) – and in real time among African Americans in the rural south (Cukor-Avila 2002) suggests that it is a defining feature of *be like*.

The Caribbean variety tends to support this suggestion, although weakly. An almost balanced distribution across 'grammatical person of the quotative' is reported in Ferrara & Bell (1995) for American English data from 1994, and Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) note a weak effect of this factor in their American English (1988-1992), English English (1994-1995) and New Zealand English (1994-1996) data. The latter authors even hypothesise that the effect of 'grammatical person' levels over time, but later reject this hypothesis because of counterevidence which they found in recent corpora (cf. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 307). Moreover, another statistical analysis of their American English, English English and New Zealand English data leads them to suggest that "speech community has no effect on the operation of this ['grammatical person'] constraint" (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 314), i.e. that it operates consistently in the tested varieties. The conclusion to be drawn from the Jamaican data is that it is worth keeping this levelling hypothesis in mind regarding data from other varieties of English, e.g. Irish English.[51]

An especially interesting question is whether other New Englishes,[52] particularly English as a Second Language (ESL) varieties such as Singaporean English and Indian English, differ from the Anglo Englishes, i.e. English as a Native Language (ENL)

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[51] See also Buchstaller (2011), who suggests that the effect might be weakening (based on data collected in the 1990s and late 2000s in English English; see also more recently Fox 2012) and postulates that "more and newer data from a multitude of localities is needed to test whether the levelling of person effect with increasing entrenchment remains a localised phenomenon" (Buchstaller 2011: 80).

[52] New English refers to a variety of English that "has developed through the education system [...] in an area where a native variety of English was *not* the language spoken by most of the population. [...] [In such a variety, English] is used for a range of functions [...] [and] has become 'localized' or 'nativized'" (Platt, Weber & Ho 1984: 2-3, emphasis in original).

varieties (see also D'Arcy 2013).[53] To this end, I have conducted an exploratory study, using the Google Groups website as a testing ground. I searched for *I was like*, *he was like* and *she was like* within the Internet domains .in, .sg and .my, limiting the search to the period January 2008 to November 2010.[54] For any of the three domains, the resulting frequency of quotative *be like* in first-person contexts is larger than in third-person contexts (20 vs. 13 hits in .in, 15 vs. 11 hits in .sg, 27 vs. 11 hits in .my). Future investigations will hopefully show whether the proportion of *be like* in first-person contexts of all first-person contexts exceeds the proportion of *be like* in third-person contexts of all third-person contexts in data stemming from these varieties.[55] Only then will we see whether the 'grammatical person' effect is levelling. Previous research, however, suggests that Jamaican English is not on the end point of the continuum from first- to third-person contexts since *be like* is preferred in third-person contexts in Canadian data from 1999 and 2000, as D'Arcy (2004) notes.

Apart from the rather weak 'grammatical person' effect in Jamaican English, it is worth noting that there is an instance of *it's like*, i.e. *it + be like*, in the Jamaican data (see Example 23).

> (23) <$A><#><[3>No</[3></{3> <#>I was kind of surprised <}><-->one like last</-> <=>it's last</=></}> semester <#>This semester before when I had her and *it's like* apparently the class wasn't responding to her like <}><-><.>sh</.></-> <=>she</=></}> wished it were cos we weren't focussed or whatever <#>And she start bawling <{><[>like</[> okay
>
> <$B><#><[>For real</[></{>
>
> <$B><#><O>laughs</O>You were there
>
> <$A><#>No I wasn't there but I heard cos I had come out to use the bathroom <#>When I came back I'm like where is Miss <#>*It's like* well she was cussing and say how we're not focussed in class and bla bla bla and start crying and gone (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-021)

In this example, the speaker uses *it's like* as a discourse marker in her first turn and then another time in the second turn following her question posed to the class. Based solely on textual clues, one might interpret its second use as another discourse marker. After checking the sound file, however, I suggest interpreting it as referential *it + be like*, i.e.

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the class is the referent and answers the speaker's question. As a result, there is not a single instance of existential *it + be like* in the corpus. On the basis of American, British and Canadian data, D'Arcy (2004: 334) suggests that an increased use of existential *it + be like* is indicative of an advanced stage in the grammaticalisation process.[56] While this suggestion seems reasonable on the basis of the data she discusses and might actually be valid for these varieties of English, I wonder whether it can be applied to other varieties as well. The question arises of whether the grammaticalisation process of *be like* is necessarily the same for all varieties of English. Buchstaller (2008: 31) points out that "while some intralinguistic constraints on *like* and *go* hold globally (mimesis representation, speech and thought encoding), the local variety also plays an important role in the incipient linguistic development of these new quotatives." Therefore, I doubt that *it + be like* is inevitably used in all varieties and lends itself as an indicator for the grammaticalisation of *be like* in all varieties. More data will shed light on this issue; the later comparison with Irish data will offer a starting point. Naturally, there are other indicators for the grammaticalisation of *be like*. For example, the 'tense of the quotative' (albeit locally reorganised) can be indicative in that the variety of tense forms beyond simple present and simple past, such as future tenses, becomes clearly broader as *be like* becomes more grammaticalised (see examples given below and Chapter 6.1).

Let us now focus on the linguistic factor, 'tense of the quotative'. Table 15 shows that *be like* occurs most frequently in the HP, followed by the simple past and the simple present. *Say,* on the other hand, accounts for almost the same proportion of simple past and simple present contexts, while it occurs less frequently in the HP.

Table 15: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 1077)

		say	*be like*	Total
Present	N	291	62	424
	%	69	15	39
HP	N	67	62	138
	%	48	45	13
Past	N	362	105	515
	%	70	20	48

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[56] See Chapter 6.1 for a definition of the term *grammaticalisation* and a more detailed discussion of the topic.

As mentioned earlier, there are some additional categories of tense forms such as a category labelled "no be" which includes the tokens of *be like* that cannot be coded for the factor 'tense of the quotative' due to the absence of *be*, progressive forms (without *be*), future forms, verbs in the imperative mood and verbs in participle constructions. None of these constructions, however, is as frequent as the HP, simple present or simple past contexts. Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) propose that the linguistic information on tense is locally reorganised as *be like* spreads from American English to other varieties of English. The Jamaican data support this hypothesis in that they pattern differently to data from some varieties including Scottish English in Macaulay (2001) and English English in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009), while they align with data from other varieties such as New Zealand English, American English, Canadian English and Australian English (cf. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007, D'Arcy 2004 and Winter 2002).

So far we have talked about the distribution of quotatives across the HP, present and past tense. Let us now take a look at the tense forms of the new quotative *be like* in more detail. In the vast majority of cases, *be like* occurs in the HP, the simple past, the simple present or it is used without *be*. There are just three instances when another tense form is used. The tokens are given in (20), (24) and (25).

(24) I did that in my <unclear>words</unclear> it don't affect me like some people *would be like* I always wanna be around people talking <#>I'm not like that (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-066)

(25) Can't handle no honestly I can't handle them because I <?>were</?> there like I'd laugh at a really terrible situation <{1><[1>which <}><-->I will</[1> fix <.>la</.></-> you know <=>I will fix</=></}> but<{2><[2><,></[2> I'm not gonna get serious about it and thing and I can't take somebody who*'s gonna like* <#>Oh it's a serious situation let's all get serious let's all get <?>drab</?> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-051)

In the first two examples, the tense forms consist of the modal verb *would* or its contracted form *'d + (be) like*, whereas the latter is a future form with the auxiliary *gonna*. These examples suggest that the use of *be like* is not merely a lexical fad in Jamaican English, but that they can be taken as signs of a grammatical change.

Further support can be found in the *Corpus of Cyber Jamaican* (CCJ), a corpus based on data taken from the online discussion forum http://www.jamaicans.com (see Mair 2011 for more information). The corpus includes the following examples:

(26) queen,the same thing used to happen to me at a former residence...people phoning up to place an order,apparently the number was a couple digits similar to the local chinese take away. the amount of orders I used to take just for fun is a shame I *would be like*..."so do you want fries with the crispy duck" (CCJ, [3180] Neutral)

(27) purely an illustration to make a point. in my younger more harsh days i*'d be like* "take a picture!!" (CCJ, [3204] SueSumba)

(28) MarieK, there have been days when i'm about ready to burst into tears because he insists there are extra spaces between the words when there are not usually, if i talk to him in a baby voice and look up inna him yeye tap like mi aggoh cry from the sheer frustration he*'ll be like* "okay, we'll let it go this time" (CCJ, [3204] SueSumba)

(29) You indulge har too much right deh so I am sure somewhere there is a segway between I am upset about american Idol and guess what I am doing right now..... at that point you *should have been like* goodnight. (CCJ, [4245] seemiyah)

In (26) and (27), the tense form of the quotative is, as in (20) and (24), composed of the modal verb *would* (or its contracted form) and *be like*, while (28) is another example of *be like* in a future form. In contrast to (25), however, we do not find *gonna*, but rather the contracted form of the auxiliary *will*. These three tokens are not the only ones found in the CCJ: There are seven more tokens with the same tense forms as in (26)-(28). Additionally, the CCJ includes one token in a tense form not represented in ICE-Jamaica. This token is given in (29) and consists of the past modal verb *should* + *have* + *been like*. So there is ample evidence that the use of *be like* is not restricted to the HP, simple present and simple past in the Jamaican context. It needs to be taken into account, however, that Jamaican expatriate residents in the United States of America may use online forums such as the one from which data were taken for the CCJ.[57] They are closer to innovations and changes in American English and may function as mediators of American influence. It cannot be ruled out that Jamaicans in the diaspora contributed the tokens in the CCJ listed above. Hence, these mediators of North American influence may possibly account for the wider variety of tense forms in the CCJ.

The last language-internal factor to be discussed here is 'content of the quote', i.e. the distinction between direct speech and internal dialogue. As Table 16 illustrates, the dispreferred context for quotatives is internal dialogue, and the normalised frequencies of all four variants are higher for direct speech than for internal dialogue. When we compare the proportions that each quotative represents of the total number of quotatives introducing direct speech and internal dialogue respectively, the quotative *say* and the zero quotative occur more frequently with direct speech than internal dialogue. The local quotative is almost equally as frequent in both contexts (7% and

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[57] Naturally, one might also think of Jamaican expatriate residents in Canada.

5%)[58], while *be like* co-occurs more frequently with internal dialogue than direct speech. These are the traditional effects for *say* and *be like*, reported in various studies such as Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007), Buchstaller (2008) and Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009).[59]

Table 16: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 1411)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
Direct speech	N	653	148	172	81		1125
	%	58	13	15	7		80
Internal dialogue	N	91	86	5	14		286
	%	32	30	2	5		20

4.1.6 Correlations between independent linguistic and social variables

Having discussed the distribution of quotatives across social and linguistic factors, we will now take a look at possible correlations between these factors. In this section, only a selection of findings is presented. Further correlations can be found in Appendix 4.

4.1.6.1 The role of the factor 'collection period'

First of all, let us briefly turn to a cross-tabulation of *be like* for the factors 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' in the latest collection period.[60] The aim is to assess whether or not the Jamaican data provide what D'Arcy (2004: 36) calls "evidence for a functional expansion" of *be like*. D'Arcy (2004) and Barbieri (2005) suggest that *be like* is used more frequently to introduce direct speech than internal dialogue in third-person contexts but not in its "traditional domain" (D'Arcy 2004: 336) of first-person contexts. The cross-tabulation in Table 17, based on Jamaican data from all three collection periods, does not reveal an interaction. However, the cross-tabulation in Table 18 shows that, as in D'Arcy (2004) for Canadian English and Barbieri (2005) for American English, there is an interaction of the 'content' and 'person' constraint in the latest collection period in ICE-Jamaica: *Be like* occurs most

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[58] If we again remove the female speaker (aged 26-45) who uses the local quotative more frequently than other women in ICE-Jamaica, the probability of *seh* with direct speech becomes 5 per cent. Thus, its probability with internal dialogue is then the same.
[59] The zero quotative occurs more frequently in direct speech than in internal dialogue in English English and New Zealand English data in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009), whereas it is the other way round in Canadian English data in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007).
[60] All but one token of *be like* stem from this period.

frequently in third-person contexts to introduce direct speech and in first-person contexts to precede internal dialogue. So the Jamaican data from this period support D'Arcy's (2004) and Barbieri's (2005) findings and suggest that *be like* intrudes into the typical *say* domain (cf. D'Arcy 2004: 336).

Table 17: Crosstabulation of *be like*: 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 1168)

		Direct speech	Internal dialogue
First person contexts	N	52	76
	%	15	33
Third person contexts	N	95	10
	%	17	20

Table 18: Crosstabulation of *be like*: 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in the period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 1922)

		Direct speech	Internal dialogue
First person contexts	N	64	94
	%	20	34
Third person contexts	N	117	6
	%	21	11

4.1.6.2 The role of social factors in the distribution across linguistic factors

The factor 'speaker age' has an influence on the distribution of quotatives across linguistic factors. For instance, Table 19 shows that the distributional pattern of *be like* across 'content of the quote' varies according to 'speaker age'. In Table 19, *be like* most frequently introduces internal dialogue among speakers aged 17-25, but direct speech among those aged 26-45. This finding is striking: It suggests that speakers aged 26-45, who are possibly in the first generation of *be like* users in Jamaican English, do not use *be like* with the same functional loading as is traditionally reported in North American as well as other varieties of English (e.g. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999).[61] However, we should keep in mind that the normalised frequency of *be*

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[61] To my knowledge, a reversed direction of the effect was only observed for speakers below the age of 20 (cf. D'Arcy 2004, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004). Limiting the Jamaican data to the collection period 2002-2005 results in the same effect for the youngest speakers. In this collection period, speakers aged 26-45 do not use *be like* with internal dialogue.

like with direct speech is lower in the second than in the first age group (159 vs. 205) and that *be like* accounts for just 8 per cent of the quotative use among speaker aged 26-45 (vs. 21% in the first age group). Thus, this conclusion must remain tentative.

Table 19: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3983)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	597	205	187	53		1078
Direct speech	%	55	19	17	5		27
17-25	N	89	151	0	18		321
Internal dialogue	%	28	47	0	6		8
26-45	N	835	159	278	219		1590
Direct speech	%	53	10	18	14		40
26-45	N	159	20	20	20		398
Internal dialogue	%	40	5	5	5		10
45+	N	417	0	60	0		536
Direct speech	%	78	0	11	0		13
45+	N	60	0	0	0		60
Internal dialogue	%	100	0	0	0		2

Table 20: Distribution of *say*, *be like* and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4749)

		say	*be like*	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	392	223	18		704
First person	%	56	32	3		15
17-25	N	525	169	53		828
Third person	%	63	20	6		17
26-45	N	596	40	119		914
First person	%	65	4	13		19
26-45	N	696	159	119		1133
Third person	%	61	14	11		24
45+	N	425	0	0		425
First person	%	100	0	0		9
45+	N	638	0	0		745
Third person	%	86	0	0		16

Jamaican speakers aged 26-45 use *be like* most frequently with direct speech, and also with third-person contexts (see Table 20). In the speech of the youngest speakers, however, a favoured use in first-person contexts can be observed, as in Table 14 and much of the previous literature. Thus, it is one and the same age group (speakers aged 26 to 45) that deviates from the widely observed 'content' constraint and from the 'person' effect[62] that was noticed consistently in major varieties of English. However, further data from this age group are needed to substantiate these findings.

4.1.6.3 Correlations between independent linguistic variables

Apart from the influence of social factors on linguistic factors, it is worth discussing the influence of independent linguistic variables on each other. There is, for example, an influence of the factors 'tense of the quotative' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' on each other: When used with the past tense, *be like* occurs equally as often in first- and third-person contexts (i.e. it is not favoured in first-person contexts as in Table 14; cf. Table 21).

Table 21: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 958)

		say	*be like*	Total
HP First person	N	24	29	57
	%	42	50	6
Past First person	N	210	67	315
	%	67	21	33
Present First person	N	33	29	81
	%	41	35	8
HP Third person	N	43	33	81
	%	53	41	8
Past Third person	N	133	38	181
	%	74	21	19
Present Third person	N	186	24	243
	%	76	10	25

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[62] Limiting the data to the period 2002-2005 results in the same effect (also for the first age group).

4.1.6.4 Correlations between independent social variables

Finally, let us consider whether or not there are correlations between independent social variables. The question is, for instance, whether the distributional patterns across 'speaker sex', as given in Table 11, vary according to 'speaker age'. Table 22 provides the answer.

Table 22: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12025)[63]

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	1159	492	208	98		2153
Female	%	54	23	10	5		18
26-45	N	1159	251	313	313		2506
Female	%	46	10	13	13		21
46+	N	1420	0	0	0		1562
Female	%	91	0	0	0		13
17-25	N	721	0	96	0		962
Male	%	75	0	10	0		8
26-45	N	2230	163	272	109		3101
Male	%	72	5	9	4		26
46+	N	1537	0	102	0		1741
Male	%	88	0	6	0		14

As we can see, men aged 17-25 do not use *be like*, whereas male speakers in the next age group do so. Despite the missing information on 'speaker age' for a number of speakers, it was possible to code all tokens of *be like* in private dialogues for 'speaker age' and so we can conclude that the innovative quotative is in fact absent in the speech of men aged 17-25 in ICE-Jamaica.[64] Thus, the more fine-grained distinction between male and female use in Table 22 reveals that the two sexes predominantly differ in the youngest age group, which contributes about 65 per cent of the tokens. The difference in rates between female and male speakers aged 26 to 45 is not quite so large compared with the finding in Table 11, although *be like* still occurs most frequently with female

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[63] Note that it was not possible to code all tokens of *say* and *seh* for 'speaker age' due to missing information. As information is missing for tokens of *say* occurring in female speech especially (raw frequency: N = 33), the respective findings in Table 22 should be treated with caution.

[64] Also, the sample size cannot be blamed as the subcorpus of male speakers aged 17-25 contains 20,794 words, while the subcorpus of male speakers aged 26-45 contains 18,384 words. Limiting the data to the collection period 2002-2005 results in (almost) identical percentages for *be like*.

speakers. Consequently, 'speaker age' really makes a difference as to the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'speaker sex'. Furthermore, the finding in Table 13 that *be like* is preferred in the first age group is only supported by female speakers in Table 22 since *be like* does not occur among male speakers aged 17-25.

As with *be like*, the quotative *seh* does not occur in the speech of male speakers in the youngest age group and occurs most frequently with women in the second age group (like in Table 11). Finally, it is worth mentioning that *say* in male speech accounts for more than 70 per cent of the quotative use in any age group. Hence, men of any age use merely a small variety of quotatives in the Jamaican private dialogues.[65]

Apart from 'speaker sex' and 'speaker age', it is worth having a look at the mutual influence of 'gender groups' and 'speaker age' on distributional patterns.[66] According to the findings in Table 12 and 13, *be like* occurs predominantly in female-only groups and in the speech of the youngest age group. Table 23 reveals that, in the speech of speakers aged 17-25, *be like* indeed occurs most frequently in female-only groups. Among speakers aged 26-45, however, it is most frequent in mixed groups.[67]

Examined from another angle, *be like* shows the highest rates with the youngest age group in both female-only and mixed groups (although it is merely a minor difference in rates for the latter type; see also Footnote 67). So 'speaker age' makes a difference as to the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'gender groups' but not vice versa. However, the limitations of the corpus regarding 'speaker age' (e.g. a small sample size of the subcorpus of speakers aged 26-45 in male-only groups and missing data for speakers aged 17-25 in male-only groups) do not allow firm conclusions about the quotative.

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[65] When limiting the Jamaican data to the collection period 2002-2005, the same findings for *say* (first and second age group) and *seh* can be observed.

[66] Due to the fact that ICE-Jamaica is skewed against male-only groups (cf. Table 3 in Chapter 3), findings based on cross-tabulations of this type of gender group with other factors should be taken with a pinch of salt. Further, it needs to be pointed out that *be like* does not occur in male-only groups.

[67] Limiting the Jamaican data to the collection period 2002-2005 results in identical percentages for *be like* in all but one case: the percentage with speakers aged 26-45 in mixed groups becomes 14 per cent.

Table 23: Distribution of *say, be like,* zero and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 18497)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	1200	532	259	109		2304
Female only	%	52	23	11	5		12
17-25	N	0	0	0	0		0
Male only	%	0	0	0	0		0
17-25	N	777	141	47	24		1131
Mixed	%	69	13	4	2		6
26-45	N	1179	147	368	295		2468
Female only	%	48	6	15	12		13
26-45	N	3228	0	0	0		4036
Male only	%	80	0	0	0		22
26-45	N	2122	354	253	202		3284
Mixed	%	65	11	8	6		18
45+	N	1481	0	0	0		1629
Female only	%	91	0	0	0		9
45+	N	1221	0	0	0		1221
Male only	%	100	0	0	0		7
45+	N	2051	0	186	0		2424
Mixed	%	85	0	8	0		13

Finally, Table 24 presents the distribution of quotatives across 'speaker sex' in mixed groups. The table shows that *say* accounts for almost the same proportion of quotative use among male and female speakers in this type of gender group. The quotatives *be like* and *seh* occur most frequently in female speech in mixed groups like in the general pattern in Table 11, while the zero quotative only occurs in male speech.[68] The latter finding is worth noting as it challenges the hypothesis that Jamaican men might accommodate themselves to women's quotative choice regarding the zero quotative. This seems unlikely seeing that women do not use the zero quotative in mixed groups according to Table 24.

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[68] Findings for the distribution of *seh* across 'gender groups' plus other factors should be treated with caution due to a low raw frequency of tokens in mixed (and male-only) groups.

Table 24: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'speaker sex' in mixed groups in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3684)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
Mixed Female	N	1277	336	0	101		1882
	%	68	18	0	5		51
Mixed Male	N	1296	61	162	40		1802
	%	72	3	9	2		49

4.1.7 Multivariate analysis

Following this distributional analysis, we will now turn to multivariate analyses of *be like* and *say* in the Jamaican data. In this chapter, four tables will be presented and discussed for the two quotatives, *be like* and *say*.[69] The first of these tables shows which linguistic and social factors contribute to the probability of the linguistic variable (*be like* or *say*) in the Jamaican private dialogues in general.[70] The second set of tables is limited to data stemming from the last collection period (2002-2005). One table presents the factors that contribute to the probability of *be like* and *say* in this collection period in general. The analyses in the remaining two tables are further limited to (1) speakers up to the age of 45 (as discussed above, the second age group in the Jamaican data is rather large, ending at age 45) and (2) female speakers up to the age of 25.

Restricting the focus to data from the latest collection period not only allows us to explain which factors condition the use of *be like* in the period in which it predominantly occurs in the Jamaican private dialogues (as Table 10 above revealed), but also enables a cross-varietal comparison with the Irish data from this period. Thus, it is possible to compare the constraints on *be like* and *say* at one specific point in time, which is not feasible for the first two collection periods.[71] As Table 7 in Chapter 3 revealed, data from the latest collection period account for more than eighty per cent of the Jamaican private dialogues. To complicate matters further, information on speaker age is missing for more than eighty-eight per cent of the data in the first collection

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[69] Plus one table showing the factors conditioning the use of the zero quotative in speakers aged 17-45 in the period between 2002 and 2005.

[70] Information on how to read the tables is offered at the end of Chapter 3.

[71] Due to the absence/infrequency of *be like* in the Jamaican data in the first (1990-94) and second (1995-2001) period, its infrequency in the first collection period in the Irish data and the fact that no data were collected in the text category of private dialogues in ICE-Ireland in the second collection period.

period. In addition, fewer than 3,000 words were collected from speakers aged 17-25 – the typical age group of *be like* users – in the second collection period compared with more than 100,000 words in the third collection period. Therefore, it is impossible – on the basis of this data –to definitely state that (young) Jamaicans did not use *be like* in the period between 1990 and 1994 or to estimate how frequent the use of the innovative quotative was in the period between 1994 and 2001. We will, however, see in the ensuing presentation and discussion of results which constraints operate on *be like* in the last collection period (2002-2005) and the extent to which these differ from those observed in the private dialogues as a whole. It will also be interesting to see the extent to which the constraints parallel those reported in previous studies for other varieties of English (either at the same or an earlier point in time). The latter comparison might possibly also offer an insight into the stage of grammaticalisation of *be like* in the Jamaican data.

There are three lines of evidence used to interpret a multivariate analysis based on Goldvarb: statistical significance, relative strength and constraint ranking (see Tagliamonte 2006: 236-245). I will mention which factors are significant/non-significant at the five per cent level, which constraint is the strongest based on both the range of factor groups and the selection sequence of factors in the analysis, and how categories are ranked in decreasing order according to their factor weight.

The more fine-grained and detailed an analysis (based on one text category of an ICE corpus) is, the smaller the respective total number of tokens. Tagliamonte (2006: 237) points out that "in some situations, statistical significance does not provide the best evidence for interpreting results."[72] She suggests that the comparison of parallel analyses such as a cross-varietal comparison should not be based on significance only but rather on a comparison of constraint rankings (see Tagliamonte 2006: 237). In other words, it is not enough to compare only the factors selected as significant in a multivariate analysis in one variety with those in another variety. Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001: 93) explain that

> When a variable is affected in the same way by the same set of factors in several studies, a study with a larger number of tokens will tend to detect more of these factors as statistically significant than one with fewer tokens. We can, however,

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[72] Many thanks to Sali Tagliamonte for drawing my attention to this methodological detail at ICAME 32 in Oslo, Norway (June 1-5, 2011).

expect the range estimates and the constraint hierarchy to be similar, albeit to fluctuate more in the smaller data set.

Due to cross-varietal differences in the amount of data in general and the total number of tokens specifically, the tables of the results of the analyses based on data from the last collection period include both statistically significant and non-significant factors. Furthermore, the discussion of these tables will focus particularly on the constraint hierarchies.

4.1.7.1 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in the Jamaican private dialogues

Let us now turn to the results of the variable rule analysis showing the contribution of linguistic and social factors to the probability of *be like* in Table 25 below. Of all factors discussed in the distributional analysis above, three factor groups were not included in the following analysis: I deliberately excluded the factor 'speaker age' as the analysis is based on data from all three collection periods. Further, 'collection period' was not added as a factor due to the low number of *be like* tokens in the first two collection periods. Also, the factor 'speaker sex' was excluded from the analysis as male contexts of *be like* are below five per cent. Guy (1988) maintains that contexts under five per cent are not variable and should consequently be eliminated from the analysis. All of the remaining factors are listed in the table, i.e. both significant and non-significant ones. Note that the category male-only groups was excluded from the analysis of the 'gender groups' factor group to remove a knockout.

As the column for *be like* reveals, the factors that significantly contribute to the probability of this quotative are 'tense of the quotative', 'content of the quote' and 'gender groups'. *Be like* is favoured with the HP (and disfavoured with the simple present), with internal dialogue and by female-only groups. 'Tense of the quotative' shows the greatest range and was selected first in the analysis so it seems to be the strongest constraint. However, there are only 29 HP contexts, and further data are necessary to confirm these observations about 'tense of the quotative'. It is also worth noting that 'grammatical person' is not significant in this analysis. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004), for example, found that *be like* is favoured in first-person contexts and state that "the consistency of this effect across major varieties of English […] and in real time among African Americans in the rural south suggests that it is a defining feature of *be like*" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 509). It will be interesting to see

whether the more fine-grained analyses support the current finding, i.e. that there is no striking person distinction in the Jamaican private dialogues. Finally, it is worth mentioning that I tested whether a model without the factor 'gender groups', the weakest constraint, would provide a better fit but the model turned out to be significantly worse in the likelihood ratio test than the model presented here (chi-square value = 14.61, df = 1, significant at .001).[73]

Table 25: Factors constraining the use of *be like* and *say* in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica*

	be like			*say*		
input S	.18 .001			.66 .011		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense						
Past	.50	20	108	.57	70	108
Present	.39	15	89	.49	69	89
HP	.80	45	29	.28	48	29
range	41			29		
Person						
First	[.46]	18	148	.54	62	148
Third	[.53]	14	188	.47	66	188
range				7		
Content						
Speech	.44	13	236	.58	58	236
Thought	.73	30	60	.21	32	60
range	29			37		
Gender groups						
Mixed	.40	9	145	.60	70	145
Female only	.55	16	273	.45	54	273
range	15			15		
Total N			431			431

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

In the analysis of factors conditioning the probability of *say* (see right column of Table 25), I again excluded the factor group 'collection period' due to the low number of non-applications in the first two collection periods producing small cells. With regard to social factors, the data enabled an analysis including the factor 'speaker sex'. The problem here, however, is that the factor naturally overlaps with the factor 'gender

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[73] See Paolillo (2002: 140-142) for information on the likelihood ratio test.

groups'. For that reason, I ran two separate analyses in order to detect which provided a better fit. It turned out that the model with the factor 'gender groups' is superior to the one with 'speaker sex' regarding input, number of small cells[74] and number of errors[75], while being only minimally worse regarding the log-likelihood. Therefore, the table displays the results of the former analysis. The factor group 'speaker age' was again excluded for the reason mentioned above. Furthermore, the category male-only groups was excluded from the analysis of the 'gender groups' factor group because of the low number of tokens (N = 13). Turning to the results, we can observe that all four factor groups are significant. The table also shows that *say* is favoured with the simple past (and disfavoured with the HP), with first-person subjects, with direct speech and by mixed gender groups. 'Content of the quote' is the strongest constraint on *say* in the Jamaican private dialogues.

In summary, these findings confirm what we observed in the distributional analysis to a large extent. A difference can be found regarding the factor 'tense of the quotative' as the percentages of *say* in the simple past and simple present are almost identical (70% and 69%), while the difference in factor weights is slightly larger (.57 and .49, i.e. the simple past favours *say*, while the simple present has no effect on the probability of *say*). Also, male-only contexts were excluded from the variable rule analyses so that we cannot draw any conclusions in this respect. Finally, it is interesting to see that the slightly higher rate of *be like* with first- than third-person subjects (18% vs. 14%) did not turn out to be significant, and that the highest factor weight in this factor group (third person .53) is not associated with the highest frequency. As for *say*, the 'person' constraint is significant but again the direction of effect differs from that which the rates suggested (62% and 66% vs. .54 and .47). It seems that there is an interaction with the factor 'content of the quote' in both cases as the constraint ranking in the factor group 'grammatical person' changes once the factor 'content of the quote' is added in the regression.

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[74] The number of small cells was found with the help of the cross-tabulation tool in Goldvarb.

[75] The number of errors was obtained with the help of a one-level binomial analysis. Many thanks to Carolin Biewer for drawing my attention to this methodological detail at SAUTE 2011 in Berne, Switzerland (May 6-7, 2011).

4.1.7.2 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in the Jamaican private dialogues

In the two independent analyses of factors conditioning the probability of *be like* and *say* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005, the factor 'speaker sex' was excluded. The reasons are that male contexts of *be like* are below five per cent and that the model of *say* with the factor 'gender groups' is superior to the one with 'speaker sex' regarding the number of small cells. In addition, the oldest age category (45+) was excluded from the analyses of the 'speaker age' factor group because of a knockout in the *be like* run and a low number of tokens (N = 12) in the *say* run.[76]

Table 26: Factors constraining the use of *be like* and *say* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica*

	be like			*say*		
input	.24			.59		
S	.013			.000		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense						
Past	.49	26	86	.56	63	86
Present	.40	18	74	.52	66	74
HP	.80	54	24	.24	38	24
range	*40*			*32*		
Person						
First	[.48]	22	125	.54	56	125
Third	[.52]	17	150	.47	62	150
range				*7*		
Content						
Speech	.45	16	195	.58	52	195
Thought	.68	30	56	.26	34	56
range	*23*			*32*		
Gender groups						
Mixed	.45	13	94	[.57]	65	94
Female only	.52	17	257	[.47]	52	257
range	*7*					
Age 17-25	[.57]	21	214	[.51]	56	214
26-45	[.36]	9	111	[.47]	54	111
Total N			351			351

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

[76] Note that no data were collected from male-only groups in this collection period.

Having explained the methodological details, let us turn to the results in Table 26. For *be like*, the significant factors are 'tense of the quotative', 'content of the quote' and 'gender groups'. As in Table 25, 'tense of the quotative' seems to be the most significant factor on the basis of both selection sequence and range. Yet, there is still the problem that the HP contexts in which *be like* is favoured are rare (N = 24). Hence, conclusions have to remain tentative. The data from the latest collection period are also similar to the total corpus of Jamaican private dialogues in that *be like* is favoured with internal dialogue and in female-only groups. However, the factor weights for both internal dialogue and female-only groups are lower in the analysis restricted to the latest collection period than in the private dialogues of all three collection periods. Consequently, the ranges of the respective factor groups are also smaller in the data collected most recently. A favoured use of *be like* with internal dialogue is the usual effect reported in various previous studies. This led Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009: 307) to suggest that the 'content' constraint "may […] be a universal constraint on *be like*." The Jamaican data from the period between 2002 and 2005 (and the private dialogues in general) corroborate their suggestion. In addition, the findings support Singler's (2001) finding that mixed groups weakly disfavour *be like* and that female-only groups favour it.

In the non-significant factor groups, *be like* has a slightly higher factor weight with third- than first-person subjects as well as a higher factor weight in the youngest age group (17-25) than in the middle age group (26-45). This age distinction supports findings in previous research, which reports that the use of *be like* decreases with increasing age. For example, Singler (2001) observed that the quotative is infrequent in the speech of speakers over 35. Regarding the 'grammatical person of the quotative', the findings provide further support for the hypothesis that there is no striking person distinction of *be like* in the Jamaican private dialogues. The factor weights of both first- and third-person subjects are quite close in Table 26, hovering around .50. Moreover, the results confirm the observation in the distributional analysis that there is an interaction between the 'content' and 'person' constraints. As the regression proceeds, the constraint ranking remains constant across the different levels until the factor 'content of the quote' is added. Then, the factor weights shift in that the value in third-person contexts becomes slightly higher than in first-person contexts (.52 and .48).

Similarly, D'Arcy (2004) and Barbieri (2005) observed an interaction of the two factor groups.

The linguistic factors concerning *say* are significant, while the social factors are not. The traditional quotative is favoured in the simple past and to a lesser extent in the simple present but disfavoured with the HP. This finding tends to support the result of the distributional analysis, although *say* shows a slightly higher rate with the simple present than with the simple past in the distributional analysis (see the percentage column in Table 26).[77] In any case, further data are needed to validate these findings since they are based on a low number of tokens in HP contexts. Turning back to Table 26, we can see that *say* is also favoured in first-person contexts and with direct speech. Again, the factor weights in the group 'grammatical person' are very close to .50, and the constraint ranking changes on level 2 when the factor group 'content of the quote' is added. This suggests that there might be an interaction between the two factor groups and explains why the direction of effect differs from that suggested by the rates in the distributional analysis (56% and 62% vs. .54 and .47). On the other hand, the results of the multivariate analysis support the findings of the distributional analysis regarding the factor group 'content of the quote' (52% and 34%, .58 and .26). The latter has the same range as the factor group 'tense of the quotative' but was selected first. Thus, the 'content' constraint seems to be the strongest one. Finally, the findings for the non-significant social factor groups support the results of the distributional analysis in that *say* is favoured in mixed groups (.57 and .47, 65% and 52%) as well as in the youngest age group (.51 and .47, 56% and 54%). Both the percentages and factor weights of *say* show that 'speaker age' is a marginal factor group.

To sum up, the constraint rankings in Table 26 not only support the findings of the distributional analysis to a large extent but also confirm the directions of effects observed in the Jamaican private dialogues in general (see Table 25). As for a comparison with previous studies, additional data collected from speakers aged 45+ is needed to be able to tell whether the traditional quotative *say* is used most frequently by older speakers in Jamaican English, as reported in studies on American English (e.g. Blyth et al. 1990, Ferrara & Bell 1995), Canadian English (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007), Scottish English (e.g. Macaulay 2001), English English and New Zealand

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[77] Note, however, that the factor weight of *say* with the simple present is higher than that with the simple past on level 1 but the constraint ranking changes on level 2 when the factor group 'content of the quote' is added, suggesting that there is an interaction between these two factor groups.

English (e.g. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). A larger amount of data collected from Jamaican speakers aged 45+ would also allow us to see whether the 'person' pattern changes across age groups in Jamaican English, as in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009). They observed that their younger speakers (aged 15-30) favour *say* in first-person contexts, while their older speakers (aged 38-69) favour *say* in third-person contexts in English English and New Zealand English.[78] Concerning the 'content' constraint on *say*, the effect in the Jamaican data is traditional, as observed in various studies such as Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007). The following section will reveal whether there is a noticeable difference in factor weights between young speakers' data and the private dialogues from the latest collection period in general.

4.1.7.2.1 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in speakers up to the age of 45

Table 27 reveals the results of two independent analyses of the factors constraining the use of *be like* and *say* in speakers under 45-years-old in the period between 2002 and 2005. The factor 'speaker sex' was excluded for the same reasons mentioned above. In this case, the model of *say* with the factor 'gender groups' is superior to the one with 'speaker sex' regarding the number of small cells and the size of errors and only insignificantly inferior to the latter regarding input and log-likelihood.[79]

Drawing a comparison between the factor weights in Table 27 and the previous one, we can see that there are only marginal differences. In both analyses, 'tense of the quotative' is the strongest constraint on *be like* (but note that HP contexts are problematic), while 'content of the quote' is the strongest constraint on *say* (both regarding selection sequence and range in Table 27). Also, the two tables deviate from the results of the distributional analysis in the same respects. The factor weights of *be like* and *say* with first- and third-person subjects shift once the factor 'content of the quote' is added, suggesting an interaction between the two factor groups for both quotatives.[80] However, differences between the two tables can be observed in the statistical significance of social factors: Concerning *be like* in Table 26, the factor 'gender groups' is significant and the factor 'speaker age' is not significant, while the

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[78] Cross-varietal differences in the 'person' constraint will be discussed in the following section.
[79] Note that no data were collected from male-only groups in this collection period.
[80] Similarly, the factor weight of *say* with the simple present is higher than that with the simple past on level 1 and the constraint ranking changes on level 2 when the factor group 'content of the quote' is added.

opposite is true in Table 27. Similarly, the factor 'gender groups' in the column on *say* is not significant in Table 26 but significant in Table 27.

Table 27: Factors constraining the use of *be like* and *say* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (first and second age group only)*

	be like			*say*		
input S	.24 .024			.62 .047		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense						
Past	.47	27	81	.57	67	81
Present	.42	19	67	.52	67	67
HP	.78	54	24	.24	38	24
range	36			33		
Person						
First	[.48]	23	116	.54	57	116
Third	[.52]	19	137	.47	63	137
range				7		
Content						
Speech	.45	17	186	.58	53	186
Thought	.69	33	52	.24	35	52
range	24			34		
Gender groups						
Mixed	[.47]	13	90	.60	68	90
Female only	[.51]	18	235	.46	51	235
range				14		
Age 17-25	.57	21	214	[.52]	56	214
26-45	.36	9	111	[.47]	54	111
range	21					
Total N			325			325

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

The advantage of this additional analysis focusing on the speech of speakers aged 17-45 only is that we can draw comparisons between patterns in the use of *be like* and *say* in these Jamaican speakers and in similar speaker groups in other varieties. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the private dialogues collected between 1995 and 2001 do not allow us to estimate how frequent the use of the innovative quotative was in this period, and data collected in the period between 1990 and 1994 are too limited to allow any conclusion to be drawn. Therefore, the information that the

Jamaican private dialogues offer on the use of the innovative quotative in the time before 2002 is vague. Since we lack evidence to disprove the following hypothesis, let us assume for the time being that the use of *be like* is still early in this variety and compare the constraint rankings with early onset constraints in Canadian English, English English, and New Zealand English, as reported in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009). Table 28 gives information on the speakers in these studies. It shows that data were collected between 1994 and 1996 and stem from speakers aged 15 to 30.

Table 28: Information on 'collection period' and 'speaker age' in previous studies

	Collection period	Speaker age
Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) Canadian English English English	1995 1996	18-28 18-28
Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) English English New Zealand English	1994-1995 1994-1996	15-27 17-30

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the comparison of Table 27 with findings in these previous studies focuses on the constraint hierarchies rather than the statistical significance of effects. Firstly, Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) found that *be like* is favoured with the simple present and the simple past in English English but with the HP in New Zealand English. Thus, the Jamaican data in Table 27 seem to side with the New Zealand English data although conclusions about the favoured context of *be like* in Jamaican English must remain tentative due to the limited number of HP contexts. With regard to *say*, the two varieties share another similarity in that *say* is favoured with the simple past, whereas it is favoured with the simple present and HP in English English. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) did not study the factor group 'tense of the quotative' but 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote'. All of the varieties, Jamaican English and the varieties in the previous studies, have in common that *be like* is favoured with internal dialogue and *say* with direct speech. Table 27, however, suggests that the Jamaican data differ from the other varieties in one respect: *be like* is slightly favoured in third-person contexts in Jamaican English but in first-person contexts in the remaining datasets. As I argued above, the reason for this deviating finding is an interaction between 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' in the Jamaican data. Considered by itself, the 'person' factor

group shows that first-person subjects favour *be like* at .54 and third-person subjects disfavour at .47. However, when the factor group is combined with 'content of the quote', the value in third-person contexts becomes slightly higher than in first-person contexts, as with the factor weights reported in Table 27 (.52 and .48). The latter were obtained from the first level of the step-down analysis in which all factor groups are included. Finally, when we consider the factor group 'grammatical person of the quotative' by itself in the analysis of *say*, the constraint hierarchy in the Jamaican data – a favoured use of the quotative in third-person contexts – differs from the preference for first-person contexts in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) on Canadian English and in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) on New Zealand English but is in keeping with results from Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) on English English. In addition to cross-varietal differences, there may also be more subtle intra-varietal differences since Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) report that young speakers favour *say* in first-person contexts in English English. It is fairly unlikely that this converse finding can be explained by differences in speaker age or collection period as Table 28 illustrates that the data in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) were collected in almost the same time span and stem from speakers in very similar age groups.[81] However, methodological differences cannot be ruled out as the former recordings include narratives told by different speakers, while the latter include dyadic conversations.

In sum, the comparison of the use of *be like* between the Jamaican data and previous studies suggests that there are cross-varietal differences regarding the factor 'tense of the quotative', while the new quotative is favoured in the same categories of the remaining two linguistic factor groups if we ignore the interaction between these two factor groups in the Jamaican data.[82] As the early onset constraints observed in previous studies largely apply in the Jamaican dataset, the use of *be like* in the Jamaican data collected between 2002 and 2005 seems to reflect an early developmental stage.

Let us further test this hypothesis using two suggestions for the developmental trajectory for *be like*. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) suggest that there are three measures to predict the diffusion of *be like*: 'speaker sex', 'grammatical person' and 'content of the quote'. According to their trajectory, *be like* is, for example, used with

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[81] Similarly, regional differences are unlikely to play a role as Tagliamonte & Hudson's data were collected in York and Buchstaller & D'Arcy's data in Derby and Newcastle.
[82] Similar to the Jamaican and New Zealand findings, Bonnici (2010) reports that *be like* favours thought over speech, first- over third-person subjects and HP over simple present and simple past in the speech of Maltese speakers aged 18-35.

first-person subjects at an initial stage and if it "is found across 3rd person and 1st person subjects […] we may interpret this as an indication that the stage of development of *be like* represented by the variety in question is relatively advanced" (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 159). A summary of the predictions that they extrapolated from observations made in Ferrara & Bell (1995) is offered in Table 29. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999: 159) point out that they "do not expect that all of these predictions will be fulfilled in each variety, nor that they will apply to the same degree."

Table 29: Developmental trajectory for *be like* suggested in Ferrara & Bell (1995) and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999)

Measure	*Initial stage*	*Later stage*
Speaker sex	*be like* used more frequently by women than men	Neutralisation of the effect
Grammatical person	*be like* used with first person	Expansion into third person
Content of quote	*be like* used with internal dialogue	Expansion into direct speech

Actually, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) tested the predicted constraints on the basis of Canadian data and identified that only one of the three predictions obtained in their data in apparent time: the levelling of the 'content' constraint. In contrast, the effect of 'speaker sex' did not neutralise but became stronger and the 'person' constraint remained stable. Their amended suggestions are given in Table 30, including a fourth prediction for the factor 'tense of the quotative' (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007). They propose that "the pathways of change we have documented here may well be happening elsewhere" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 511).

Table 30: Developmental trajectory for *be like* suggested in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007)

Measure	*Initial stage*	*Later stage*
Speaker sex	*be like* favoured with women	Strong sex differentiation
Grammatical person	*be like* favoured with first person	Constancy of the person effect
Content of quote	*be like* favoured with internal dialogue	Levelling of the content constraint
Tense of the quotative	*be like* favoured with present tense (simple present and HP)	*be like* favoured with HP

If the constraints hold globally, the factor 'content of the quote' suggests that the Jamaican data reflect an early stage of *be like* use according to both Tables 29 and 30. Considered by itself, the constraint ranking in the factor group 'grammatical person' in the Jamaican data also fulfils the prediction of an initial stage in Table 29 and the predictions of both an early and late stage in Table 30, given that Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) observed a constancy of effect. An allocation of the Jamaican finding to one of the developmental stages suggested for the factor group 'tense of the quotative' must remain tentative due to the low number of HP contexts. In principle, the Jamaican result seems to fit the prediction for a later stage, however, this prediction is challenged by Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) findings. They suggest that the linguistic information on tense is locally reorganised as *be like* spreads from American English to other varieties of English. In the absence of sufficient Jamaican data that would allow an investigation of the factor 'speaker sex', we can only test two of the three measures suggested in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and three of the four measures in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007). According to the suggestions in the former study, the use of *be like* in the Jamaican data seems to be at an early stage, whereas it is split between an initial and later stage according to the suggestions in the latter study.

Before we proceed to the findings of the most fine-grained analyses discussed here, it is worth mentioning briefly that an analysis of the factors conditioning the use of the zero quotative was carried out, using the restriction to young speakers in the latest collection period as outlined above. Since the factor group 'content of the quote' had to be excluded due to a knockout (zero quotatives do not occur with internal dialogue in the Jamaican data), only the factor groups 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' (alternatively, 'gender groups') were included in the analysis.[83]

As Table 31 shows, none of these factor groups was selected as significant in the two separate analyses including 'speaker sex' and 'gender groups' respectively. Moreover, the factor weights in the factor groups 'speaker sex' and 'speaker age' (middle column) hover around .50, indicating that there is hardly any tendency in either direction. Thus, the zero quotative is only slightly favoured by women and speakers aged 26-45. The right column in Table 31 shows for the analysis including the factor 'gender groups' that the zero quotative is disfavoured by mixed groups and slightly

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[83] Zero quotatives were neither coded for the factor 'grammatical person' nor for the factor 'tense of the quotative'.

favoured by female-only groups, whereas the age hierarchy again narrowly favours speakers aged 26-45. A separate analysis based on data from all age groups in the period between 2002 and 2005 resulted in factor weights that were very similar to identical (not shown here).

Table 31: Factors constraining the use of the zero quotative in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (first and second age group only)*

	zero ('sex')			zero ('gender groups')		
input	.10			.10		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Sex						
Male	[.47]	10	51			
Female	[.51]	11	274			
Age						
17-25	[.48]	10	214	[.47]	10	214
26-45	[.54]	12	111	[.56]	12	111
Gender groups						
Mixed				[.34]	6	90
Female only				[.57]	12	235
Total N			325			325

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

In sum, the findings reveal that the zero quotative is only used with direct speech in the Jamaican data, and that 'speaker age' and especially 'speaker sex' have hardly any effect on its use, whereas mixed groups clearly disfavour it.[84] These findings largely differ from previous research on the zero quotative: Studies on English English, Canadian English and Maltese English (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Bonnici 2010) found that the zero quotative is used not only to introduce direct speech but also internal dialogue. Concerning 'speaker sex', the findings align with Maltese English (Bonnici 2010). In contrast to the slight effect in favour of women, however, Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) observed no effect at all in Canadian English and a slightly favoured use by male speakers in English English (which is also supported in English English data in

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[84] Note that there is one token of the zero quotative introducing internal dialogue in the second collection period. Nevertheless, its frequency is marginal in the Jamaican private dialogues of all three collection periods.

Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). Thus, the findings suggest that neither the factor 'content of the quote' nor 'speaker sex' condition the probability of the zero quotative in a globally consistent way.

4.1.7.2.2 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in female speakers aged 17-25

Table 32 presents the results of two independent analyses based on data from female speakers in the youngest age group in the last collection period only. These analyses serve to show which constraint rankings operate in the speech of typical *be like* users in the Jamaican private dialogues, for women aged 17 to 25. Due to the small number of tokens in HP contexts (N = 20) and, compared with Table 27, a drastically lower number of tokens in the simple present (N = 67 in Table 27 vs. N = 34), the two categories were recoded and combined into one category.

Table 32: Factors constraining the use of *be like* and *say* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (female speakers in the first age group only)*

	be like			*say*		
input S	.36 .000			.61 .013		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense						
Past	.41	31	51	.61	67	51
Present and HP	.59	41	54	.39	57	54
range	18			22		
Person						
First	[.54]	36	70	.53	54	70
Third	[.47]	23	84	.47	61	84
range				6		
Content						
Speech	.42	21	110	.60	54	110
Thought	.74	50	34	.21	29	34
range	32			39		
Gender groups						
Mixed	.43	22	27	[.58]	67	27
Female only	.51	23	168	[.49]	52	168
range	8					
Total N			195			195

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

Table 32 shows that Jamaican women aged 17 to 25 favour *be like* in present tense contexts (simple present and HP), with first-person subjects and internal dialogue.[85] Thus, the typical, early onset constraints are operative in the speech of young Jamaican women. Of all the significant factor groups, the 'content' constraint is also the strongest, suggesting that the association of *be like* with internal dialogue is robust among Jamaican women. Women are said to be the linguistic innovators (see also Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004 on the expansion of *be like* into direct speech[86]) but the data investigated here suggest that, for the time being, women are (still) conservative in their use of *be like* – especially with regard to its pragmatic function. Note, however, that the total number of quotatives introducing internal dialogue is limited to thirty-four tokens in Table 32. Also, the number of tokens in mixed groups is below thirty. Therefore, these results – the 'content' constraint and the favoured use of *be like* in female-only groups – should be taken with caution.

The traditional quotative *say* has a completely different profile than *be like* in the speech of these young Jamaican women. As the right column of Table 32 reveals, *say* is favoured with the simple past, with direct speech and in mixed groups. Considered by itself, the 'person' factor group also shows that third-person subjects favour *say* at .53 and first-person subjects disfavour at .46. Only when the factor group is combined with 'content of the quote', does the value in first-person contexts become higher than in third-person contexts (.53 and .47 in Table 32) due to an interaction between these two factors. As in the *be like* findings, 'content of the quote' (here, however, speech over thought) is the strongest constraint.

To summarise the findings to this point, the constraint rankings of *be like* and *say* in Table 32 parallel those in Tables 25 to 27, which display the results of the analyses based on less restricted datasets.[87]

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[85] Note that the frequencies and factor weights of *be like* align with the factor group 'grammatical person', i.e. data seems to show no interaction between the factors 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative'.

[86] A similar change in the factor group 'content of the quote' is also reported in Buchstaller (2011), who observes that English English speakers use *be like* more frequently with direct speech than internal dialogue in data collected between 2007 and 2009, and more recently in Fox (2012).

[87] One notable difference is that the last set of analyses includes a combined category of simple present and HP, while the former sets are based on a three-way distinction in the factor group 'tense of the quotative'. In the former, *be like* is favoured with the HP, whereas in Table 32 it is favoured with the combined category.

4.1.8 Qualitative-interactional discourse analysis of selected passages

While the preceding sections offered quantitative analyses, I will now approach quotatives from a qualitative-interactional perspective. First, the discussion will focus on one of the cases that was excluded from the quantitative analyses: quotatives that are repeated or replaced, i.e. those that are directly followed by another quotative before the quotation itself is made. In the second part of this section, selected passages will be studied with respect to (stylistic) alternation in quotative variants in specific discourse contexts.

Among the excluded tokens, there are cases in which the speaker has realised that he has made a false start. For example, the speaker decides to use another tense or grammatical person of the quotative for whatever reason, and therefore corrects himself. This is a normal phenomenon in spontaneous speech production and will not be considered further in this dissertation. Instead, I will now address cases in which the speaker uses two quotatives with the same functional loading (tense and grammatical person of the quotative) before offering the quote itself, as in Example (30).

(30) <$C><#>But the first time in my life that I came to Kingston<,> I went <}><-->to</-> <=>into</=></}> the canteen and I said <quote>could I have<,> uhm<,> a box of milk please</quote> <#>And the man said to me<,> <quote>do you want white milk</quote><,><O>laughter</O> <#>And *I said*<{1><[1><,,></[1> *I said* <quote>is there another kind</quote> he said <quote>yes <{2><[2>there is chocolate milk and cherry milk</[2> <$B><#><[1>Is there another<O>laughter/O></[1></{1> <$A><#><[2>Chocolate milk and cherry milk yeah<O>laughter</O></[2></{2> […] (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-002)

Interestingly, this category only comprises repetitions of *say* and *seh*, but not *be like* in ICE-Jamaica, whereas Examples (7), repeated here as (31), and (32) reveal that there are also sequences of two quotatives involving the new quotatives in Irish English.

(31) And then </[2> and then *he says* <,> and *Fintan goes* there 's fellas running out in front of his car in the middle of the night <#> And uh Mark goes yeah (ICE-Ireland, S1A-070)

(32) <#> And I thought should I get up <#> And then *I just thought* <#> *I was just like* <{2> <[2> <,> let </[2> it go <#> You know it 's probably his mates or something <{3> <[3> you know </[3> <,> (ICE-Ireland, S1A-044)

Although the quotative *go* is practically absent in the Jamaican data, we can still conclude that the data differ from the Irish data in the use of *be like* in sequences of two quotatives. Since there are only a couple of relevant examples in the Jamaican private dialogues, this finding might be due to chance and should not be overvalued. In those cases in which *say* or *seh* are repeated in the Jamaican data, the context usually offers an explanation for the second quotative. In (30), for example, Speaker C makes a pause

after the first quotative, as he is interrupted by another speaker (B), who enjoys his story and anticipates what the narrator is about to say. The latter then continues with a repetition of the quotative, including its grammatical person. Similarly, in (33), the second speaker's use of quotatives overlaps with the first speaker's turn in a heated moment of the conversation. Speaker B tells a story about a girl during a trip to Moore Town and generally repeats parts of her utterance in (33), possibly in order to hold the turn.

(33) <$A><#>Yes you should<{><[><,> <#>Oh my goodness <#>No she didn't</[>
<$B><#><[>So I tell you <#>I said it <}><-->*I said*</-> <=>*I said*</=></}></[></{> Sir Sir <{><[>uhm</[> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-023)

(34) <$B><#>Jesus and *I always said to him him say*<,> until <indig>una</indig> get big live with somebody and have kids on your own then una will see <{1><[1><,>exactly</[1> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-045)

In addition, Example (34) offers an interesting example of code-switching. The speaker first uses the Standard variety and quotative *say*, but then switches to Jamaican Creole, using the local quotative *seh*, in order to quote an utterance (made by herself) in the mesolectal creole.

Let us now take a closer look at selected passages to see how speakers alternate between quotative variants in ICE-Jamaica. Naturally, speakers do not necessarily make use of a variety of quotatives but may stick to one particular quotative in an extended passage of reported speech, as in Example (30) above. Here, Speaker C tells a story about an encounter with a canteen assistant when he came to Kingston for the first time. His story informs the audience about the difficulties he had ordering milk. After setting the scene, Speaker C quotes how he orders a box of milk and the canteen assistant responds to his order by asking a clarifying question that comes as a surprise to the narrator. He then mentions how he asks a clarifying question in return. The climax of the story is when the canteen assistant gives him a surprising answer.[88] Although the story includes more than one question, the speaker uses *say* for both questions and their answers. Given that the story is told by a male senior lecturer aged 26-45 in 1999, one would not expect the use of the new quotative *be like*, which accounts for only two per cent of the quotative use in the period between 1995 and 2001 and typically occurs among younger speakers in the Jamaican data (see Table 13). Also, the faithful

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[88] Notice that the audience (Speakers A and B) comment on the ongoing dialogue, showing their understanding of it. The phenomenon of even more active participation (adopting the voice of the story teller and using deictic pronouns and quotatives) is discussed in Sams (2010).

representation of the precise propositional content is a very important part of the story, and the distinction between faithfulness and approximation would be blurred if quotative *be like* were used instead (see also more recently Blackwell & Fox Tree 2012 for a contrasting view). It might seem surprising that the speaker never uses other traditional quotatives such as *ask* and *answer*. However, previous research on quotatives reports that "there tend to be strings of the same quotative" (Singler 2001: 271).

In Example (35), the only quotative used in the passage is *be like*. Speaker A is a female student aged 18-25 – i.e. a speaker in the typical age group of *be like* users – and the conversation was recorded in 2004 – i.e. within the latest collection period when *be like* is frequent in the Jamaican data. This time, the speaker recounts the story of a conflict between her university teacher and her classmates. The story is told retrospectively as the speaker was not present when the conflict evolved.

> (35) <$A><#>No I wasn't there but I heard cos I had come out to use the bathroom <#>When I came back *I'm like* where is Miss <#>*It's like* well she was cussing and say how we're not focussed in class and bla bla bla and start crying and gone <#>*I'm like* okay cos how she was acting <#>She was acting uhm I'm tough but I'm strong uhm you know uh <#><{><[>I <}><->when I heard</-> no but <->when I heard</-> <=>when I heard</=></}></[> she was crying *I like* damn <?>with that</?> <unclear>word</unclear> Jesus <#>But <}><->however</-><O>laughter</O> <=>however</=></}> too many teachers start to cry (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-021)

In Example (35), the speaker uses the new quotative to introduce a question-answer pair (her question and the answer given by the class, who are classmates of roughly the same age). In addition, *be like* precedes her feedback on the classmates' answer and her emotive reaction. The speaker's use of interjections (*damn*, *Jesus*) in a quotation introduced by the new quotative is very typical; as Buchstaller (2001b: 29), for example, reports "*[be] like* is an item heavily used for introducing interjections." These interjections express the speaker's feelings at the time when the story happened and thus increase the vividness of the story (see Buchstaller 2001b: 29-30 and Blyth et al. 1990: 222). Notice also that in the classmates' answer, the quotation does not include all of the words originally spoken. The use of *bla bla bla* demonstrates the fact that the teacher complained about several things, but it does not give access to the precise propositional content (see Clark & Gerrig 1990: 780). According to Romaine & Lange (1991), *be like* signals that the quoted utterance it introduces has not necessarily been lexicalised explicitly. Hence, it is not entirely clear whether Speaker A or the classmates substituted words with *bla bla bla*. However, it seems more likely that Speaker A did so and that the quotation introduced by *it's like* is in general just a summary of what the classmates

said, rather than a faithful representation of the words uttered by a group of persons, i.e. the class. This interpretation is also supported by the lack of prosodic cues in the quotation introduced by *it's like*. While the speaker has a lively style of narrating, this quotation sounds rather monotone. The repeated use of the conjunction *and* contributes to the long-winded style (as does the substitution of words by *bla bla bla*). Interestingly, the speaker uses the discourse marker *well* at the beginning of the classmates' quotation. According to Jones & Schieffelin (2009: 91), discourse markers in this position "provide pragmatic emphasis, further demarcating other-authored utterances from the animator's speech." Thus, both the monotonous style and the use of discourse marker *well* signal that the utterance is not authored by the speaker herself. In contrast, the speaker produces her feedback on the classmates' quotation with a different voice. She not only utters the backchannel *okay* but produces it in a hesitant way, expressing her doubt and surprise about the classmates' words. The reason why she is surprised about the classmates' words follows in the next sentence when she explains how the teacher acted in class. Using sound effects, she imitates the speech of a tough and strong person in addition to uttering the words *I'm tough but I'm strong*. Moreover, the speaker's self-quotation including the interjections *damn* and *Jesus* contains what Buchstaller (2008: 23) calls a "mimetic enactment", i.e. voice effects (such as changes in intonation, prosodic structure, pitch and accent; see Buchstaller 2008, D'Arcy 2010).[89]

In contrast to this example, a variety of quotatives are used in Example (36), in which a female speaker aged 26-45 (occupation: administrator; collection year: 2003) recounts how her family discussed its financial situation after purchasing a house.

> (36) <$A><#><[2>Can I tell you what happened to me</[2></{2> <#>I remember about a month before my brother died we were at the house *and I said to them* <#>We had just bought this new house this new family house all of us come up and buy house <#>*So me say boy* everybody was saying how broke we were and *me say* boy what if somebody should die what would happen who would pay <#>*And I said to them* don't worry if all of you die I can bury you <#>You don't have to worry <#>And you know I say that I will save the money for all of us in the event anything should happen to any of us or all of us you know <#>*So my sister was like* whatever <#>Of course my brother died <#>Now we always wonder who would have been level-headed in all of this <#>Let me tell you something <#>When them hear say my brother crash nobody couldn't budge <#>I was in my bed <}><-> I</-> no actually <=>I</=></}> just finished cooking at home <#>I just didn't feel like eating any more</I> (ICE-Jamaica, S1A-013)

While explaining the background of the story, Speaker A makes two attempts to quote what she herself said during the conversation with her siblings: *and I said to them* as

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[89] See Section 4.1.2 for a discussion of the phenomenon of *like* without *be*.

well as *So me say boy* but then decides to offer further background to the story. Interestingly, the speaker switches from the Standard English quotative *say* to the local quotative *seh*. In between these two quotatives, the speaker first uses a verb with past-tense marking (*had just bought*) and then two additional verbs without past-tense marking (*come up and buy*). In Jamaican Creole, verbs used in past contexts are often uninflected for past as Patrick (1991: 183), for example, points out that "mesolectal speech [...] is well known to alternate between the use of such particles [*ben*], zero-marking, and some inflection." Having switched from the acrolect to the mesolect, Speaker A finally quotes herself using the local (mesolectal) quotative *seh*. Her quote starts with an interjection, signalling a more emotive style, before a series of questions are cited that express her worries about the possible death of a family member and its financial consequences. Following that, she retells how she appeased the others with her offer to save money for her siblings' as well as her own funeral and introduces this quotation with the traditional quotative *say*. In both quotations, the speaker cites her own words. It is interesting that the speaker again turns from a more mesolectal to a more acrolectal quotative. Possibly, Jamaican speakers associate the two quotatives with different types of quotation. If so, Example (36) suggests the following link between variant and type of quotation: Speakers might use the local quotative for emotional utterances (including the insecure questioning in (36)) and the traditional quotative for more factual utterances. It will be interesting to see the extent to which further data supports this hypothesis. In the remainder of her story, Speaker A reports the rest of her argument with the help of indirect speech (again without inflecting the quotative *say*) and introduces her sister's answer with the new quotative *be like*. As the speaker has given a comprehensive account of what she told her family, it is striking that the family's answer is rather short. In this context, it seems to me that the speaker deliberately chose to use *be like* as the quote might likely be an approximation of what her sister actually said and, thus, a means to round off the story about the family discussion quickly and resolve the story. As mentioned above, Romaine & Lange (1991) suggest that one of the functions of *be like* is to indicate that the quote has not necessarily been lexicalised explicitly (but, again, see Blackwell & Fox Tree 2012). I suggest that this fits quite well with the example in that the speaker does not want to talk about her siblings' reaction in detail but prefers to continue with the story and to point out the fact that her worries were legitimate. Note that there is also an example of

the Jamaican Creole complementiser *se(h)* towards the end of the story: *when them hear say* ('when they heard that').

Different quotatives are also used in Example (37). In the passage preceding the story in (37), Speaker A, a female student aged 18-25, talks about her family and explains why her ancestors in her mother's bloodline changed their family name. In the example, she tells a story about an encounter with an Indian shop owner in Miami.

(37) <$A> [...] <#>And it's always funny to see what people say<,> because <}><-></->I met</-> <=>we were</=></}> <}><-></->in Miami and<,></-><&>recording-interrupted</&> <=>in</=> uhm <=>Miami and</=></}> we went into an electronic store and the owner came to us and he was Indian and he just came over from India and <{19><[19>opened</[19> his store <#>And he was following us around the store following us around the store and we couldn't figure out why he was following us around the store until *we finally asked* you know <#>Is there a problem<O>$B-laughs</O> <#>*And he says* you look so much like my cousin you look so much like my cousin and *we're like* <#>Okay <{20><[20>you know that's nice</[20> <#>That's really nice and what not <#>*And he said* <#>What's your family name <#>*And we said* <@>Dalharty</@> <#>*And he said* <#>No what's your real family name
<$B><#><[19>Alright</[19></{19>
<$B><#><[20>Couldn't he just ask<O>laughs</O></[20></{20>
(ICE-Jamaica, S1A-041)

Having established the setting and introduced the Indian shop owner, Speaker A explains what was so peculiar about this man. By repeating the same words (*following us around the store*), she sustains the dramatised conflict before resolving it with a quotation introduced by *until we finally asked*. *Ask* is the first quotative used in the extract and precedes a question by the speaker and other family members (*we*). Notice that the speaker uses the discourse marker *you know* between the quotative and the question. This supports the comical effect of the question as it suggests that it is the most natural question to ask in this fraught situation. The shop owner's answer is introduced with *say*. His repeated use of the same statement (*you look so much like my cousin*) makes him sound weird. The family's acknowledgement of his statement is introduced with *be like*. The new quotative, however, introduces not only propositional but also mimetic content. In the recording of this conversation, the speaker lengthens the second vowel in the backchannel *okay*, which indicates that the speaker and her family regarded the shop owner's behaviour as strange. At the same time, they also understood his statement as an expression of positive politeness and respond in a polite way, as the final part of Speaker A's and the family's quote (*that's nice. That's really nice and what not*) suggests. Support for this interpretation also comes from the use of *you know* in between the backchannel *okay* and the family's polite response starting with *that's nice*. According to Holmes (1986), women – Speaker A is female – use the

discourse marker *you know* to express positive politeness. Interestingly, this quote also includes the hedge *and what not*, which indicates that the quote is not a faithful reproduction of what the family members said.[90] It rather signals that the acknowledgement of the shop owner's statement exemplifies the family's reaction. Thus, it seems that Speaker A intentionally chose the innovative quotative in order to encode her family's attitude in the form of an utterance (cf. Jones & Schieffelin 2009: 92) as well as to reinforce the impact of the quote as a less than literal representation of what the family said to the Indian man. The following question, answer and re-opening question are all preceded by the traditional quotative *say*. Although Speaker A is in the age group of typical *be like* users and the conversation was recorded within the latest collection period when the new quotative occurs frequently in the Jamaican data, *be like* is used only once in this story. A possible reason is that Speaker A believes that the Indian shop owner is an unlikely user of *be like* and therefore avoids using it for his quotations (see Blackwell & Fox Tree 2012). Unsurprisingly, the speaker does not use the local quotative in this passage, which would be strange in a conversation with an Indian English speaker in an encounter outside Jamaica.

Similar to (37), the local quotative is not used in Example (38), which was recorded in 2004. The reason is surely the official setting of the story: Speaker B talks about a bad experience that she had with a teacher in primary school.

(38) <$B> [...] I lack self-confidence during primary school because everything I wrote <}><-­>on my in</-> <=>in my</=></}> book everything I wrote down <}><-­>everything I</-> <=>every time I</=></}> was asked a question and I <}><-­>respond</-> <=>responded</=></}> uhm it was wrong<{1><[1><,></[1> and then the teachers weren't telling me that <}><-­>it is</-> you know <=>it is</=></}> wrong in a nice way and you know <}><-­><.>tea</.></-> uhm <=>tell</=></}> me how to go about you know approaching whatever the problem was <#>They were being<,><{2><[2><,></[2> abusive in it right and that you know I kind of recoil you know so <#><}><-­>I</-> <=>I</=></}> was withdrawn <#>I wasn't you know working as I ought to be working at years four five six in primary school and it got worse because <}><-­><.>up</.></-> uhm <=>upon</=></}> reaching grade five and six I<,> uhm had this terrible experience the most uhm terrible I can say that <}><-­>experience</-><O>laughs</O> <=>experiences</=></}> in my entire life and uhm right <#>This teacher she normally tells me that I'm an idiot I don't know anything right<O>$A-laughs</O> and <}><-­>I I I just</-> <=>I'm just</=></}> wasting my <w>parents'</w> money and of course being a child you are thinking that probably she's right <{3><[3>because</[3> she is older and all of that <#>So I never used to do any work <#>However uhm one evening I remembered she you know gave us some work to do and *I figured* <#>Alright I'm going to do it because I never used to take my book to her right <#>*I said to myself* I'm going to do it <#>So I did it and you know I formed a line I joined the line and uh when I went up to her she looked at me and then <}><-­>I</-> <=>I</=></}> genuinely don't know if she read what was on my uh page but she just took the book and tossed it to the back of the class <#>*And I was like* oh my god this is so embarrassing

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[90] Note that its grammatical person is *we*, i.e. a group of persons including the speaker.

<#>Anyways uhm she told me that I didn't have any sense and I must read the instructions and everything <#>So <}><-> I</-> <=>I</=></}> went to my seat <#>Well I took up the book and I went to my seat and this girl she was sitting beside me and you know I asked her to assist me <#>However <}><->when I</-> <=>when</=></}> she was <}><->showing</-> <=>pointing</=></}> it out to me it's the exact thing that I had in my book right the same wording<{4><[4><,></[4> <}><-><.>s</.></-> everything was like the <=>same</=></}> <{5><[5>so I<,></[5> <#>She got it correct and uhm *I* <}><-><?>was</?></-> <=>*said*</=></}> *to her* <#>Why if there is something wrong <#>And then I tested uhm again some other persons in my class and *they in turn said to her* Miss but <}><-><.>sh</.></-> you know <->she</-> <=>she</=></}> is <{6><[6>correct</[6> and *she was saying* oh and <#><}><->If</-> <=>if</=></}> it's coming from her it can't be right <#>*I was like* okay

<$A><#><[1>Mhm</[1></{1>
<$A><#><[2>Abusive</[2></{2>
<$A><#><[3>Yeah</[3></{3>
<$A><#><[4>Mhm</[4></{4>
<$A><#><[5>And she got it correct</[5></{5>
<$A><#><[6>Got it <#>Mhm</[6></{6>
(ICE-Jamaica, S1A-082)

At the beginning of the story the speaker, a female student aged 18-25, explains that she never did her homework. Using indirect speech, she quotes how her teacher humiliated her and why she thought that the teacher was right. This is the reason why she never did her homework. However, she decided to do so one evening and informs the audience about this decision with the help of a quotation introduced with the colloquial quotative *figure*. The quote begins with the discourse marker *alright,* which helps both grab the listener's attention and signal the transition in Speaker B's thinking (cf. Fraser 2009: 896). The speaker's second quotation has almost the same content, but is introduced with the traditional quotative *say*. This repetition of her intention to do the homework – the second time with an emphasis on the words *do it* –clearly sounds like a self-motivation strategy. The fact that the speaker uses *say* underlines the seriousness of her intention as *say* signals that the quote is a literal representation of what was originally said and, thus, shows that the speaker spoke to herself. Speaking to oneself seems to be socially rather unacceptable, yet it tends to be more acceptable when a person is trying to solve a problem. Hence, it seems that the speaker's intention to solve the problem – as well as her desire to inform the audience about it – is important enough to soliloquise and admit having done so. The next quotative used is *be like*. It introduces the speaker's emotive reaction to the teacher's unfair treatment. According to Fox (2012: 252), speakers use new quotatives "to highlight a particularly dramatic moment" in a story. Due to Speaker B's lack of self-confidence at that age it is certainly internal dialogue that follows *be like*. As mentioned above, a typical combination is *be like* followed by an interjection (*oh my god*). The teacher's reprimand, on the other hand, is summarised in indirect speech, as is the speaker's appeal for her classmate's help. It is only for the

following classroom interaction between the speaker and her classmates as well as between the classmates and the teacher that Speaker B reports using direct speech and the traditional quotative *say*. The speaker's choice is logical: The original conversation took place in a more formal setting (classroom), the teacher is a person of authority (i.e. more likely to use and to be addressed with *say* than *be like*, see Blackwell & Fox Tree 2012 for a discussion of the factor 'status') and the traditional quotative signals that the quote is a faithful representation of the original words. Thus, it allows the speaker to emphasise the fact that she did her best to resolve the problem (comparing her homework with both the girl sitting next to her and other classmates), that classmates tried to help her and that the teacher nevertheless treated her badly. Notice that the teacher's quote begins with the interjection *oh*. According to Biber et al. (1999), *oh* in its core function adds "some degree of surprise, unexpectedness or emotive arousal" (Biber et al. 1999: 1083) to an utterance. This suggests that the teacher might have been slightly surprised by the counterevidence but brazens it out. Using the traditional quotative *say* to introduce the quote beginning with *oh* further indicates that the speaker is not exaggerating in her representation of the teacher but is citing her faithfully. Finally, the speaker's internal feedback is introduced with *be like*. It is most likely that (a) the quote represents internal dialogue since a direct answer by the student would be highly unlikely in this situation, and that (b) it is not a faithful representation of the speaker's thoughts either but rather summarises her emotive reaction. According to Buchstaller (2001b: 29), *be like* introduces quotations that reveal "how the speaker felt in and perceived the situation" so that the quote "has a much stronger expressive impact than a mere word-for-word articulation of what has happened." The speaker's quotation *I was like okay* is a case in point, expressing her frustration, disappointment and surrender.

In summary, of the five text passages discussed here the local quotative *seh* is only used in Example (36). Explanations were offered as to why the local quotative is not used in Examples (37) and (38). *Be like*, on the other hand, occurs in Examples (35) to (38). What does the use of both the local quotative *seh* and the new quotative *be like* in the private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica tell us about the Jamaican speech continuum? Deuber (2009a: 47-48) describes the range of language use captured in the first forty (of one hundred) private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica and says that

The sample contains some cases of what are undoubtedly code-switches into JamC [Jamaican Creole], but overall the range of language use represented in the texts is best described as 'informal Jamaican English'. [...] In broad quantitative terms the data analysed here certainly fall in between what has been described as the 'high acrolect' and the upper mesolect, though clear cutoff points between these categories cannot be pinpointed.

In his *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, Allsopp (1996) distinguishes between four levels of formality: *formal*, *informal*, *anti-formal* and *erroneous* or *disapproved*. With regard to quotative use in Jamaican English, the first three of these levels are relevant and defined by Allsopp in the following way:

Formal	Accepted as educated; belonging or assignable to IAE [Internationally Accepted English]; also any regionalism which is not replaceable by any other designation. [...]
Informal	Accepted as familiar; chosen as part of usually well-structured, casual, relaxed speech, but sometimes characterized by morphological and syntactic reductions of English structure and by other remainder features of decreolization. [...]
Anti-formal	Deliberately rejecting Formalness; consciously familiar and intimate; part of a wide range from close and friendly through jocular to coarse and vulgar; any Creolized or Creole form or structure surviving or conveniently borrowed to suit context or situation.

(Allsopp 1996: lvi-lvii)

The reader might now rightly ask whether the quotative *seh* belongs to the informal or anti-formal level. Deuber (2009a: 45) points out that "the dividing line between what is informal and what is anti-formal can be hard to draw." While some linguistic features are assigned to both the informal and anti-formal level in Allsopp (1996), he, however, clearly classifies the quotative *seh* as *anti-formal* (1996: 497, *seh*[1]). Indeed, when we recall Example (36), Allsopp's definition of *anti-formal* fits very well in the context of the example as, for instance, the setting is a family gathering in Jamaica. In other words, it seems that the speaker in this example consciously used the local quotative *seh* as a signal of anti-formality in an otherwise "English" context. Thus, the local quotative stands in clear contrast to traditional, formal quotatives such as *say* and *ask*, which are used in varieties of English worldwide. Using the latter version allowed and still allows Jamaican speakers to show their education on a rather formal level. In addition to these traditional quotatives, however, a new, informal dimension is now available to Jamaicans: the innovative quotative *be like*, allowing speakers to use the acrolect in an

informal way. *Be like* is used in many varieties of English worldwide – e.g. American English, Canadian English, British English, Australian English and New Zealand English (see Blyth et al. 1990, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, Winter 2002, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). It is modern (see, for example, Barbieri 2009) and it is informal; for instance, the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (in its draft additions of July 2010) categorises it as *colloquial*. Therefore, the use of the new quotative *be like* allows speakers to both show their education and communicate on an informal level. With respect to the quotative system this suggests a shift in the Jamaican speech continuum, i.e. a modernisation of the continuum between more Creole (mesolectal – anti-formal/informal) and more English (acrolectal – formal) ways of language use in that the acrolect can also be used on a second, informal level.

We now have a picture of the Jamaican quotative system. In the following chapter, we will be looking at a comparison between the use of quotatives in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland.

4.2 Comparison with a variety on the British Isles (based on ICE-Ireland)

Firstly, there are about 1.5 times as many quotatives in ICE-Ireland as in ICE-Jamaica. A total of 1411 tokens (normalized frequency: 2372.6) were retained for further analysis.[91] Figure 3 shows their overall distribution in ICE-Ireland. It reveals that the complete inventory of quotatives again comprises three major verbs. In contrast to ICE-Jamaica, however, *go* occurs in ICE-Ireland and represents one of these major verbs. It accounts for 11 per cent of all quotatives (264.0), while *be like* accounts for 6 per cent (134.5). Thus, the percentage of *be like* is the same as in ICE-Jamaica. The quotative *say* clearly forms the majority as in the Jamaican component, representing 70 per cent of the total number of all quotatives in ICE-Ireland (1653.0). So *say* is also almost as frequent in the quotative system in ICE-Ireland as in ICE-Jamaica.
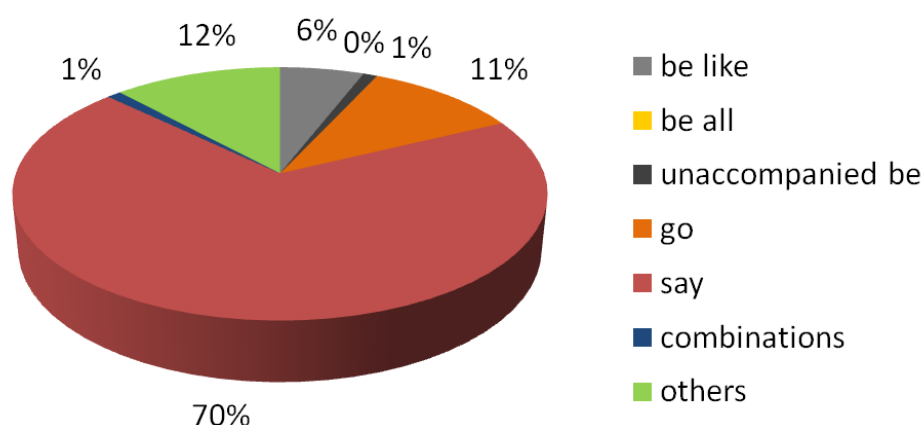
Figure 3: Overall distribution of quotatives in ICE-Ireland

Furthermore, there are a few tokens of unaccompanied *be* (0.6%; 13.5) as in (39) and *be all* (0.2%; 5.0) as in (40), a number of other quotatives such as *ask*, *shout*, *think* and *wonder* (12%; 275.8) and combinations of quotatives (1%; 26.9).[92]

> (39) And *he was* I know I know it sounds really bad and it seems really bad but blah blah blah blah blah (ICE-Ireland, S1A-044)

> (40) Uhm and *he 's all* oh yes so uh yes you were you know a couple of years behind the rest of us going to the Institute weren't you (ICE-Ireland, S1A-020)

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[91] In addition to these explicit quotatives that occur in all four text categories, 109 zero quotatives from private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequency: 560.9) were retained for further analysis.
[92] The use of *here's me* as a quotative, as reported in Milroy & Milroy (1977) for Belfast English, is even more infrequent in ICE-Ireland than *be all*.

4.2.1 Distribution across 'register'

Let us now turn to a comparison of the distribution of quotatives across 'register' in ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica. As Figure 4 reveals, the innovative quotative *be like* is, like in ICE-Jamaica, almost completely restricted to private dialogues. Furthermore, *say* is also used in all text categories although again with decreasing frequency from private dialogue via public dialogue and unscripted monologue to scripted monologue. The use of *say* to cite written material in scripted monologues is, however, lower compared with its use in scripted monologues in ICE-Jamaica: It accounts for merely 14.0 per cent in scripted monologues (vs. 21.4% in ICE-Jamaica). In other text categories, its use ranges between 2.3 and 4.0 per cent (vs. 2.7% to 7.8% in ICE-Jamaica). The quotative *go*, which is practically absent in ICE-Jamaica, shows a very similar distribution to *be like* in the Irish and Jamaican data. Moreover, it is worth noting that the unaccompanied *be* is completely restricted to private conversations.
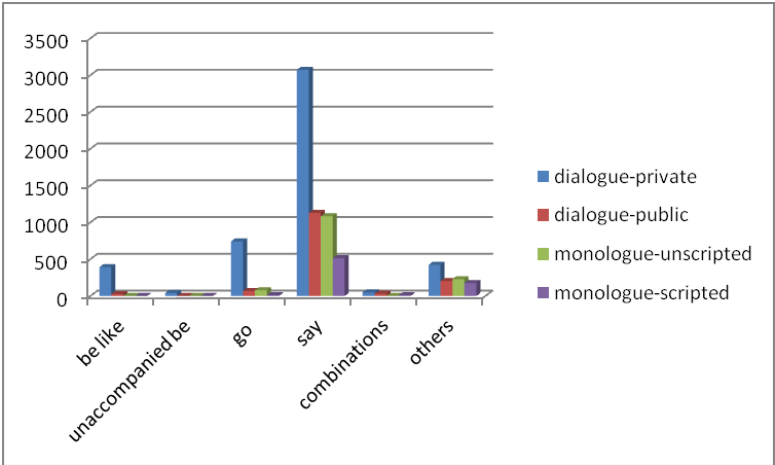
Figure 4: Distribution across 'register' in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies)

As the distribution of quotatives in the group *others* across 'register' tells us little about the distribution of a single quotative in this heterogeneous group, let us again take a look at those quotatives whose raw number of tokens exceeds five. The resulting list in Table 33 includes all of the four quotatives that are on the Jamaican list (see Table 8) plus the quotatives *shout* and *talk*. As in ICE-Jamaica, the quotatives differ in their distribution across 'register'. When we compare the two corpora, it is worth noting that *tell* is less frequent in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-Jamaica (3.0% vs. 14.9%), while *think* occurs more frequently in this register and corpus than in ICE-Jamaica (28.0% vs. 8.5%). A possible explanation might be that Jamaicans tend to

prefer other quotatives to cite internal dialogue, rather than the quotative *think*. Indeed, as we will see later, *be like* shows a higher rate with internal dialogue in ICE-Jamaica than in ICE-Ireland and the difference in rates between internal dialogue and direct speech is much higher for *be like* in the Jamaican than in the Irish data (see Section 4.2.5).

Table 33: Distribution of *ask, decide, shout, talk, tell* and *think* across 'register' in ICE-Ireland (percentages are given in reference to the total of tokens in the group called *others*)

	Dialogue-private	Dialogue-public	Monologue-unscripted	Monologue-scripted
ask	4.9	3.0	4.3	0.6
decide	0.6	0.6	2.4	0
shout	3.7	1.2	0.6	0
talk	1.8	1.8	0	0
tell	3.0	3.0	1.8	0.6
think	28.0	7.3	5.5	0

As in the preceding chapter on quotative use in ICE-Jamaica, the following analyses and discussions of the distribution of quotatives across social and linguistic factors will focus solely on private dialogues. Table 34 offers the overall distribution of quotatives in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland, including zero quotatives.

Table 34: Overall distribution of quotatives in private dialogues (S1A) in ICE-Ireland

	%	Normalised frequency per million words	Raw frequency
say	58.1	3072.0	597
go	14.0	740.9	144
zero	10.6	560.8	109
be like	7.4	391.1	76
other	9.9	524.8	102
Total	100	5289.8	1028

The table reveals that *say* is the most frequent quotative representing 58.1 per cent of all quotatives. *Go* ranks second at 14.0 per cent, followed by the zero quotative at 10.6 per cent and *be like* at 7.4 per cent (again, the low raw frequency of *be like* "somewhat mitigates a few of the [following] observations" (D'Arcy 2004: 329)). So the zero

quotative and *go* account for a larger proportion of quotative use in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-Jamaica (8.6% and 0.2% in ICE-Jamaica), while *say* and *be like* show a higher rate in ICE-Jamaica than in ICE-Ireland (60.3% and 13.0% in the Jamaican data).

4.2.2 Comments on the use of *be like* and *say*

Let us turn to some peculiarities of *be like* and *say* in the Irish dataset. When I commented on the use of *be like* in ICE-Jamaica in the subchapter 4.1.2 above, I pointed out that about nine per cent of all tokens of *be like* are used without *be*. In contrast, almost all tokens of *be like* are used with a form of *be* plus *like* in ICE-Ireland. The only exception is given in (41):

> (41) And I 'm would you let go <&> laughter </&> <#> I see it <#> It 's fine <#> And she 's here going nearly cutting the circulation off going <,> oh God <#> Easy to know she 'd never been *a driver like* <#> Oh dear God <unclear> 3 sylls </unclear> (ICE-Ireland, S1A-079)

In this example, the speaker narrates an exchange between her mother and herself. After introducing her own quotation with unaccompanied *be* and her mother's reply with quotative *go*, she quotes what another type of driver might say with *like* instead of using the participle *being like*, which would sound rather unnatural in spoken language. While participles of other quotatives such as *say* and *go* consist of just one word and would therefore have been comparatively easy to pronounce, *being like* is more complex and would have been more difficult to pronounce, especially and precisely because another form of *be*, i.e. *been* in the main clause, directly precedes it.[93]

Hypothetical discourse occurs almost equally as often in ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica in a comparison of the number of tokens of *be like* (25.7 vs. 28.6 tokens per million words). However, only 6.6 per cent of the *be like* tokens introduce hypothetical discourse, while the percentage in ICE-Jamaica is as high as 10.7 per cent. With regard to quotative *say*, both the percentage and number of tokens is lower in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-Jamaica (6.0% and 185.2 tokens vs. 37.3% and 462.3 tokens). Finally, the quotative *say* is less frequently used to cite written material in the Irish than in the Jamaican component (2.3% vs. 2.7%) although the number of tokens per million words is slightly higher (72.0 vs. 33.4 tokens). Note that one token of *be like* also introduces written material (1.3%), as given in (42).

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[93]Also, Durham et al. (2012: 323) suggest that the use of *be like* in progressive environments "could be interpreted as a sign of further grammaticalization of the quotative system."

(42) It was trying to <.> s </.> spit it out and it wouldn't spit out the card <,> and then it just swallowed it <&> laughter </&> <#> Just seen it going in and it was like <,> please enter your card (ICE-Ireland, S1A-041)

4.2.3 Distribution across 'collection period' in ICE-Ireland

Quotatives can vary tremendously in their distribution across 'collection period', as we saw in Table 10 above. Since I used the same division into collection periods for ICE-Jamaica as the ICE-Ireland project team, we can now compare the two corpora. As Table 7 above shows, data collection for private dialogues in ICE-Ireland started in the period 1990-1994 and ended in the period 2002-2005 like in ICE-Jamaica, although no Irish data were collected in the second period, i.e. 1995-2001. Thus, all Irish quotatives in this text category were either collected in the first or last period. In addition, there are also clear differences between the two corpora with regard to the amount of data per collection period: While about two thirds of the Irish data stem from the first collection period, more than 80 per cent of the Jamaican data were collected in the third period.

Table 35 reveals that *say* accounts for more than half the total number of Irish quotatives in the periods 1990-1994 and 2002-2005, similar to the Jamaican data (cf. Table 10). In contrast to the latter, however, it shows almost the same rates in the first and third collection period. The quotative *go* occurs slightly more frequently in the first than in the third period (15% vs. 12%). Thus, it seems that *go* was already well established in the 1990s in Irish English and did not develop much further afterwards.[94] Rather, it lost ground to *be like*, which occurs more frequently in the period 2002-2005 than in the period 1990-1994 (12% and 4% respectively). So the use of *be like* increased between the first and third collection period, although a smaller amount of Irish data was collected in the third than in the first collection period. A comparison with Table 10 above shows that *be like* occurs slightly more frequently in the last collection period in ICE-Jamaica than in the respective period in ICE-Ireland (16% vs. 12%) although it is not used in the earliest collection period in ICE-Jamaica.[95] The same applies for the zero quotative, which accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in the first than in the third period in ICE-Ireland (14% vs. 6%) and is only used in the second and third collection period in ICE-Jamaica (7% and 10%). The correlations section below (see

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[94] Interestingly, Buchstaller (2011) also noticed a decrease in the use of *go* between the 1990s and 2000s in English English data. Thus, it seems that a decreasing frequency of *go* is a general trend on the British Isles.
[95] In the period 1995-2001, *be like* accounts for only 2 per cent in the Jamaican data (cf. Table 10).

Section 4.2.6.1) will show whether or not the functional and social load of these quotatives changes over time in the Irish data.

Table 35: Distribution of quotatives across 'collection period' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 11171)[96]

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
1990-1994	N	2756	701	638	181		4622
	%	60	15	14	4		41
1995-2001	N	0	0	0	0		0
	%	0	0	0	0		0
2002-2005	N	3668	817	416	787		6549
	%	56	12	6	12		59

Interestingly, the innovative quotative *be like* is already used in the early 1990s in ICE-Ireland, while Romaine & Lange (1991: 248-249) note that

> at the moment the use of *like* as a quotative complementizer appears to be confined to American English, though there are perhaps traces of a similar development in British English.

They illustrate their tentative claim of an analogous development in British English by quoting an example of bare *like* used as a quotative and an example of a collocation of *like* with quotative *say*, i.e. *say like*. Further support for the hypothesis that in the very first years of the 1990s *be like* is unattested on the British Isles – and in English English specifically – seems to come from Buchstaller (2008). She states that "*be like* was first mentioned as being used in this variety in 1994" (Buchstaller 2008: 21) and cites Andersen (1997) as the source in question. Andersen (1997) provides an overview of the various functions of clausal *like* and gives examples taken from a random sample in the *Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT), including examples of quotative *be like* (and collocations of *like* with verbs of quotation). Since COLT was collected in 1993, the first attestation of the quotative *be like* in English English can actually be dated back to 1993. Stenström et al. (2002) discuss the use of *be like* in COLT and point out that there are just 34 tokens of quotative *be like* in the corpus, accounting for 0.5 per cent of all quotatives. They do not investigate the distribution of

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[96] Less frequently used quotatives are included in the total number of tokens in this and the following tables.

be like across independent social and linguistic variables, in contrast to the studies listed in Table 36. This table includes studies investigating the newcomer to the quotative system in varieties of English other than American English and shows that only one of the studies is based on data earlier than 1994: Buchstaller (2011) reports that *be like* occurs in English English data collected in 1991 to 1994.[97] As for other varieties, Table 36 shows that *be like* was, for example, first attested in Canadian English in 1995 (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999) and in New Zealand English in data covering 1994 to 1996 (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).

Table 36: Overview of studies on quotatives in varieties of English (other than American English)

Study	Variety of English	Time of data collection	Number of tokens of *be like*
Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999)	English English Canadian English	1996 1995	N 120; 18% N 79; 13%
Macaulay (2001)	Scottish English	1997	N 33; 14% (younger) N 1; 0.2% (older)
Winter (2002)	Australian English	1997-1999	N 18; 8%
Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004)	Canadian English	2002-2003	N 1198; 58%
D'Arcy (2004)	Canadian English	1999-2000	N 114; 62%
Buchstaller (2006 & 2008)	English English	1994-1995	N 93; 4.5%
Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007)	Canadian English	2002-2004	N 2670; 42%
Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009)	English English New Zealand English	1994-1995 1994-1996	N 92; 7% (younger) N 4; 0.5% (older) N 38; 6.1% (younger) - (older)
Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009)	Canadian English	2003-2006	not retrievable (only the total number of quotatives is reported)
Buchstaller (2011)	English English	1991-1994 2007-2009	N 45; 5.7% N 124; 21.2%

Thus, it seems that the first attestations of *be like* outside American English were found in English English data in Buchstaller (2011), COLT and ICE-Ireland. In the subcorpus of private dialogues in ICE-Ireland that was collected between 1990 and 1994, *be like* amounts to 4 per cent of all quotatives (raw frequency: N = 23). Hence, *be like* accounts for a higher percentage of quotatives in ICE-Ireland than in COLT but lower than in Buchstaller's data.[98] Taken together, these findings suggest that the use of *be like* in

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[97] Note that there is no claim to completeness of Table 36 with regard to studies based on recent data. However, there are no further studies attesting *be like* in a variety other than American English before 1994, to my knowledge.

[98] In the first collection period in ICE-Ireland, there is one female speaker aged 17-25 who is a trendsetter, i.e. an individual whose use of *be like* is higher than that of others. When this speaker is removed, the probability of *be like* in the first collection period is still as high as 2 per cent. Thus, *be like* nevertheless accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in ICE-Ireland than in COLT.

Buchstaller's (2011) data from the early 1990s, COLT and the subcorpus of ICE-Ireland collected in 1990 to 1994 reflects an early stage of linguistic routine.

4.2.4 Distribution across independent social variables

Once again, we will take a look at the distribution of quotatives across the social factors 'speaker sex', 'speaker age' and 'gender groups' before turning to the linguistic factors. Table 37 shows that the innovative quotative *be like* is equally frequent in male and female quotative use in ICE-Ireland (7%). The quotative *say* and the zero quotative account for a slightly larger proportion of male than female speech (61% vs. 58% and 13% vs. 10%), while *go* occurs slightly more frequently in female than male speech (14% vs. 12%). Thus, both of the innovative quotatives *be like* and *go* reveal a pattern different from *say* and the zero quotative. In cross-varietal comparison, the distributions of *be like* and the zero quotative differ from the respective ones in ICE-Jamaica, in which *be like* shows a higher rate with female than male speech (16% vs. 3%) and the zero quotative is used almost equally as often in female and male speech (9% vs. 8%). In contrast, we can observe the same distributional pattern for the 'sex' effect of *say* in ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica (*say* is favoured in male speech). Note, however, that the difference in rate is smaller for the Irish data (61% vs. 58%) than the Jamaican data (73% vs. 56%). In the literature, there are also conflicting findings across varieties with regard to the use of quotatives in relation to 'speaker sex', as mentioned in Section 4.1.4.

Table 37: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 8982)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Female	N	3394	844	608	438		5892
	%	58	14	10	7		66
Male	N	1898	365	389	219		3090
	%	61	12	13	7		34

When we turn to the question of whether *be like* occurs most frequently in a conversation with others of the same or different sex, Tables 12 and 38 reveal that the innovative quotative shows the highest rates in female-only groups in both corpora. Furthermore, it accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in mixed groups in ICE-Jamaica than in ICE-Ireland (9% vs. 4%). As *be like* accounts for a larger

proportion of male quotative use in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-Jamaica (7% vs. 3%) and is not used in male-only groups in both corpora, we can assume that the quotative is less frequent in female speech in mixed groups in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-Jamaica – an assumption that is confirmed below (see Chapter 4.2.6.4 and Table 57). In the discussion of the Jamaican data above, I cautiously suggested that Jamaican men accommodate themselves to women's quotative choice in mixed groups since *be like* does not occur in male-only groups. In ICE-Ireland, this quotative is not used in male-only groups either (similar to Singler's 2001 findings, see discussion above). However, *be like* occurs equally as often in male and female speech in the Irish data (7%) and twice as often in male as in female speech in mixed groups (7% vs. 3%, see Appendix 5 Table 4). It would, therefore, be odd to suggest that Irish men accommodate their quotative choice to that of women on the basis of the present data. It would be desirable to have more data on male speakers, especially in Irish male-only groups (1850 words in ICE-Ireland vs. 8760 words in ICE-Jamaica). This would provide us with an insight into whether men indeed never use *be like* in conversations with other men. Due to the fact that both corpora are skewed against men and male-only groups and that *be like* occurs more frequently in female-only than in mixed groups, however, it seems difficult to arrive at a conclusion.

Table 38: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12942)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Female only	N	3713	1024	686	642		6871
	%	54	15	10	9		53
Male only	N	541	1081	0	0		2162
	%	25	50	0	0		17
Mixed	N	2537	477	458	169		3909
	%	65	12	12	4		30

The fact that the Irish corpus is even more skewed against male-only groups than the Jamaican corpus might also partly explain the difference between the two corpora in the distribution of *say* across 'gender groups': While the traditional quotative occurs almost equally as often in male-only and mixed groups in the Jamaican data (77% and 70%), *say* shows the highest rate with mixed groups, followed by female-only groups in the Irish data (65% and 54%). Hence, it accounts for a smaller proportion of quotative

use in male-only groups in this corpus (25%) although it occurs slightly more frequently in male than female speech (61% vs. 58%, see Table 37). The zero quotative does not occur in male-only groups in any of the two corpora. Apart from that, the two datasets differ as the zero quotative is slightly more frequent in mixed than in female-only groups in the Irish but not in the Jamaican data (12% vs. 10% in ICE-Ireland and 6% vs. 11% in ICE-Jamaica). Finally, let us turn to the quotative *go*, which only occurs in the Irish data. It shows the highest rate in male-only groups and much lower rates in female-only and mixed groups. Of all quotatives used in the subcorpus of male-only groups, *go* is also the quotative that accounts for the largest proportion. However, this and the other findings for the factor 'gender groups' in the Irish data should be taken with a pinch of salt due to the small size of the subcorpus of male-only groups.

The last social factor to be discussed here is 'speaker age'. The distribution of quotatives across this factor in the Irish corpus is given in Table 39.[99]

Table 39: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 28779)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	2864	884	626	403		5145
	%	56	17	12	8		18
26-33	N	2396	1616	664	866		6783
	%	35	24	10	13		24
34-41	N	2289	327	0	0		3269
	%	70	10	0	0		11
42-49	N	2452	0	272	0		3814
	%	64	0	7	0		13
50+	N	6108	32	704	0		7163
	%	85	0	10	0		25
No answer given	N	1483	200	281	401		2605
	%	57	8	11	15		9

I mentioned in the discussion of the Jamaican data above that there is wide consensus in the literature that *be like* is predominantly used by young people. Table 13 showed that the Jamaican data support this in that *be like* only occurs in the speech of the first two age groups. Similarly, the new quotative is only used by the first two age groups in ICE-

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[99] As mentioned earlier, the age groups in ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica are not identical.

Ireland. However, *be like* shows the highest rate with speakers aged 26 to 33 in the Irish data (13% vs. 8%), while its rate is higher with speakers aged 17 to 25 in the Jamaican data than with speakers aged 26 to 45 (21% vs. 8%). When we compare the number of tokens, the youngest age group – speakers aged 19-25 in ICE-Ireland and 17-25 in ICE-Jamaica – accounts for almost the same amount of tokens in both corpora (403 vs. 401 tokens in normalised frequencies), while Irish speakers aged 26-33 contribute almost four times as many tokens as Jamaican speakers aged 26-45 (866 vs. 239 tokens in normalised frequencies).[100] Since *be like* is not used by speakers aged 34 and above, the cut-off point for the Irish data seems to lie between the second and third age group. Irish speakers aged 34 and over account for 22.7 per cent of the word total in private dialogues (see Table 5). Thus, ICE-Ireland is, like ICE-Jamaica, skewed towards young speakers although older speakers are nevertheless comparatively well represented and never use *be like*. Due to the broadness of the second Jamaican age group, however, it is impossible to determine the Jamaican cut-off point, as explained above.

In contrast to *be like*, the quotative *say* is reported in most previous studies as the quotative most popular in the speech of older speakers (apart from Barbieri 2007, see discussion above). As in ICE-Jamaica, *say* occurs most frequently in the speech of speakers in the oldest age group in ICE-Ireland, but it also accounts for more than fifty per cent of quotative use in almost all other age groups (apart from speakers aged 26-33). At first glance, however, there are differences between the two corpora regarding the zero quotative. While it shows (almost) the same rate in the oldest age group as it does in the two youngest age groups in ICE-Ireland (10% vs. 10% and 12%), it occurs less frequently in the oldest age group than in the first two age groups in the Jamaican dataset (4% vs. 10% and 11%). So it seems that the zero quotative is more popular among older speakers in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-Jamaica.[101] However, a closer look at the data reveals that an individual speaker accounts for almost 60 per cent of all zero tokens used by speakers aged 50+ in ICE-Ireland. If we exclude this speaker, the zero quotative occurs as frequently with the oldest speakers in ICE-Ireland as in ICE-

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[100] The second Irish age group has one frequent (female) user of *be like*. When the speaker is removed from this age group, the probability of *be like* is 10 per cent, i.e. still slightly higher than in the first age group.

[101] Note, however, that ICE-Jamaica is more skewed in favour of young speakers than ICE-Ireland: Speakers aged 45+ account for merely 8.0 per cent of the word totals in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica, while speakers aged 50+ account for 16.1 per cent of the word totals in the respective Irish text category (see Tables 4 and 5 in Chapter 3).

Jamaica. Thus, one should not generalise from the findings in Table 39 that the zero quotative is especially popular among older Irish speakers. Having discussed the most frequent quotatives occurring in both datasets, let us turn to the quotative *go*, which is restricted to the Irish data. *Go* shows the highest rate with speakers aged 26 to 33. Moreover, its use is almost completely limited to the first three age groups (i.e. up to the age of 41) although it occurs very infrequently in the oldest age group in ICE-Ireland (0%, N = 32). When we compare the distribution of the innovative quotatives, the Irish data suggest that *be like* has lost the battle against *go* in the speech of the young (first and second age group). Since *go* is practically absent in the Jamaican data, the greatest difference in cross-varietal comparison is that *be like* is most frequent in the speech of teens and early tweens in ICE-Jamaica, but not in ICE-Ireland.

4.2.5 Distribution across independent linguistic variables

As in the discussion of the Jamaican data, let us now turn to the linguistic factors 'grammatical person of the quotative', 'tense of the quotative' and 'content of the quote'. Table 40 shows the distribution of the most frequent quotatives in ICE-Ireland across the first factor.

Table 40: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4472)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
First person	N	1168	262	206		1966
	%	59	13	10		44
Third person	N	1750	427	170		2506
	%	70	17	7		56

According to the table, *be like* occurs slightly more often in first- than third-person contexts (10% vs. 7%). This finding is similar to the Jamaican result in that the effect (first over third) is rather weak (see Table 14 and the discussion above). The two corpora differ, however, with respect to the frequency of *it + be like*. While there is just one instance of referential *it* in the Jamaican private dialogues, there are six instances of *it + be like* in the private dialogues in ICE-Ireland. Again, one of these cases is a referential use. The other instances, however, seem to clearly introduce a representation of the speaker's internal dialogue although *be like* is used with the dummy *it*, as in (43).

(43) <S1A-100$B> <#> Oh yeah <,> now I remember <#> No see once when I was in a lift with my brother <,> we were in James 's hospital right
<S1A-100$A> <#> Mhm
<S1A-100$B> <#> And while the lift was going down he opened the doors
<S1A-100$A> <#> What a bastard <#> What the hell did he do that for
<S1A-100$B> <#> He was just like <,> ah <,> Rory <,> I was in here like cos he was in the lift by himself earlier and he did that like <,> and he was just like <,> oh look at this <,> this is so cool
<S1A-100$A> <#> Ah <#> That 's like something my brother would do
<S1A-100$B> <#> <&> laughter </&> And it was just like <,> then the thing <,> the lift stopped and *it was just like* <,> oh no we 're stuck <,> we 're stuck <#> Oh my God (ICE-Ireland, S1A-100)

Hence, existential *it* + *be like* constructions occur in ICE-Ireland, but not in ICE-Jamaica. This result qualifies the two corpora as a testing ground for D'Arcy's (2004) hypothesis that an increased use of existential *it* + *be like* constructions lends itself as an indicator for the grammaticalisation of *be like*. If the hypothesis is true, then the distribution of *be like* across other factors should show that the grammaticalisation process of *be like* is more advanced in ICE-Ireland than ICE-Jamaica.

Turning back to Table 40, it is also interesting to note that quotative *go* and *say* account for a larger proportion of third- than first-person contexts (17% vs. 13% and 70% vs. 59%). With regard to *say*, there is a slightly stronger preference for third- than first-person contexts in ICE-Ireland compared with ICE-Jamaica (70% and 59% vs. 66% and 62%, cf. Table 14). The findings in both corpora, however, support observations regarding the use of *say* in studies on various varieties, although Canadian English differs (see, for example, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999). Also, the observed distribution of *go* in ICE-Ireland is similar to observations in Blyth et al. (1990) for American English, Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) for Canadian English and Winter (2002) for Australian English.

The distribution of quotatives across the second linguistic factor, 'tense of the quotative', is given in Table 41. It reveals that the quotative *be like* occurs most frequently in the simple present in the Irish dataset, followed by the simple past (16% and 13%). This differs from the Jamaican findings above, which show that *be like* is most frequent in the HP (cf. Table 15). Thus, the comparison of the Irish and Jamaican data provides further support for Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) suggestion that linguistic information on tense is locally reorganised as *be like* spreads from American English to other varieties (e.g. due to the tense pattern of its competitor *go*, see also D'Arcy 2013). Interestingly, *be like* in ICE-Ireland operates in the same way as in English English in Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009). So there might have been a parallel

development of local reorganisation in Irish English and English English. This finding is especially noteworthy as the two locales are very close to each other. With regard to *say*, Table 41 shows that it occurs most frequently in the HP and simple past in the Irish data (72% and 70%), whereas it has the highest rates with simple past and simple present in the Jamaican data, according to Table 15 (70% and 69%). Finally, the quotative *go* occurs most frequently in the HP in ICE-Ireland (again, as in English English data in Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009), followed by the simple present (20% and 16%).

Table 41: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3643)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
Present	N	113	36	36		221
	%	51	16	16		6
HP	N	746	206	41		1034
	%	72	20	4		28
Past	N	1672	149	309		2388
	%	70	6	13		66

Table 42 presents the distribution of quotatives across the last language-internal factor, 'content of the quote', in ICE-Ireland. As the table illustrates, the dispreferred context is internal dialogue (10% vs. 90%), and the normalised frequencies of all four quotatives are higher for direct speech than internal dialogue. Moreover, quotatives *say* and *go* occur more frequently with direct speech than internal dialogue when we compare the proportions that each quotative represents of the total number of quotatives introducing direct speech and internal dialogue respectively. The zero quotative and *be like*, on the other hand, are used more often with internal dialogue than direct speech. Hence, *say* and *be like* show the same distributional patterns in cross-varietal comparison (cf. Table 16), while the zero quotative co-occurs more frequently with direct speech in the Jamaican data, but with internal dialogue in the Irish data. Note also that the difference in rates is much higher for *be like* in the Jamaican than in the Irish data (30% vs. 13% and 9% vs. 7%). In sum, both the Jamaican and Irish findings show the traditional effects for *be like* and *say* (see discussion above). Moreover, the use of *go* in Irish English supports findings in previous studies (see, e.g., Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). With regard to the zero quotative, however, there are conflicting findings in

previous research as to its most frequent type of content (see Footnote 59), and the differing results for the Jamaican and Irish data fit this picture.

Table 42: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4893)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Direct speech	N	2774	643	494	314		4425
	%	63	15	11	7		90
Internal dialogue	N	41	51	62	41		468
	%	9	11	13	9		10

4.2.6 Correlations between independent linguistic and social variables
4.2.6.1 The role of the factor 'collection period'

Let us now turn again to possible correlations between linguistic and social factors. First of all, we will take a look at the extent to which the distribution of the quotatives *go* and *be like* across linguistic and social factors varies between collection periods (discussions of *say* and the zero quotative can be found in Appendix 5).[102] Before doing so, let us briefly return to the distribution of quotatives across 'collection period' in Table 35. As mentioned above, *be like* is still infrequent in the first period, and so it might be the case that the distributional patterns we observe for this period in the following cross-tabulations are not representative of the use of *be like* at that time. Hence, any conclusions to be drawn from the distribution of this quotative in the period 1990-94 must remain tentative. With this restriction in mind, let us look at the distribution of quotatives across 'speaker sex' and 'collection period', as given in Table 43. It reveals that *be like* is used almost as frequently in the male as in the female quotative system in ICE-Ireland in the first collection period, when the quotative was at an early stage of development (4% and 3%). This would support Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2009: 91) statement about the gender asymmetry in the diachronic context saying that

> with two notable exceptions, women can be expected to be differentiated from their male peers throughout most stages in the progress of a change: during the immediate inception of a change before men retreat from the incoming form […] and in the very late stage as a change nears completion.

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[102] Note that no Irish data were collected between 1995 and 2001 for the category private dialogues (cf. Table 35).

Table 43: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 18253)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
1990-1994 Female	N	2948	853	684	211		5117
	%	58	17	13	4		28
1990-1994 Male	N	2200	251	503	94		3175
	%	69	8	16	3		17
2002-2005 Female	N	4124	828	483	811		7160
	%	58	12	7	11		39
2002-2005 Male	N	862	754	0	646		2801
	%	31	27	0	23		15

In the period between 2002 and 2005, however, *be like* accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in male than female speech (23% vs. 11%).[103] Hence, the Irish data do not seem to support the predictions either of Ferrara & Bell (1995) or Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004): the former hypothesize that *be like* is used more often by women than men in an initial stage and that this sex difference neutralizes at a later stage, while the latter observe that the 'sex' effect becomes stronger as the frequency of *be like* increases. The two studies not only differ in the publication year but also in the variety from which their data stem. Ferrara & Bell (1995) study quotative use in American English, whereas Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004) based their study on Canadian English data. So these predictions for the development of *be like* may not necessarily apply to other varieties of English (such as Irish English) as Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) suggest in their discussion of Ferrara & Bell's (1995) predictions. If the Irish data are representative of male quotative use between 2002 and 2005, they rather support Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) finding that the direction of the 'sex' effect of *be like* varies across varieties of English.

Similar to *be like*, there is a trend towards male preference for *go* in the Irish data: The quotative occurs more frequently with females in the first collection period (17% vs. 8%), but the effect reverses in the latest period (12% vs. 27%). When we compare the findings in Table 43 with the general findings for 'speaker sex' in Table 37, it is worth noting that the results that we observed in the table above are confirmed

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[103] Note, however, that the Irish corpus is skewed against men (see Table 2 in Chapter 3) and the small raw number of male quotatives in the period 2002 to 2005 (N = 26) might not be representative.

by the findings for the first collection period – which also accounts for the larger word total overall (cf. Table 7).[104]

In addition to 'speaker sex', we will take a look at the factor 'speaker age' and the extent to which its social load varies between collection periods. Table 44 offers the respective distribution.[105]

Table 44: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 50227)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*	Total
1990-1994	N	2998	877	694	249	5158
19-25	%	58	17	13	5	10
1990-1994	N	2584	2197	775	258	6848
26-33	%	38	32	11	4	14
1990-1994	N	356	0	0	0	356
34-41	%	100	0	0	0	1
1990-1994	N	2349	0	294	0	3817
42-49	%	62	0	8	0	8
1990-1994	N	4239	0	1116	0	5355
50+	%	79	0	21	0	11
2002-2005	N	2075	922	231	1306	5072
19-25	%	41	18	5	26	10
2002-2005	N	2341	1449	632	1041	6764
26-33	%	35	21	9	15	13
2002-2005	N	3142	471	0	0	4556
34-41	%	69	10	0	0	9
2002-2005	N	3774	0	0	0	3774
42-49	%	100	0	0	0	8
2002-2005	N	7517	56	393	0	8527
50+	%	88	1	5	0	17

First of all, it is very interesting that *be like* occurs equally as often in the two youngest age groups in the first collection period (5% and 4%) and shows the highest rate in the youngest age group in the period between 2002 and 2005 (26% vs. 15%). Table 39

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[104] The distribution of quotatives across 'collection period' and 'gender groups' is to be found in Appendix 5.
[105] Note that speakers aged 34-41 in the first collection period as well as speakers aged 42-49 in both collection periods are very poorly represented in ICE-Ireland.

above, the table offering the distribution across 'speaker age' in general, on the other hand, showed that *be like* occurs most frequently in the second age group. Thus, we would have missed a central point if we had not looked at variation across the factor 'collection period'. How can this discrepancy be explained? An unequal distribution of word totals seems to account for it: While most tokens of *be like* can be found in the data collected in the third collection period, as Tables 35 and 44 show, data from speakers aged 19-25 in the third collection period account for merely 14.6 per cent of the total number of words produced by speakers of this age (cf. Appendix 2, last table). Therefore, the key is to look at both the factor 'collection period' and 'speaker age' to determine the age group in which the innovative quotative shows the highest rate.[106]

In contrast to *be like*, the quotative *go* does not vary across 'collection period': It is most frequent with speakers aged 26-33 in both periods, just as we observed in Table 39 above. Note, however, that its proportion of all quotatives in the second age group clearly decreases as time passes, while the respective proportion of *be like* increases. So *go* seems to lose ground to *be like* in this age group. What Table 44 also reveals is that the proportion of the zero quotative decreases most visibly between collection periods in the first age group. Given that the proportion of *be like* increases simultaneously, it seems as if the zero quotative made room for *be like*.

In summary, only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the cross-periodical comparisons of the distributions of quotatives across social factors due to the skewedness of the corpus against men and speakers aged 34-49. Despite these limitations, the comparison across 'collection period' turned out to be a useful analytical approach in ICE-Ireland. It revealed that a more fine-grained analysis can provide important insights as in the case of *be like* and the factor 'speaker age'. Moreover, it offers information on the development of the quotative system. For example, it shows which quotative made room for an innovative quotative in a particular social context.

Let us now turn to the cross-tabulations for the linguistic factors. Table 45 presents a cross-tabulation of the factors 'grammatical person' and 'collection period'. This reveals that *be like* is used most frequently in first-person contexts in both collection periods. Note that the preference for first-person contexts even increases

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[106] If we exclude again the frequent users (one speaker in the first age group in the first collection period and one in the second age group in the last collection period), the respective probabilities become 2 and 12 per cent. Thus, this would not noticeably change the results for the second age group.

slightly between these collection periods (from 6% vs. 4% to 15% vs. 11% of all first-/third-person contexts). This supports Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2004, 2007) suggestion about the stability of the 'person' constraint across time. From the diachronic comparison, two further consequences follow: The Irish data tend to refute Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) levelling hypothesis. The slightly increasing preference of *be like* for first-person contexts suggests only vaguely, if indeed at all, a development in the opposite direction. At the same time, the minor preference for first-person contexts lends only weak support to Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's observation of a consistent preference for *be like* with first-person subjects.

Table 45: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'grammatical person' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 9592)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
1990-1994	N	961	260	87		1512
First person	%	64	17	6		16
1990-1994	N	1638	386	79		2228
Third person	%	73	17	4		23
2002-2005	N	1559	267	431		2822
First person	%	55	9	15		29
2002-2005	N	1960	505	342		3030
Third person	%	65	17	11		32

With regard to the use of the quotative *go*, Table 45 reveals that the trend towards a favoured use in third-person contexts becomes stronger as time passes. While *go* accounts for the same proportion of first- and third-person contexts in the first collection period, it shows higher rates with third- than with first-person subjects in the most recent collection period (17% vs. 9%, as in the overall distribution in Table 40).

Moreover, there is considerable variation in the distribution of the new quotatives across the factor 'tense of the quotative', as Table 46 reveals. The quotative *go* shows the highest rates with the HP in the first collection period and the simple present in the third collection period. This explains why *go* turned out to be almost as frequent in the simple present as in the HP in the overall distribution in Table 41. *Be like*, on the other hand, is found equally as often with the simple present and the simple past in the first collection period and does not occur in the HP in this period, while it

does so in the most recent collection period. In the latter period, it shows the highest rates with the simple present, followed by the simple past (as in the overall findings in Table 41).[107]

Table 46: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 7794)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
1990-1994 Present	N	118	24	16		181
	%	65	13	9		2
1990-1994 HP	N	630	228	0		882
	%	71	26	0		11
1990-1994 Past	N	1535	165	157		2008
	%	76	8	8		26
2002-2005 Present	N	104	59	74		297
	%	35	20	25		4
2002-2005 HP	N	965	163	119		1322
	%	73	12	9		17
2002-2005 Past	N	1931	119	594		3104
	%	62	4	19		40

On the factor 'content of the quote', Table 47 shows that quotative *go* favours direct speech in both collection periods of ICE-Ireland, but the difference between direct speech and internal dialogue decreases over time. Thus, we can observe a trend towards neutralisation of the 'content' constraint. In the cross-periodical comparison of the distribution of *be like* across this factor, it becomes obvious that *be like* favours thought over speech in the collection period 2002-2005 (15% vs. 12%; similar to the overall finding in Table 42), while it accounts for slightly more contexts of direct speech than internal dialogue in the early 1990s. Note, however, that *be like* accounts for less than 5 per cent in either case in this period.[108] Thus, the numbers are too small to draw firm conclusions.

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[107] If we remove the trendsetter in the first collection period, the probability of *be like* with the simple past becomes 4 per cent, i.e. the quotative shows the highest rates with the simple present in both collection periods.

[108] Furthermore, if we remove the trendsetter in the first collection period, the probability of *be like* with direct speech becomes 2 per cent, i.e. the quotative occurs equally as often with direct speech and internal dialogue in the first collection period.

Table 47: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 10334)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
1990-1994	N	2480	622	559	142		3921
Direct speech	%	63	16	14	4		38
1990-1994	N	63	39	71	8		354
Internal dialogue	%	18	11	20	2		3
2002-2005	N	3327	683	371	639		5376
Direct speech	%	62	13	7	12		52
2002-2005	N	0	74	45	104		683
Internal dialogue	%	0	11	7	15		7

Studies drawing on data from the 1990s have consistently found that *be like* favours thought over speech, and a reversed effect of this constraint has been observed in data from 1999 or later (see D'Arcy 2004, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004). So Ferrara & Bell (1995) and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999; in their extrapolated version) suggest that the 'content' constraint is one of three measures that predict the diffusion of *be like* in that *be like* introduces internal dialogue at an initial stage and expands into direct speech at a later stage. We can observe that *be like* in Irish English occurs in direct speech in the first collection period (1990-1994), for which the low frequency of *be like* reflects an early stage in the development. However, the data are too limited to allow any conclusions to be drawn. Since *be like* accounts for a smaller proportion of quotative use in direct speech than in internal dialogue in the latest collection period of ICE-Ireland, it seems that the 'content' constraint is operative in the Irish data and is not yet levelled. According to Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) the effect of 'content of the quote' reverses so that *be like* introduces direct speech and internal dialogue alike as it diffuses into the quotative system. The multivariate analysis below will show how strong this 'content' constraint actually is in the Irish data.

In the discussion of the Jamaican data, we looked at the tabulation of *be like* across 'content of quote', 'grammatical person' and 'collection period' as D'Arcy (2004) and Barbieri (2005) observe an interaction of the 'content' and 'person' constraint. While the cross-tabulation in Table 18 revealed that there is an interaction in the Jamaican data in the period between 2002 and 2005, Table 48 shows that *be like* accounts for a larger proportion of first-person direct speech than internal monologue

tokens in the Irish data of both collection periods. Hence, the findings suggest that the usual domain of *be like* as a quotative introducing first-person internal monologues does not apply to ICE-Ireland in a straightforward way. Furthermore, the findings reveal that *be like* only introduces direct speech, and not internal dialogue, in third-person contexts in the first collection period. Yet, its typical domain of internal dialogue seems to apply to Irish English as *be like* is the only quotative used to introduce internal dialogue in third-person contexts in the most recent collection period (2002 to 2005).[109]

Table 48: Crosstabulation of *be like*: 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in the period 1990-1994 and 2002-2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3505 in 1990-1994 and N = 5494 in 2002-2005)

		Direct speech	Internal dialogue
First person contexts (1990-1994)	N	79	8
	%	7	3
First person contexts (2002-2005)	N	371	45
	%	18	8
Third person contexts (1990-1994)	N	79	-
	%	3	
Third person contexts (2002-2005)	N	282	59
	%	10	100

4.2.6.2 The role of social factors in the distribution across linguistic factors

Let us now turn to a discussion of the extent to which 'speaker sex', 'gender groups' and 'speaker age' influence the distribution of *be like* across linguistic factors (discussions of other quotatives as well as less striking findings of *be like* can be found in Appendix 5). Firstly, there is a clear difference between female and male speech with regard to the factor 'content of the quote' (see Table 49): *Be like* accounts for the same proportion of direct speech and internal dialogue in female speech, whereas it shows a

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[109] Even if we remove the trendsetter in the first collection period and the frequent user in the third collection period, the findings would not change in favour of an interactional effect. Then, the probability of *be like* with direct speech in the first collection period becomes 3 per cent in first-person contexts and 2 per cent in third-person contexts, respectively. In the most recent collection period, the probability of *be like* in first-person contexts becomes 14 per cent for direct speech and 7 per cent for internal dialogue, respectively.

higher rate with internal dialogue than direct speech among men.[110] Hence, the overall finding that the new quotative is slightly favoured in internal dialogue is strongly influenced by the equally high rates of *be like* with direct speech and internal dialogue among women. The fact that the quotative introduces internal dialogue and direct speech alike also suggests that the use of *be like* by Irish women can be described as being at an advanced stage according to Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2004, 2007) proposal. In cross-varietal comparison with the Jamaican data, the conclusion to be drawn is that there are differences between the two sexes in the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'content' in the Irish but not in the Jamaican data (see Appendix 4, Table A4.7).

Table 49: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'content of the quote' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 8247)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Female	N	3086	719	530	366		4924
Direct speech	%	63	15	11	7		60
Female	N	52	65	72	39		549
Internal dialogue	%	10	12	13	7		7
Male	N	1630	365	365	122		2604
Direct speech	%	63	14	14	5		32
Male	N	0	0	24	49		170
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	14	29		2

Similarly, there is a striking difference between gender groups with regard to the factor 'content of the quote' (see Table 50): The 'content' constraint (thought over speech) applies for mixed groups (like in Table 42) but not in female-only groups, in which the new quotative shows a slightly higher rate with direct speech than internal dialogue (10% vs. 8%).[111] Hence, the cross-tabulation with the factor 'gender groups' provides further support for the hypothesis that the 'content' constraint is levelling among female speakers. In contrast to the Irish data, the Jamaican findings (see Appendix 4, Table A4.9) revealed that the effect of the factor 'content of the quote' is stable for *be like*.

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[110] Even if we exclude the two female speakers who use *be like* more frequently than other women, the findings would not change in favour of a higher rate with internal dialogue than direct speech.
[111] Again, if we exclude the two female speakers who use *be like* more frequently than other women, the findings would not change in favour of a higher rate with internal dialogue than direct speech.

Table 50: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'content of the quote' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12135)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Female only	N	3365	871	577	544		5673
Direct speech	%	59	15	10	10		47
Female only	N	54	87	98	54		708
Internal dialogue	%	8	12	14	8		6
Male only	N	541	1081	0	0		2162
Direct speech	%	25	50	0	0		18
Male only	N	0	0	0	0		0
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	0	0		0
Mixed	N	2278	428	428	109		3333
Direct speech	%	68	13	13	3		27
Mixed	N	30	20	30	30		259
Internal dialogue	%	12	8	12	12		2

Moreover, there is variation in the distribution of *be like* across the factors 'speaker age' and 'content of the quote'. Table 51 shows that *be like* is used almost equally as often for internal dialogue and direct speech in the youngest age group (similar to Table 42), while it accounts for a larger proportion of direct speech than internal dialogue in the second age group. This finding is striking, especially as Table A4.12 (Appendix 4) reveals the same result for the Jamaican data. As the conclusion needs to remain tentative in the Jamaican case, the question arises as to whether Table 51 gives a true picture. The attentive reader might remember that, in the discussion of the cross-tabulation of 'collection period' and 'speaker age' above (see Table 44), I point out that the key is to look at both of these factors. When we add 'collection period' as an additional factor, we find the following: *be like* does not occur with internal dialogue in the first and second age group in the collection period between 1990 and 1994, in which its frequency is generally low. This is interesting as it contrasts with what is usually reported in previous research but it should also be taken into account that the low number of *be like* tokens might not be representative. In the latest collection period, the findings confirm those in Table 51: *be like* shows the highest rates with direct speech in the second age group (17% vs. 10%), while it occurs clearly more frequently (i.e. not as weakly as in Table 51) with internal dialogue than with direct

speech among the youngest speakers (43% vs. 26%).[112] Thus, the data suggest that Irish speakers aged 26-33 – who are probably the first generation of *be like* users in this variety – do not use *be like* with the functional loading that is traditionally reported in North American as well as other varieties of English (e.g. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999). It rather seems that *be like* entered the Irish system as a quotative introducing direct speech and that the use of *be like* with internal dialogue started at a later point in time.

Table 51: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'content of the quote' and 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 26680)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	2561	783	515	336		4396
Direct speech	%	58	18	12	8		16
19-25	N	78	45	101	34		358
Internal dialogue	%	22	13	28	9		1
26-33	N	1963	1357	606	693		4993
Direct speech	%	39	27	12	14		19
26-33	N	0	173	58	87		1068
Internal dialogue	%	0	16	5	8		4
34-41	N	2180	218	0	0		2833
Direct speech	%	77	8	0	0		11
34-41	N	0	0	0	0		218
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	0	0		1
42-49	N	2179	0	272	0		2452
Direct speech	%	89	0	4	0		9
42-49	N	0	0	0	0		1090
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	0	0		4
50+	N	5852	32	704	0		6715
Direct speech	%	87	0	10	0		25
50+	N	0	0	0	0		192
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	0	0		1
nag	N	1282	200	281	361		2365
	%	54	8	12	15		9

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[112] Note that neither an exclusion of the frequent user of *be like* in the first age group (collection period 1990-1994) nor in the second age group (2002-2005) would change the observed effect. This is independent of the inclusion of 'collection period' as an additional factor. On the contrary, the exclusion of the frequent user in the first age group (not considering 'collection period' as an additional factor) would lead to a stronger preference of *be like* for internal dialogue than direct speech (9% vs. 5% compared to 9% vs. 8% in Table 51).

Table 52: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 20180)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	123	11	45		213
Present	%	58	5	21		1
19-25	N	403	358	0		783
HP	%	51	46	0		4
19-25	N	1812	224	358		2561
Past	%	71	9	14		13
26-33	N	144	115	58		433
Present	%	33	27	13		2
26-33	N	260	202	202		779
HP	%	33	26	26		4
26-33	N	1328	115	577		2598
Past	%	51	4	22		13
34-41	N	109	218	0		327
Present	%	33	67	0		2
34-41	N	218	0	0		218
HP	%	100	0	0		1
34-41	N	1526	109	0		1962
Past	%	78	6	0		10
42-49	N	272	0	0		272
Present	%	100	0	0		1
42-49	N	272	0	0		272
HP	%	100	0	0		1
42-49	N	1634	0	0		2179
Past	%	75	0	0		11
50+	N	96	0	0		96
Present	%	100	0	0		0
50+	N	2686	0	0		2750
HP	%	98	0	0		14
50+	N	2622	32	0		2814
Past	%	93	1	0		14
nag	N	1483	200	401		2605
	%	57	8	15		9

There is also variation in the distribution of the new quotatives across the factors 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker age' (see Table 52).[113] As in the general findings (see Table 41), *be like* occurs most frequently with the simple present followed by the simple past in the first age group, whereas it has the highest rate with the HP followed by the simple past in the second age group (note that these findings do not change when we add 'collection period' as an additional factor).[114] Since the youngest speakers never use the new quotative with the HP, the use of *be like* with this tense form in the Irish data is the opposite of what we observe in the Jamaican data, in which *be like* shows the highest rate with the HP among the youngest speakers (see Appendix 4, Table A4.14).

In conclusion, when we compare the extent that the social factor 'speaker age' influences the distribution of *be like* across linguistic factors in the Irish and Jamaican data, it is interesting that there is one collective effect on *be like* (the 'content' constraint), while others take opposite directions (the 'person' constraint for speakers aged 26 and above – see Table 20 and Appendix 5, Table A5.13 – and the 'tense' constraint).

4.2.6.3 Correlations between independent linguistic variables

A further question is whether or not there is a collective trend regarding the influence of linguistic factors on each other. For example, it is worth noting that the factor 'tense of the quotative' influences the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'grammatical person' (discussions of other quotatives as well as less striking findings of *be like* can be found in Appendix 5). As in the Jamaican data, *be like* in the simple past occurs in first- and third-person contexts alike (see Tables 21 and 53). In contrast to the Jamaican data, *be like* in the simple present also deviates from the general preference for the quotative with first-person subjects by showing the highest rate with third-person subjects. Moreover, it is interesting that *be like* in first-person contexts – i.e. with its preferred type of person – shows the highest rate with the simple past and the lowest with the simple present, whereas the quotative co-occurs most frequently with the simple present if we do not consider co-variation with other factors (see Table 41).

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[113] I refrain from discussing the quotative use in the third and fourth age group (speakers aged 34-49) due to the small size of the two subcorpora. Also, the oldest age group will be excluded from the discussion, as its quotative use is almost completely restricted to *say*.

[114] Note that neither an exclusion of the frequent user of *be like* in the first age group nor in the second age group would change the observed effect.

Table 53: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3500)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
HP First person	N	118	15	21		180
	%	66	9	11		5
Past First person	N	859	82	180		1302
	%	66	6	14		37
Present First person	N	36	5	5		57
	%	64	9	9		2
HP Third person	N	612	185	21		834
	%	73	22	2		24
Past Third person	N	756	57	129		1019
	%	74	6	13		29
Present Third person	N	57	15	15		108
	%	52	14	14		3

Table 54: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3453)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
HP Direct speech	N	736	201	31		998
	%	74	20	3		29
Past Direct speech	N	1585	139	262		2074
	%	76	7	13		60
Present Direct speech	N	62	21	21		113
	%	55	18	18		3
HP Internal dialogue	N	0	0	10		21
	%	0	0	50		1
Past Internal dialogue	N	31	5	31		237
	%	13	2	13		7
Present Internal dialogue	N	5	0	0		10
	%	50	0	0		0

Concerning the cross-tabulation of the factors 'tense of the quotative' and 'content of the quote', there is no striking influence of the factors on each other apart from the fact that *be like* with the simple past introduces direct speech and internal dialogue alike, i.e. does not precede internal dialogue more frequently than direct

speech (see Table 54). Other deviations from the overall findings are caused by low frequencies. Similarly, the discussion of the Jamaican data above (see also Appendix 4, Table A4.15) revealed that there is no distinguishable influence of these two factors on each other.

In conclusion, the only collective trend regarding the influence of linguistic factors on each other is that *be like* in the simple past occurs with first- and third-person subjects alike in both datasets, while other correlations in the Irish data deviate from those in the Jamaican data (see also Appendix 5, Table A5.14).

4.2.6.4 Correlations between independent social variables

Finally, let us turn to correlations between social factors (again, further discussions can be found in Appendix 5). Table 55 suggests that there is a difference between the two sexes in the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'speaker age'. However, the latter seems to be the result of an unequal distribution of word totals, as mentioned in the discussion of Table 44. If we use 'collection period' as an additional factor, men and women alike show the highest rate with the youngest speakers in the most recent collection period (like in Table 44 and in female speech in the Jamaican data).[115] Thus, the factor 'speaker sex' has no influence on the distribution of the quotative across the factor 'speaker age' in the Irish data.

Looking at this data from the other perspective, i.e. focusing on the influence of 'speaker age' on the distribution across 'speaker sex', Table 55 reveals that *be like* occurs most frequently with men in the youngest age group and, like in the Jamaican data, with women in the second youngest age group.[116] Thus, the balanced sex distribution in Table 37 can be explained by a higher frequency among young men and slightly older women. There is also a correlation between 'speaker sex' and 'age' in the use of *go* in the Irish data. Interestingly, the pattern for women is the polar opposite to that for men with regard to the innovative quotatives. In contrast to *be like*, women in the youngest age group as well as men in the second age group account for the largest proportion of *go*.[117] This means that, again, the overall finding in Table 37, i.e. a slight

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[115] Note, however, that the corpus is skewed in favour of women, especially in the collection period 2002 to 2005.

[116] If we use 'collection period' as an additional factor, the same finding can be observed for male and female speakers in the most recent collection period. However, if we exclude the frequent female user of *be like* aged 26-45 in this period, the difference in rates diminishes so that *be like* occurs only slightly more frequently in female than male speech.

[117] The same finding can be observed in the collection period 2002 to 2005 but see Footnote 115.

preference for *go* by women, is the result of different preferences in different age groups. The findings in Table 55 should, however, be treated with caution as with the Jamaican findings in Table 22 as information on speaker age is missing for a considerable number of the Irish tokens.

Table 55: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 49848)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	3350	1058	661	426		5892
Female	%	57	18	11	7		12
26-33	N	2555	1545	631	915		6939
Female	%	37	22	9	13		14
34-41	N	2872	538	0	0		4307
Female	%	67	13	0	0		9
42-49	N	2349	0	294	0		3817
Female	%	62	0	8	0		8
50+	N	6297	39	821	0		7549
Female	%	83	1	11	0		15
19-25	N	1312	328	516	328		2765
Male	%	47	12	19	12		6
26-33	N	680	2380	1020	340		5100
Male	%	13	47	20	7		10
34-41	N	1387	0	0	0		1665
Male	%	83	0	0	0		3
42-49	N	3774	0	0	0		3774
Male	%	100	0	0	0		8
50+	N	5259	0	175	0		5435
Male	%	97	0	3	0		11
nag	N	1483	200	281	401		2605
	%	57	8	11	15		5

Since the factor 'speaker sex' has no influence on the distribution of *be like* across the factor 'speaker age', it is not surprising that the factor 'gender groups' also has no influence (see Table 56).[118] Again, using 'collection period' as an additional

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[118] Here, I also refrain from discussing the findings for male-only groups due to the small size of the subcorpus (1,850 words). However, the frequencies and percentages are included in the following tables for completeness.

factor would result in higher rates for *be like* with the youngest than with the second youngest age group in female-only and mixed groups (like in ICE-Jamaica).

Table 56: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'speaker age' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 56741)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	3452	1134	869	628		6565
Female only	%	53	17	13	10		12
26-33	N	2676	1784	730	1013		7621
Female only	%	35	23	10	13		13
34-41	N	3562	712	0	0		5462
Female only	%	65	13	0	0		10
42-49	N	3472	0	579	0		6366
Female only	%	55	0	9	0		11
50+	N	6443	0	425	0		7355
Female only	%	88	0	6	0		13
19-25	N	541	1081	0	0		2162
Male only	%	25	50	0	0		4
19-25	N	2428	650	434	217		3990
Mixed	%	61	16	11	5		7
26-33	N	1704	1203	501	501		4710
Mixed	%	36	26	11	11		8
34-41	N	1208	0	0	0		1410
Mixed	%	86	0	0	0		2
42-49	N	1544	0	0	0		1544
Mixed	%	100	0	0	0		3
50+	N	5736	67	1012	0		6951
Mixed	%	83	1	15	0		12
nag	N	1483	200	281	401		2605
	%	57	9	11	15		5

When we turn the focus to the influence of the factor 'speaker age' on the distribution of quotatives across 'gender groups', *be like* (with and without 'collection period' as an additional factor) shows the highest rate in female-only groups in the youngest age group (as in the Jamaican data and in the general findings in Table 38),

whereas it occurs in female-only and mixed groups alike in the second age group.[119] However, as mentioned before, findings for the factor 'gender groups' should be taken with a pinch of salt due to the limited data on male-only groups.

Lastly, let us turn to the distribution of quotatives across 'speaker sex' in mixed groups in the Irish data. Table 57 shows that there is little variation between the two sexes in mixed groups: *say*, *go* and the zero quotative occur in male and female speech alike.[120] In contrast, *be like* occurs more frequently with male than with female speakers (see also the discussion in Chapter 4.2.4). The latter finding differs from the Jamaican data, in which the innovative quotative occurs most frequently with women in mixed groups and far less frequently with male speech than in the Irish data (see Table 24). This means that although the small size of the subcorpus of male-only groups does not allow conclusions about this type of gender group in the Irish data, the findings in mixed groups show that Irish men use *be like* at least in mixed groups to a large extent. Furthermore, the Irish data reveal that the zero quotative occurs frequently in female speech in mixed groups, whereas it does not occur in female speech in this type of gender group in the Jamaican data despite its frequent occurrence in female-only groups. Thus, the only common trend in cross-varietal comparison is that the traditional quotative *say* occurs in male and female speech alike in mixed groups.

Table 57: Distribution of *say, go,* zero and *be like* across 'speaker sex' in mixed groups in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 7554)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Mixed Female	N	2914	573	491	131		4420
	%	66	13	11	3		59
Mixed Male	N	1962	331	408	229		3134
	%	63	11	13	7		41

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[119] Within the most recent collection period, *be like* is distributed in the following way: 31 per cent in the first and 15 per cent in the second age group in female-only groups as well as 21 per cent in the first and 16 per cent in the second age group in mixed groups. If we exclude the frequent user of *be like* in the second age group in female-only groups in the period 2002-2005, the rate becomes 11 per cent (instead of 15%), i.e. *be like* then occurs more frequently in mixed than in female-only groups in the second age group in the most recent collection period. If we do not consider 'collection period' as an additional factor, an exclusion of the frequent female users of *be like* (one aged 19-25, the other aged 26-33) would result in equally high rates for mixed and female-only groups in both age groups.

[120] If we remove the frequent female user of the zero quotative in the Irish data, the probability of the zero quotative in female speech in mixed groups becomes 7 per cent, i.e. the zero quotative then shows the highest rate with male speakers. Nevertheless, Irish women use the zero quotative to a large extent in mixed groups.

4.2.7 Multivariate analysis

In this chapter, we will turn to the results of the variable rule analyses based on the Irish data. As in Chapter 4.1.7, tables will be produced for the quotatives *be like* and *say*. In addition, the factors conditioning the use of *go* and the zero quotative will be presented and discussed. In parallel to the chapter on the Jamaican data, there are four levels of analysis: Starting with the results of the linguistic and social factors that contribute to the probability of the linguistic variables in the Irish private dialogues in general, we then proceed to analyses limited to data stemming from the last collection period (2002-2005), fine-graining these to speakers up to the age of 33. In contrast to the multivariate analyses based on the Jamaican data, the last set of analyses will not be limited to the most frequent *be like* users as there is not sufficient Irish data for this.[121] Instead, the results of the analyses based on data from speakers aged 19-33 in the most recent collection period will be compared with results of analyses based on data from speakers aged 19-33 in the first collection period. Therefore, we will look briefly at the constraints that operate on different quotatives in the Irish private dialogues in general, continue with comparisons between the Irish and Jamaican data in the latest collection period and finally look at possible shifts across time in the constraint rankings of the investigated Irish quotatives. This allows us to see what happened in the Irish quotative system as *be like* increased in frequency.

As Table 7 in Chapter 3 revealed, no data were collected in the second collection period in relation to the Irish private dialogues but the corpus offers sufficient data on Irish speakers aged 19-33 in the first collection period of the private dialogues (84,127 words). Table 35 in the distributional analysis showed that *be like* is still infrequently used in the early 1990s, i.e. that it has only just entered the quotative system. Thus, the data offer us a glimpse into the early years of *be like* use in Irish English and, following a break of seven years, a view of a more developed stage of *be like* (at least regarding frequency). Whether or not early onset constraints still apply in this most recent collection period will be resolved by the results of the variable rule analyses presented below. Then we will also see the extent to which the constraint rankings in this period

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[121] *Be like* is more equally distributed across 'speaker sex' and 'speaker age' in the Irish than in the Jamaican data in the most recent collection period. There is only a rather small number of *be like* tokens stemming from female speakers in the first age group in the most recent collection period of the Irish private dialogues (N = 12). Furthermore, an analysis based on data from female speakers in the second age group (N = 27) is problematic as two of the four factor groups comprise fewer than thirty tokens in one of their categories (e.g. mixed groups: 16 contexts).

differ from those observed in the private dialogues as a whole and the extent to which they align with the findings in Jamaican English and in other varieties of English (drawing on previous studies). As mentioned in the chapter on Jamaican English, cross-varietal comparisons will be based on the constraint hierarchies rather than the significance of factors.

4.2.7.1 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in the Irish private dialogues

Table 58 displays the factors constraining the use of *be like*, *say*, *go* and the zero quotative in the Irish private dialogues as a whole.[122] The factor group 'collection period' was excluded from the analysis because the proportion that *be like* represents of all quotatives is below five per cent in the first collection period. It was, consequently, not considered in the analysis of *say*, *go* and the zero quotative either. Furthermore, as *be like* accounts for less than five per cent of the HP contexts, this category was eliminated from the analysis of the factor group 'tense of the quotative' in the model for *be like*. In the case of *say* and *go*, there is a sufficient number of applications in the HP contexts but the model for *go* including a three-way distinction turned out to be not significantly better than a model with a combined category of the simple present and HP in the likelihood ratio test (chi-square value = 2.02, df = 1, not significant at .05). Therefore, the analysis presented for *go* includes a two-way distinction. Again, the factor group 'speaker age' was deliberately excluded, as the analysis is based on data from both collection periods. Finally, the decision in favour of 'speaker sex' and against 'gender groups' or vice versa was based on the following reasons: In the case of *be like*, more than 95 per cent of the tokens in the categories mixed groups and male-only groups are non-applications. Hence, using the factor group 'speaker sex' makes more sense. In the case of the zero quotative, the model including the factor group 'gender groups' did not produce an error, while the model with 'speaker sex' did. For *say* and *go*, the analysis with 'gender groups' turned out to be superior on the basis of the log-likelihood ratio and the number of small cells. Let us now turn to the results.

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[122] *Existential it + be like* constructions have been included in the multivariate analyses in some previous studies (see, for example, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, D'Arcy 2004 and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2005) and excluded from others (see, for example, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009 for the factors 'content' and 'person' and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004). As *existential it + be like* constructions are infrequent in the private dialogues of ICE-Ireland (5 tokens) and as their proportion "does not near categoricity" (D'Arcy 2004: 329), they were not excluded from the following analyses (but see Appendix 5 for alternative tables for 2002-2005 data).

Table 58: Factors constraining the use of *be like*, *say* and *go* in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland*

	be like			say			go			zero		
input S	.13 .000			.69 .000			.10 .044			.11 -		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N			
Tense												
Past	.49	13	464	.54	70	464	.39	6	464			
Present	.56	16	43	.47	72	201						
HP				.27	51	43						
Present/HP							.70	19	244			
range	7			27			31					
Person												
First	[.53]	11	382	.49	59	382	.51	13	382			
Third	[.48]	7	487	.51	70	487	.49	17	487			
range				2			2					
Content												
Speech	[.50]	7	860	.57	63	860	.51	15	860	[.50]	11	860
Thought	[.53]	9	91	.06	9	91	.40	11	91	[.55]	13	91
range				51			11					
Sex												
Female	.50	7	901									
Male	.53	7	127									
range	3											
Gender groups												
Mixed				.57	65	393	[.46]	12	393	[.53]	12	393
Female only				.46	54	631	[.53]	15	631	[.48]	10	631
range				11								
Total N			1028			1028			1028			1028

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

The factor groups 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker sex' are significant in the column *be like*. Of these two, 'tense of the quotative' was added first in the regression and has the greatest range, i.e. it is the strongest constraint. The rankings are as follows: *Be like* is slightly favoured with the simple present, while the simple past has a neutral effect. Furthermore, it is slightly more likely to be used by Irish men although the latter is not visible in the distributional results (7% vs. 7%).[123] Note, however, that the factor weights of both categories are close to the neutral value of .50 on level 1 of the analysis

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[123] According to Schönweitz (1999), this is often caused by the difference in numbers between two factors (e.g. male and female). Here, for example, the number of female quotatives is 901 and the number of male quotatives is 127.

(female .50, male .49), and the difference in factor weights increases slightly as more factor groups are added in the regression. Thus, more data are needed to confirm a 'sex' effect in the Irish private dialogues. Although not significant, *be like* is slightly favoured in first-person contexts and with internal dialogue. The factor weights in the latter factor group are again very close, hovering around .50.

In the analysis of factors conditioning the use of *say* in the private dialogues, all factors were selected as significant although the 'gender groups' effect is rather weak (mixed over female-only) and the 'person' effect is even weaker (third over first). However, *say* is clearly disfavoured in HP contexts as well as with internal dialogue. The latter is the strongest constraint.

On the use of *go*, there are clear overlaps with the two above-mentioned quotatives in relation to the favoured contexts. In all three analyses, the 'person' effect is rather weak.[124] Similar to *say*, the quotative *go* is also disfavoured with internal dialogue (although not as strongly). Moreover, it shares with *be like* the tendency to be favoured in present tense contexts. All but the factor group 'gender groups' are significant (female-only over mixed), and 'tense of the quotative' is the strongest.

In the last column, which shows the factors conditioning the use of the zero quotative, none of the factor groups was selected as significant. The zero quotative is slightly favoured with internal dialogue and by mixed groups. Thus, it shares with *be like* a marginal pragmatic effect and with *say* the same effect of the factor 'gender groups'.

4.2.7.2 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in the Irish private dialogues

With these constraint rankings in the private dialogues in mind, let us now focus on the data collected in the period between 2002 and 2005. In contrast to the private dialogues as a whole, *be like* accounts for more than five per cent of the HP contexts in this dataset. However, as the total number of tokens in simple present contexts is as low as 20, this category was recoded and combined with HP contexts into one category both in the analysis of *be like* and *say*. *Go*, on the other hand, accounts for less than five per cent of the simple past contexts in the dataset restricted to the latest collection period.

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[124] Note that the factor weight of *go* with third-person subjects is higher than with first-person subjects on level 1, but the constraint ranking changes on level 2 when the factor group 'tense of the quotative' is added, suggesting that there is an interaction between these two factor groups.

For that reason, the factor group 'tense of the quotative' was excluded from the analysis. In the factor group 'speaker age', the use of *be like* is limited to speakers up to the age of 33. Any of the age groups beyond this age produced a knockout. The analysis of *say* includes three categories (the first two age groups plus the oldest one) because the total number of tokens is so low in the remaining two age groups 34-41 and 42-49 that each of them accounts for less than five per cent of all contexts in this factor group. The same applies to the analyses of the zero quotative and *go*. In the latter case, the oldest age group was additionally excluded due to the very low number of applications (N = 1, 0.7%). As for the question "'speaker sex' or 'gender groups'", the model with the factor group 'gender groups' presented here for *be like* turned out to provide a better fit than the corresponding model with 'speaker sex' regarding the log-likelihood ratio, the number of small cells and the size of errors. Also, the same factor group produced a superior model of *say* on the basis of the number of small cells and the size of errors (although it lost out minimally regarding the log-likelihood ratio and input). Concerning *go*, the opposite is true in that the model including 'speaker sex' provided a better fit in relation to the log-likelihood ratio and the size of errors. Finally, the factor group 'content of the quote' was excluded from the analysis of the factors conditioning *say* as the category internal dialogue produced a knockout. Unfortunately, the private dialogues restricted to the collection period between 2002 and 2005 do not include sufficient data to run a separate analysis of the zero quotative. It is therefore not included in this set of analyses or in the more restricted set.[125]

Table 59 below shows in the column on *be like* that the same factors are significant as in the table based on the private dialogues as a whole: 'tense of the quotative' and the social factors. 'Speaker age' is the strongest constraint here. Let us compare the constraint hierarchies with both the Irish private dialogues in general and the Jamaican findings in the same collection period. First, *be like* is slightly favoured in the simple past in the Irish data from the last collection period, which differs from both the finding in the private dialogues as a whole (simple present slightly over simple past) and the Jamaican finding in this collection period (HP strongly over simple present/past). Regarding 'grammatical person', the findings are very similar in the three

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[125] The number of tokens of the zero quotative is not only rather low in this collection period (N = 28), there is also a knockout for male contexts and, in two of the remaining three factor groups, the majority of contexts are not variable, i.e. the zero quotative accounts for less than five per cent of the contexts in these categories.

models in that the factor weights of both first- and third-person subjects are close to the neutral value of .50. Furthermore, the results in Table 59 again show that 'content of the quote' is a marginal factor group in Irish English, while the results in the respective Jamaican model revealed that the new quotative is clearly favoured with internal dialogue.

Table 59: Factors constraining the use of *be like*, *say* and *go* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland*

	be like			*say*			*go*		
input S	.22 .000			.65 .009			.19 .010		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense									
Past	.53	19	209	.53	62	209			
Present & HP	.44	12	109	.44	66	109			
range	9			9					
Person									
First	[.52]	15	190	.47	55	190	.40	10	190
Third	[.48]	11	204	.53	65	204	.59	17	204
range				6			19		
Content									
Speech	[.50]	12	362				[.51]	13	362
Thought	[.51]	15	46				[.44]	11	46
range									
Sex									
Female							.49	12	415
Male							.66	27	26
range							17		
Gender groups									
Mixed	.42	10	98	.62	65	98			
Female only	.52	13	343	.47	53	343			
range	10			15					
Age									
19-25	.61	26	66	.26	41	66	.44	18	66
26-33	.46	15	182	.28	35	182	.52	21	182
50+				.84	88	152			
range	15			58			8		
Total N			441			441			441

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

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The findings also confirm the observation in the distributional analysis of *be like* in the Irish data that the key is to look at both the factor 'collection period' and 'speaker age' to determine the age group in which the innovative quotative is most likely to occur. As mentioned above, an unequal distribution of word totals seems to account for the finding that *be like* is favoured by the youngest age group in the dataset restricted to the last collection period, while it shows the highest rate with the second age group in the private dialogues as a whole (see Table 39). The favoured use by the youngest age group in the most recent collection period aligns with the Jamaican finding in the same collection period.[126] Parallel to the Jamaican findings, *be like* is also slightly favoured in female-only groups in the Irish data from this collection period.

In the analysis of factors conditioning the use of *say*, all factor groups are significant, as in the Irish private dialogues in general. Furthermore, the constraint hierarchies are the same as above, as one would expect in a fully established grammatical construction. Note, however, that the highest factor weight in the factor group 'tense of the quotative' (simple past .53) is not associated with the highest frequency (simple present & HP 66%). Considered by itself, the present tense contexts show the highest factor weight and the ranking changes when other factors are added in the regression. Thus, there seems to be an interaction (possibly with 'speaker age') and conclusions about the 'tense' constraint must remain tentative. In the Jamaican data we noticed an interaction of the factors 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote'. If we consider the former factor group by itself, then the constraint rankings of the two linguistic factors and the factor group 'gender groups' in the Jamaican data parallel those in Irish English in the same period. A comparison of the 'age' effect, on the other hand, is difficult as the categories in the factor group 'speaker age' not only differ between the two corpora but data from speakers older than 45 years are also too limited in the Jamaican private dialogues in this particular period. In the Irish data, 'speaker age' is the strongest constraint and *say* is most likely to be used by speakers aged 50+.

In sum, there are many similarities between the Irish and Jamaican data in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 regarding the use of *say* and *be like*. However, the two varieties differ clearly in the strength of the 'content' constraint on *be like* and,

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[126] Note that the age groups in ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica are not identical (see Tables 4 and 5 in Chapter 3).

apparently, in the 'tense' constraint on this quotative (although sufficient Jamaican data would be needed to confirm this finding).

How does the use of *go* differ from the use of *be like*? Are these two quotatives competitors or do they have different profiles? Table 59 reveals that 'grammatical person of the quotative', 'speaker sex' and 'speaker age' were selected as significant in the analysis of factors conditioning *go*. The factor group 'speaker age' was added first in the regression, but 'grammatical person of the quotative' has the largest range. In both factor groups, the use of *be like* differs from the use of *go*: While 'grammatical person' has an almost neutral effect on *be like* (first-person subjects slightly favour it), third-person subjects favour *go* (this effect, however, is marginal in the data from the private dialogues as a whole). Moreover, *be like* is most likely to be used by the youngest speakers in the most recent collection period, whereas *go* is favoured by the second age group. Another difference between the two quotatives is that factor weights in the factor group 'content of the quote' are close to (or on) the median in the case of *be like*, while *go* is favoured with direct speech in Tables 58 and 59. Thus, we can conclude that *be like* and *go* have different profiles in the Irish private dialogues stemming from the last collection period. In contrast to *be like* and *say*, the factor group 'speaker sex' was included in the analysis of *go*. It seems that male speakers favour *go* in Irish English but more male contexts are needed to confirm this hypothesis based on a total of 26 tokens.

We will now take a look at the factors conditioning the use of quotatives in the speech of speakers up to the age of thirty-three in the most recent collection period in order to detect differences to and similarities with the constraint rankings presented in this section and in previous research.

4.2.7.2.1 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in speakers up to the age of 33 in the collection period between 2002 and 2005

The methodological details for Table 60 are as follows: Since there are just 19 male contexts in total in this dataset limited to speakers aged 19-33, I excluded the factor group 'speaker sex' and included 'gender groups' in all three analyses. Furthermore, I combined the categories simple present and HP into one category because of the low number of tokens that each of them comprises in this dataset (N = 13 and N = 31). Finally, the factor group 'content of the quote' was excluded from the analysis of the factors conditioning *say* because the category internal dialogue produced a knockout.

Table 60: Factors constraining the use of *be like, say* and *go* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (first and second age group only)*

	be like			*say*			*go*		
input S	.25 .000			.41 .009			.08 .000		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense									
Past	.51	29	119	.55	47	119	.37	5	119
Present & HP	.47	25	44	.38	30	44	.80	30	44
range	*4*			*17*			*43*		
Person									
First	[.53]	22	115	[.49]	38	115	.39	15	115
Third	[.47]	18	104	[.52]	40	104	.62	32	104
range							*23*		
Content									
Speech	[.51]	20	189				[.51]	23	189
Thought	[.45]	16	37				[.43]	14	37
Gender groups									
Mixed	[.46]	18	56	.59	46	56	[.51]	23	56
Female only	[.51]	18	192	.47	33	192	[.50]	20	192
range				*12*					
Age									
19-25	.58	26	66	[.50]	41	66	[.53]	18	66
26-33	.47	15	182	[.50]	35	182	[.49]	21	182
range	*11*								
Total N			248			248			248

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

Table 60 shows that only 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker age' were selected as significant in the column on *be like*. The former was added first in the analysis, while the latter has a larger range. Thus, fewer factors are significant here than in the previous table. It is likely that this is caused by the low total of tokens considered in this model (248 vs. 441 above). Let us then focus on the constraint rankings: All but the constraint hierarchy of the factor group 'content of the quote' are identical with those listed above.[127] Although the factor weights in the latter factor group are again close to the median, internal dialogue slightly disfavours *be like*. This finding is – despite the weakness of the effect – striking and differs clearly from the Jamaican result

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[127] Note that the slightly favoured use of *be like* by female-only groups is not reflected in the distributional analysis as the column with the percentages in Table 60 reveals.

in the speech of speakers up to the age of 45 in the latest collection period of the Jamaican data. In addition, there is a difference between the Irish and Jamaican use of *be like* regarding the factor group 'tense of the quotative' in that the simple past slightly disfavours *be like* in the Jamaican although not in the Irish dataset. If we consider the factor weights of *be like* in the factor group 'grammatical person of the quotative' on level 1 of the Jamaican analysis, all the other investigated effects indicate the same direction in cross-varietal comparison.

The difference between the Irish and Jamaican constraint ranking of *be like* in the factor group 'tense of the quotative' supports Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) hypothesis that the linguistic information on tense is locally reorganised as *be like* spreads from American English to other varieties of English. When we compare the Irish constraint rankings with Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) and Tagliamonte & Hudson's (1999) findings, the Irish finding that internal dialogue slightly disfavours *be like* differs not only from the Jamaican data but also from these previous studies. As mentioned above, these studies report on early onset constraints and the 'content' constraint is thought to be levelling across time according to predictions on the developmental trajectory for *be like*. In the next paragraph, I will discuss these predictions in relation to the Irish and Jamaican data. Before doing so, let us briefly make a note of the finding that first-person subjects favour *be like* in the above-mentioned studies as well as in the Irish and Jamaican datasets (the latter considered at level 1).

Drawing on the developmental trajectories for *be like* displayed in Tables 29 and 30 (see Section 4.1.7), I will again attempt to determine the developmental stage of *be like* in Irish English – in comparison with Jamaican English – by means of two of the three predictions in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and three of the four predictions in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007). Due to the absence of sufficient data on male speakers in the Irish dataset limited to younger speakers, it is not possible to draw conclusions in relation to the predictions on 'speaker sex'. Provided that the constraints hold globally, the constraint ranking in the factor group 'grammatical person', the first linguistic measure listed in Tables 29 and 30, suggests that the use of *be like* in Irish English is at an early stage according to the prediction in Table 29. In the second table, it fulfils the predictions of both an early and late stage as Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) expect a constancy of effect on the basis of their Canadian data. In this respect,

the Irish findings parallel those in Jamaican English. Where the Irish findings deviate from the latter is with regard to the factors 'content of the quote' and 'tense of the quotative'. A slightly favoured use of *be like* with direct speech in Irish English fits the prediction for a later stage in both developmental trajectories, while the Jamaican data rather point towards an early stage. An allocation of the Irish finding to one of the developmental stages suggested for the factor group 'tense of the quotative' must remain tentative due to the low number of HP contexts (like in the Jamaican dataset). However, the slightly favoured use of *be like* with the simple past would neither meet the prediction for an initial nor a later stage according to the trajectory suggested by Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007). As mentioned before, it rather supports Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) hypothesis of the local reorganisation of linguistic information on tense. As the discussion shows, the use of *be like* in the Irish data is split between an initial and later stage according to the suggestions in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) but aligns with the predictions for a later stage in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007). In contrast, its use in the Jamaican data supports the suggestions for an early stage in the former study but fulfils one of the predictions for an early stage and one of the predictions for a later stage in the latter study.

Returning to Table 60, the findings further reveal that two of the factor groups were selected as significant constraints on *say*: 'gender groups' and 'tense of the quotative' (the strongest constraint). All four constraint rankings are similar to those in the analysis of factors conditioning the use of *say* in the private dialogues of the 2000s in general. Thus, the simple past, third-person subjects and mixed groups favour the use of the traditional quotative.[128] The lack of an 'age' effect among younger speakers also aligns with the factor weights of the first and second age group in Table 59 (.26 and .28). Moreover, the findings suggest that there are, at most, minor differences between younger Irish and younger Jamaican speakers in the use of *say*: The factor weights in the factor group 'speaker age' are not on but are at least close to the neutral value in the Jamaican data. If we consider the factor group 'grammatical person' by itself, all of the three remaining constraints in the Jamaican data parallel those in Irish English.

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[128] A favoured use of *say* with the simple past seems to be the general trend in the Irish private dialogues (see also Table 58) but let us bear in mind that the highest factor weight in Table 59 is not associated with the highest frequency, i.e. there seems to be an interaction in the private dialogues limited to the period 2002-2005.

When we compare the findings with Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) and Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), we can see that the Irish 'tense' effect also aligns with the favoured use of *say* with the simple past in New Zealand English and differs from the preferred use of *say* with the simple present and HP in English English (see Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). With regard to 'grammatical person of the quotative', the Irish finding, as with the Jamaican finding on level 1, parallels the finding in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) on English English, while differing from the preference for first-person contexts in Canadian English (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999), New Zealand English and English English (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).

The third column of Table 60 reveals that two factor groups were selected as significantly conditioning the probability of *go*: Both the 'tense' and 'person' constraint have a relatively large range, but the former is the strongest constraint in this analysis according to the selection sequence and range. These facts, however, reduce in significance when we turn to the low percentage of *go* tokens of all simple past contexts. With a percentage as low as five, this was only just within the range for inclusion in the analysis. Apart from a favoured use in present tense contexts, *go* is more likely to occur with third-person subjects and direct speech. The factor group 'gender groups' has a neutral effect, and factor weights of the two age groups are close to the neutral value. In the latter factor group, the highest factor weight (19-25: .53) is not associated with the highest frequency (26-33: 21%). Here, the constraint hierarchy changes when a second factor group is added in the regression. If we consider this factor group by itself, we can observe that the Irish speakers aged 19-33 show opposing constraint rankings of *be like* and *go* regarding the factors 'tense of the quotative', 'grammatical person' and 'speaker age'. Thus, the findings in this restricted dataset support the conclusion drawn above that the two quotatives have different profiles in Irish English. Furthermore, the factor weights in the factor groups 'grammatical person', 'content of the quote' and 'speaker age' are very close to those in the analysis of private dialogues in the latest collection period which is not restricted to younger speakers. In other words, the favoured contexts observed in this dataset limited to younger speakers seem to be the general effects on the use of *go* in Irish English.

4.2.7.2.2 Factors conditioning the probability of quotatives in speakers up to the age of 33 in the collection period between 1990 and 1994

It is interesting that the use of *be like* in the Irish data from the period between 2002 and 2005 fulfils the predictions of a later stage with regard to the factors 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' as the Irish private dialogues also include data from the early 1990s. The low frequency of *be like* in this data suggests that *be like* has just entered the quotative system. This hypothesis finds support in the fact that the tokens of *be like* in ICE-Ireland are among the very first to be attested on the British Isles. If so, the constraint rankings of a multivariate analysis based on these data should also point towards an early stage. Table 61 offers the findings of such a variable rule analysis. However, caution is needed at this point: Due to the low number of *be like* tokens in the speech of younger speakers in the first collection period (N = 21), the following multivariate analysis is not entirely robust. It was nevertheless carried out in order to see whether or not there seems to be statistical support for the findings of the distributional analysis.

Table 61: Factors constraining the use of *be like* in the collection period between 1990 and 1994 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (first and second age group only)*

	be like		
input S	.08 .000		
	FW	%	N
Tense			
Past	.50	9	200
Present	.54	10	21
range	*4*		
Person			
First	[.52]	7	148
Third	[.49]	4	214
Gender groups			
Mixed	.38	3	175
Female only	.58	6	268
range	*20*		
Age 19-25	[.49]	5	394
26-33	[.54]	4	53
Total N			447

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

Parallel to the analysis based on the 2002-2005 data, I included the factor group 'gender groups'. Male-only groups and HP contexts were eliminated from the analysis of the respective factor groups to remove knockouts. As the category internal dialogue produced a knockout, the factor group 'content of quote' was excluded from the variable rule analysis.

Table 61 reveals that *be like* is (at least slightly) favoured with first-person subjects, which suggests an early stage according to both developmental trajectories (see Tables 29 and 30). Moreover, the simple past has a neutral effect while the simple present slightly favours *be like* (although there are only 21 simple-present contexts!). While conclusions must remain tentative, the constraint rankings for these two factor groups do not deviate from the predictions. However, it is surprising that not one of the 21 *be like* tokens introduces internal dialogue. A major problem in this respect is, of course, that there are only 32 contexts introducing internal dialogue in the dataset stemming from younger speakers in the first collection period of the Irish data. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the development of *be like* in Irish English does not directly fit with the predictions made by Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007). Thought over speech is a constraint in many varieties of English, but the snapshot of the Irish quotative system in the early 1990s in ICE-Ireland does not offer unconditional evidence for it.

In the context of the development of *be like*, an intriguing question is whether the constraint hierarchies of *go* and *say* changed between the 1990s and the 2000s as *be like* became more popular in Irish English. Let us then take a closer look at the use of these quotatives in the early 1990s. Table 62 below presents the findings of the analyses based on the same factor groups as in Table 60. The left-hand section of the table presents the findings based on data from the 1990s and the right-hand section repeats the findings based on data from the 2000s, as presented in Table 60 above.

The table reveals little change in the constraint rankings of the linguistic factor groups across time. The only notable difference is that first-person subjects favour *go* in the early 1990s, while third-person subjects clearly favour it in the 2000s. Interestingly, *be like* is favoured in first-person contexts both in the 1990s and 2000s (Tables 61 and 60). Thus, it seems that *be like* superseded *go* in first-person contexts as it increased in frequency.

Table 62: Factors constraining the use of *say* and *go* in the collection period 1990-1994 and 2002-2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (first and second age group only)*

	1990-1994						2002-2005					
	say			*go*			*say*			*go*		
input S	.70 .000			.15 .009			.41 .009			.08 .000		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense												
Past	.59	76	200	.36	9	200	.55	47	119	.37	5	119
Present & HP	.30	55	87	.79	36	87	.38	30	44	.80	30	44
range	29			43			17			43		
Person												
First	.44	60	148	.57	22	148	[.49]	38	115	.39	15	115
Third	.54	67	214	.45	22	214	[.52]	40	104	.62	32	104
range	10			12						23		
Content												
Speech	.53	59	377	[.51]	20	377				[.51]	23	189
Thought	.21	22	32	[.36]	16	32				[.43]	14	37
range	32											
Gender groups												
Mixed	[.53]	59	175	[.46]	17	175	.59	46	56	[.51]	23	56
Female only	[.48]	54	268	[.53]	20	268	.47	33	192	[.50]	20	192
range							12					
Age												
19-25	.51	58	394	.49	17	394	[.50]	41	66	[.53]	18	66
26-33	.40	38	53	.60	32	53	[.50]	35	182	[.49]	21	182
range	11			11								
Total N			447			447			248			248

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

With regard to social factor groups, the table shows that the effect of the factor 'gender groups' on *go* has neutralised over time, while there is a favoured use of *say* by mixed groups in the two collection periods. Again, it seems that *go* lost the battle against *be like* as the latter is favoured by female-only groups in both collection periods. The new quotative *be like* does, however, not alter the ranking of factor weights of *go* in the factor group 'speaker age'. If we consider the factor group by itself in the period 2002-2005 (*go*: 19-25: .46, 26-33: .51), we can see that in the case of *go* the constraint hierarchy remains stable across time (26-33 over 19-25) although the effect slightly weakens. It seems rather that *be like* took the wind out of *say*'s sails: Table 62 shows that the neutral effect of the factor group 'speaker age' on *say* in the 2000s is not

paralleled in the findings of the first collection period. Here, *say* is favoured by speakers aged 19-25. Predictably, *be like* developed over time as a popular alternative to *say* in the speech of younger speakers, especially those aged 19-25 (see Table 60). This surely had an influence on the 'age' effect for *say*.

As Table 62 reveals, quotatives *say* and *go* are disfavoured with internal dialogue. Thus, the question remains: Why is *be like* not favoured with internal dialogue in the early 1990s while previous research reports that the 'content' constraint (thought over speech) is operative at the initial stage in other varieties of English? Is there a fierce competitor of *be like* in the Irish quotative system? The data suggest so. As mentioned above, there is not sufficient data on the zero quotative to allow for a multivariate analysis based on data from the collection period between 2002 and 2005. The reason is that the frequency of the zero quotative decreased by more than 35 per cent between the 1990s and 2000s. There are 464.6 tokens (normalised frequency) in the speech of speakers aged 19-33 in the first collection period but merely 297.0 tokens (normalised frequency) in the speech of the respective speakers in the last collection period. A variable rule analysis based on data from speakers aged 19-33 in the period between 1990 and 1994 offers the following findings:

Table 63: Factors constraining the use of the zero quotative in the collection period between 1990 and 1994 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (first and second age group only)*

	zero		
input	.13		
	FW	%	N
Content			
Speech	[.48]	13	377
Thought	[.68]	25	32
Gender groups			
Mixed	[.50]	13	175
Female only	[.50]	13	268
Age 19-25	[.51]	14	394
26-33	[.44]	11	53
Total N			447

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

Table 63 shows that none of the factor groups was selected as significantly conditioning the use of the zero quotative. With regard to constraint rankings, speakers

aged 26-33 slightly disfavour the zero quotative, while the factor group 'gender groups' has a neutral effect. In relation to our discussion here, it is worth noting especially that the zero quotative is favoured with internal dialogue. As mentioned above, it is problematic that there are only 32 contexts introducing internal dialogue in this dataset. One quarter of these quotes are introduced by the zero quotative. Thus, it is possible that there was no open niche for *be like* as an introducer of internal dialogue in the Irish quotative system in the early 1990s. On the basis of the ICE-Ireland data, I can presently only speculate as to why the Irish findings do not parallel the 'content' constraint on *be like* in other varieties of English at an early stage of *be like* use. More data is needed to confirm this. Nevertheless, it is puzzling that not only does the frequency of the zero quotative decrease over time as the frequency of *be like* increases, the propensity of the zero quotative to introduce internal dialogue also decreases from 25 to 8 per cent.

To summarise the findings to this point, the comparison between the Jamaican and Irish data from the collection period between 2002 and 2005 suggests that the use of *be like* in the speech of younger speakers reflects a different developmental stage in Irish English than in Jamaican English. More data is needed in certain contexts as the low number of tokens in some contexts caused problems. For example, it was not possible to test all predictions of Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) for the developmental trajectory for *be like*. Provided that the predictions for the developmental trajectories for *be like* hold globally,[129] the 'content' constraints in the Irish and Jamaican data point to different stages.

Is this a real difference between the two datasets, or possibly caused by external factors? One factor that can be definitely ruled out is the collection procedure. The general framework is the same for the two datasets, ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland: Data were collected according to the guidelines of a superordinate research project (the ICE family). Furthermore, the comparison between the two varieties was based on data from one and the same collection period (2002-2005) and similar age groups. Poplack & Tagliamonte (2001: 92) suggest that

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[129] The cross-varietal differences in the factor group 'tense of the quotative' observed in the variable rule analyses of this study as well as in previous research (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009) seem to challenge this hypothesis to some extent. Furthermore, Durham et al. (2012: 328) have recently suggested "skepticism with regard to universals of grammaticalization of *be like* that dictate change in linguistic effects in *be like*, particularly quote content" on the basis of English English data. Note that the latter study excludes, for example, zero quotatives from the analysis.

the conditioning of variability (i.e., the configuration of factors affecting the occurrence of the variant forms), as well as the direction of their effects, are deeper constraints, remaining constant regardless of the extra-linguistic circumstances.

This hypothesis is confirmed in the analyses of the Irish and Jamaican datasets which each had restrictions to different extents. For instance, the constraint hierarchies of *say* in the Irish data from the last collection period and in the Irish data from the last collection period restricted to younger speakers are parallel. Hence, "in a situation of stable variability" (Tagliamonte 2006: 239) we would expect that the constraint rankings of Jamaican speakers aged 17-45 (as investigated above) would parallel the constraint rankings of Jamaican speakers aged 19-33 (i.e. in an age group that is identical in age range with the combined category of younger speakers in the Irish data). In other words, the different ranges of age groups offered in the Jamaican and Irish datasets should not affect constraint rankings. In the case of the factor group 'speaker age', however, the situation is more complex than this. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) studied changes in the use of *be like* in apparent time and noticed that the pragmatic effect is weak in the speech of speakers aged 17 to 19, compared with older age groups. Thus, the inclusion of Jamaican speakers aged 34-45 in the analysis could possibly influence the constraint rankings. A closer look at the constraint rankings of *be like* in the speech of Jamaican women in the first age group (see Table 32) and in the speech of Jamaicans in the first age group in general (not shown here) reveals that the 'content' constraint (thought over speech) is also strong in the youngest Jamaican age group. It is striking that both the Irish data stemming from younger speakers in the collection period 2002-2005 and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2007) data from 17-19 year-old Canadians in the collection period 2002-2004 suggest an expansion of *be like* to direct speech, while Jamaican speakers are conservative in their use of *be like* in this collection period. Unfortunately, the Jamaican data do not allow a real-time comparison with data from, say, the period between 1995 and 2001, that would allow us to track the development of *be like*. Earlier data would offer first-hand evidence of the frequency or infrequency of the new quotative in an earlier period and allow us to pinpoint the time at which *be like* entered the Jamaican quotative system. The ICE-Jamaica data (see Table 10) suggest that *be like* spread to Jamaican English in the second half of the 1990s at the latest, i.e. possibly later than in Irish English. However, the time factor may not be the only reason why there is no expansion to direct speech in the Jamaican data. It is possible that

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(special cases of) L2 varieties are more resistant to changes in the quotative system (see, for example, the infrequent use of *go*).[130] In the case of the Jamaican creole continuum, usage of *be like* represented a modernisation of the continuum between use of the Jamaican Creole quotative *seh* – a signal of anti-formality in "English" contexts – and the traditional, acrolectal quotatives such as *say* and *ask*, which are signals of formality, since the acrolect can also be used on a second, informal level (see Section 4.1.8). It is possible that further changes in the Jamaican quotative system might require a longer time and greater effort than in other varieties of English which did not have such a clear distinction between formal and informal/anti-formal in their recent histories.

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[130] See Chapter 6.3 for a definition of *English as a Second Language* and a continuation of the discussion.

4.3 Comparison with a variety in North America (based on ICE-Canada)

In addition to the comparison with the Irish data, we will now turn to a second comparison based on Canadian data. As mentioned earlier, I analysed and coded only a sample of the private dialogues in ICE-Canada. Table 64 offers the overall distribution of quotatives in this sample, including zero quotatives.

Table 64: Overall distribution of quotatives in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada

	%	Normalised frequency per million words	Raw frequency
say	55.7	1747.4	107
zero	12.0	375.6	23
be like	9.4	293.9	18
think	9.4	293.9	18
go	4.7	147.0	9
other	8.8	277.6	17
Total	100	3135.4	192

The table reveals that *say* is the most frequent quotative representing 55.7 per cent of all quotatives in this sample. The zero quotative ranks second at 12.0 per cent, followed by *be like* and *think* at 9.4 per cent and *go* at 4.7 per cent. Moreover, there are a number of other quotatives such as *be, tell*, and *yell* (8.8%), including one combination of quotatives (*go like*). Compared to the private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland, *say* accounts for a smaller proportion of quotative use in the Canadian sample than in the former datasets (60.3% and 58.1%), whereas the zero quotative accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in the Canadian than in the Jamaican and Irish data (8.6% and 10.6%). The quotative *go* occurs more frequently in the North-American dataset than in the Jamaican data (0.2%) but less frequently than in the Irish data (14.0%). The opposite is true for *be like*, i.e. the new quotative shows a higher rate in the Canadian than in the Irish data (7.4%) but a lower rate than in the Jamaican data (13.0%). When we compare the total number of quotatives used, the Canadian sample occupies a medial position between the Irish data (normalised frequency: 5,289.8) and the Jamaican data (normalised frequency: 2,054.0).

4.3.1 Comments on the use of *be like* and *say*

When I commented on the use of *be like* in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland, I pointed out that around nine per cent of all Jamaican tokens of *be like* are used without *be*, whereas all but one token are used with a form of *be* plus *like* in ICE-Ireland. In the Canadian sample, all tokens are used with a form of *be* plus *like*. Hypothetical discourse, on the other hand, is more frequent in the Canadian sample than in the Jamaican and Irish data regarding both number of tokens per million words and percentage of *be like* (16.7% and 49.0 tokens vs. 10.7% / 6.6% and 28.6 / 25.7 tokens). With regard to the quotative *say* introducing hypothetical discourse, the Canadian sample occupies a medial position between the Jamaican and Irish data both in terms of number of tokens and percentage (17.8% and 310.3 tokens vs. 37.3% / 6.0% and 462.3 / 185.2 tokens). However, again it is the Canadian sample where tokens of *say* are most frequently used to cite written material (4.7% and 81.7 tokens vs. 2.7% / 2.3% and 33.4 / 72.0 tokens in the other two datasets).

4.3.2 Distribution across 'collection period' in ICE-Canada

Let us now turn to the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'collection period'. Again, the division into collection periods is based on the three categories offered in the user's guide accompanying ICE-Ireland. In contrast to the Irish and Jamaican data, the Canadian private dialogues predominantly stem from one period. Interestingly, it is the second period (1995-2001), in which no data were collected for ICE-Ireland. Unfortunately, this also means that there are hardly any data stemming from the most recent collection period. The sample discussed here includes all private conversations showing a collection date between 2002 and 2005 in the Canadian metadata file.[131] According to Table 7 in Chapter 3, this period accounts for 10 per cent of the data, while 90 per cent of the data discussed here stem from the period between 1995 and 2001 and zero per cent stem from the period between 1990 and 1994. Table 65 presents the findings for the factor 'collection period'.

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[131] Note that there is a typo in the Canadian metadata file (collection year = "1004"). The texts affected might possibly stem from the years 1994 or 2004. Due to this uncertainty, the respective texts were not included in the sample.

Table 65: Distribution of quotatives across 'collection period' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 5488)

		say	zero	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
1995-2001	N	1767	382	328	310	164		3242
	%	54	12	10	10	5		59
2002-2005	N	1605	321	0	160	0		2246
	%	71	14	0	7	0		41

The table reveals that *say* accounts for more than half the total number of quotatives in the periods between 1995 and 2001 as well as between 2002 and 2005 in the Canadian sample, similar to the Jamaican and Irish data (cf. Tables 10 and 35). The zero quotative occurs equally as often in the two collection periods. In cross-varietal comparison, it occurs more frequently in the Canadian sample than in the Jamaican data in both collection periods (12% vs. 7% and 14% vs. 10%) as well as in the Irish data in the latest collection period (14% vs. 6%). The quotative *think* accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in the period 1995-2001 than in the period 2002-2005, whereas the new quotatives *be like* and *go* only occur in the period between 1995 and 2001. At first glance, it seems surprising that *be like* and *go* are used in the period between 1995 and 2001, but not in the most recent collection period in the sample. However, a closer look at the small subcorpus from the latter period reveals that all the speakers are over the age of thirty, i.e. over the age of the most frequent *be like* users and also almost beyond the typical age of *go* users according to previous research (see studies in Chapter 2.2 such as Buchstaller 2006).[132] Nevertheless, Table 65 offers an interesting finding: *Be like* accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in the Canadian than in the Jamaican data stemming from the period between 1995 and 2001 (10% vs. 2%). The fact that *be like* is used to a larger extent in the Canadian than in the Jamaican data in this period suggests that the new quotative might have diffused more widely in Canada than in Jamaica at that time. This could also be taken as support for previous research which reports that *be like* was used earlier in North American varieties than in others (see, for example, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).[133]

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[132] This also explains why *say* occurs more frequently in the latest collection period than in the period 1995-2001.

[133] Unfortunately, there are no data stemming from the early 1990s in the private conversations in ICE-Canada, which would allow a comparison with the Irish data in this period.

4.3.3 Distribution across independent social variables

The next set of tables shows the distribution of quotatives across social factors. Table 66 offers some noteworthy findings regarding 'sex' differences.

Table 66: Distribution of *say*, zero, *be like*, *think* and *go* across 'speaker sex' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 6313)

		say	zero	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
Female	N	2347	204	136	442	102		3571
	%	66	6	4	12	3		57
Male	N	1198	536	441	158	189		2742
	%	44	20	16	6	7		43

Table 66 reveals that both of the innovative quotatives occur most frequently in male speech in the Canadian sample, whereas Tables 11 and 37 above revealed that *be like* shows the highest rate with female speakers in the Jamaican data (16% vs. 3%) and occurs equally as often in female and male speech in the Irish data (7% and 7%), and that quotative *go* occurs slightly more often in female than male speech in the Irish data (14% vs. 12%). However, the findings in Table 66 support previous research on Canadian English such as, for example, Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), who report that *go* is favoured by Canadian men. Hence, the finding suggests that the sample taken from the private dialogues in ICE-Canada is representative. With regard to *be like*, different studies found different co-variation with the factor 'speaker sex' in Canadian English. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004/2007) report that it occurs most frequently with women in all but one age group in which it occurs most frequently with men, whereas Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) do not observe a significant effect. While data for the former study stem from the 21st century, the latter is based on data from 1995, precisely the year from which the *be like* tokens in the sample of ICE-Canada stem. If we exclude the sample data from the period between 2002 and 2005, the probability of *be like* with male speech becomes 17 per cent and with female speech becomes 4 per cent, i.e. the 'sex' effect would not change. Thus, taking the factor 'collection period' into consideration, we are still left with two different 'sex' effects of *be like* in Canadian English. One explanation might be that the data in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) come exclusively from Ottawa, whereas the private dialogues in ICE-Canada were collected in both Montreal and Ottawa. In addition, other factors might correlate with 'speaker

sex'. The following discussions of social and linguistic factors will hopefully provide an explanation. The findings, however, offer further support for previous research on Canadian English regarding the traditional quotative *say*. In contrast to the Jamaican and Irish data (higher rates with men, see Tables 11 and 37), *say* occurs most frequently with women as in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), for example. Finally, the zero quotative clearly shows the highest rate with male speakers in the sample taken from ICE-Canada, while there is merely a weak effect in this direction in the Irish data (13% vs. 10%). In contrast, there is neither a 'sex' effect in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) nor in the Jamaican data (9% vs. 8%).

While the word totals for the two sexes are equally as high in the sample (see Table 2 in Chapter 3), mixed conversations account for more than half of the data (see Table 3 in Chapter 3). This needs to be taken into consideration in the discussion of the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'gender groups'.

Table 67: Distribution of *say*, zero, *be like*, *think* and *go* across 'gender groups' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12280)

		say	zero	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
Female only	N	3697	544	217	544	0		5763
	%	64	9	4	9	0		47
Male only	N	1378	995	995	77	459		4286
	%	32	23	23	2	11		35
Mixed	N	1469	136	82	327	82		2231
	%	66	6	4	15	4		18

Table 67 reveals that *be like*, *go* and the zero quotative show the highest rates with male-only groups, whereas *say* occurs most frequently in female-only and in mixed groups. Thus, the use of *go* in the Canadian data is similar to that in the Irish data, while the remaining findings differ from the Jamaican and Irish results (see Tables 12 and 38).[134] Given the size of the Canadian sample in combination with its skewedness in favour of mixed groups, the findings in Table 67 should be interpreted with caution. However, the discussion of the factor 'speaker sex' had shown that the sample supports

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[134] *Be like* is most frequent in female-only conversations in the latter datasets, *say* shows the highest rate with male-only groups in the Jamaican but with mixed groups in the Irish data, whereas the zero quotative occurs most frequently with female-only groups in the Jamaican data and with female-only and mixed groups alike in the Irish data.

previous findings regarding *go* and *say* in Canadian English so it seems likely that the findings for the factor 'gender groups' might also be representative. Yet, it might be the case that another factor correlates with the factor 'gender groups' for *be like*, for instance 'speaker age' in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007). Let us now turn to this third social factor, illustrated in Table 68.

Table 68: Distribution of *say*, zero, *be like*, *think* and *go* across 'speaker age' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 16419)

		say	zero	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
19-24	N	1229	1340	1452	112	558		5249
	%	23	26	28	2	11		32
25-30	N	1968	151	151	303	303		3028
	%	65	5	5	10	10		18
31-40	N	1650	275	165	165	0		2529
	%	65	11	7	7	0		15
41-50	N	1962	262	0	327	0		2877
	%	68	9	0	11	0		18
51+	N	1824	0	0	912	0		2736
	%	67	0	0	33	0		17

Similar to 'gender groups', the subcorpora of the different age groups differ in word totals, ranging from 9 per cent of the sample's word totals in the oldest age group to 30 per cent in the group of speakers aged 31 to 40. In the Jamaican private dialogues, the oldest age group (45+) accounts for roughly the same proportion of word totals as the oldest age group in the Canadian sample (51+). However, the traditional quotative *say* shows the highest rates with the oldest age group in both the Jamaican and Irish data (see Tables 13 and 39), whereas Table 68 reveals that *say* accounts for almost the same proportions of quotative use in any age group apart from the youngest speakers.[135] As expected, the new quotative *be like* occurs most frequently with the latter age group in the Canadian sample, similar to the Jamaican data (see Table 13).[136] Note that *be like* is

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[135] The latter finding does not change considerably if we take the factor 'collection period' into consideration. In the Canadian sample, the proportions of *say* in the period 1995-2001 are 23 per cent in the first age group, 65 per cent in the second and third age group, 69 per cent in the fourth age group and 58 per cent in the fifth age group.

[136] As mentioned above, an unequal distribution of word totals seems to account for the finding that *be like* occurs most frequently with the second age group in the Irish data (see Table 39).

also used by speakers aged 31 to 40 in the sample, whereas speakers over the age of 33 do not use it in the Irish data (see Table 39).[137] Since these Canadian *be like* tokens stem from the year 1995 and the Irish tokens (predominantely) from the period between 2002 and 2005, the finding that the new quotative is used by speakers aged 31 to 40 in the Canadian data but not at a later point in time in a similar age group in the Irish data could be taken as further support for previous findings that *be like* was used earlier in North American varieties than in others (see, for example, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).[138] The quotative *go*, on the other hand, is used by Irish speakers aged 34-41 in the period between 2002 and 2005 (see Table 44) but not by Canadian speakers aged 31-40 in the period between 1995 and 2001. Thus, the Canadian sample data suggest that *be like* was more popular among speakers in their thirties in the late 1990s in Canadian English than the quotative *go*. Moreover, the latter variant is used almost equally as often in the first and second age group in the Canadian sample, while it occurs most frequently with speakers aged 26-33 in the Irish data (see Table 39).[139] Interestingly, *go* also accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in the first two age groups in the Irish data than in the roughly corresponding age groups in the Canadian data (17% vs. 11% and 24% vs. 10%).[140] The zero quotative, on the other hand, seems to be more popular in the youngest age group for the Canadian sample compared with the Irish and Jamaican datasets (26% vs. 12% / 10%). This shows the highest rate with this age group in the North-American sample, whereas it occurs equally with the first two age groups in the other two varieties (see Tables 13 and 39).[141]

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[137] If we exclude the data from the period 2002-2005 in the Canadian sample, the proportions of *be like* with the first and second age group remain the same and the proportion with the third age group becomes 8 per cent, i.e. the 'age' effect would not change. Note that the second age group in the Jamaican data (26-45) is too broad for a discussion of the quotative use among speakers in their thirties.

[138] Note, however, that the Irish subcorpus of speakers aged 34 to 41 in the period 2002-2005 is less than half the size of the Canadian subcorpus of speakers aged 31 to 40 in the period 1995-2001. As Table 44 reveals, *be like* shows low rates with the first two age groups in the period 1990-1994 in the Irish data and does not occur with the third age group.

[139] If we take the factor 'collection period' into consideration, the proportions of *go* in the first two age groups in the period between 1995 and 2001 are the same as in Table 68.

[140] However, *go* occurs only slightly more often in the second than in the first age group in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in the Irish data (see Table 44). When we compare the Irish data in the period 2002-2005 with the Canadian data in the period 1995-2001, *go* nevertheless accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in the first two age groups in the Irish than in the Canadian data.

[141] If we take the factor 'collection period' into consideration, the proportion of the zero quotative becomes 10 per cent with speakers aged 31-40 and 8 per cent with speakers aged 41-50 in the period 1995-2001, while the proportions for the first two age groups remain the same. Thus, the zero quotative still shows the highest rate with the youngest age group if we restrict the Canadian data to the collection period between 1995 and 2001. Also, the zero quotative shows a higher rate in this age group and period in the Canadian data than in the corresponding age group in the period between 2002 and 2005 in the Irish data (26% vs. 5%; see Table 44).

Finally, let us turn to a comparison with previous studies on Canadian English. This is difficult given that Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) – the only study drawing on Canadian data from the year 1995 – is limited to data from speakers aged 18 to 28 and therefore does not investigate the factor 'speaker age'. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007, 2009), on the other hand, are based on data from the period between 2002 and 2004 and between 2003 and 2006, respectively. In comparison with the first two age groups in ICE-Canada, the latest study by the two scholars offers one, rather large age group, including speakers aged 17 to 29. The proportion of *be like* in this age group is about 60 per cent, whereas its proportion in the following age group (30-39) is about 30 per cent. Similarly, the new quotative is the most frequent of all quotatives in the speech of speakers under 30 in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007), and its proportion again is above 50 per cent for speakers aged 20 to 24 and 25 to 29, while its proportion is about 30 per cent for speakers aged 30 to 34. The most we can say in comparison with previous Canadian studies is that *be like* shows roughly the same rate with speakers aged 19 to 24 in the Canadian sample from the year 1995 as it does with speakers aged 30 to 34/39 in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2007/2009) data about ten years later. When we compare the use of *go* and *say* in the sample with that in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) in the same way, both quotatives show a higher rate with speakers aged 30-34 in their study than with the youngest speakers in the sample (ca. 20% / 40% vs. 11% / 23%). However, the zero quotative shows a higher rate with speakers aged 19-24 in the sample than with speakers aged 30-34 in their study (26% vs. ca. 6%).[142] Thus, the use of *be like* among the youngest speakers in the sample seems to be representative, whereas the use of other quotatives (as well as the use of *be like* in another age group; see Footnote 142) varies in cross-periodical comparison.

At the end of this section, I would like to turn briefly to cross-tabulations of social factors. The discussion will be limited to the distribution of *say* across 'speaker sex' in mixed groups. I refrain from discussing (1) quotatives other than *say* as the frequencies of *be like*, *go*, *think* and the zero quotative in the sample do not allow a more refined analysis, (2) the influence of 'speaker age' on the distribution of *say* across the factor 'gender groups' and vice versa because the subcorpora are in some cases too small or non-existent, and (3) the influence of 'speaker age' on the distribution of *say*

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[142] If we compare the quotative use in the next higher age group in both datasets, *say* shows a higher rate in the sample, whereas the zero quotative and *be like* occur more often in the study from 2007 and *go* shows rates that are almost equally as high in the two datasets.

across the factor 'speaker sex' and vice versa as deviations from the expected patterns might be caused by the small size of subcorpora (see Appendix 6, Table A6.1). So the size of the Canadian sample severely hampers the discussion of possible correlations between social factors. As for the remaining cross-tabulation, the finding is as follows: The distribution of *say* is similar to the Jamaican and Irish findings regarding the factor 'speaker sex' in mixed conversations in that the quotative occurs with female and male speakers alike (67% with women and 65% with men).[143]

4.3.4 Distribution across independent linguistic variables

Let us proceed with the linguistic factors. Of the three, 'grammatical person' is especially interesting in the Canadian context: D'Arcy (2004: 337) suggests that

> a unique hierarchy is operative in Canadian varieties. Where other Englishes favor third person subjects with *say*, Canadian Englishes favor first persons.

In her study and in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), the traditional quotative is favoured in first-person contexts. Both of these studies are based on data from young speakers below the age of 30, while Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) report that *say* is favoured with third-person subjects by Canadian speakers over the age of forty. Hence, the factor 'speaker age' might play a role. Table 69 reveals that in the sample in general, *say* shows the highest rate with third-person subjects.

Table 69: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, *think* and *go* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2498)[144]

		say	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
First person	N	555	131	180	0		1012
	%	55	13	18	0		41
Third person	N	1094	163	49	82		1486
	%	74	11	3	5		59

However, Table 70 shows that even in a more fine-grained analysis that takes the factor 'speaker age' into consideration, *say* occurs most frequently in third-person contexts in the Canadian sample.[145]

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[143] Normalised frequency: 1879 (female), 1072 (male)

[144] Zero quotatives are not coded for 'grammatical person of the quotative'.

[145] If we additionally take the factor 'collection period' into consideration, *say* still occurs most frequently in third-person contexts (in any of the age groups in the period 1995-2001).

Table 70: Distribution of *say* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'speaker age' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 10605)

		19-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51+
First person	N	223	379	660	719	730
	%	18	56	71	61	57
Third person	N	893	1483	935	1112	1094
	%	40	79	81	89	86

Thus, the findings do not support Tagliamonte & Hudson's (1999) observation that *say* occurs most frequently with first-person subjects among speakers aged 18-28. As mentioned earlier, the data in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) stem from the year 1995 like most of the private dialogues in ICE-Canada. Their data was collected exclusively in Ottawa, while the sample data were collected in both Montreal and Ottawa. Therefore, it might be the case that the 'person' effect varies across Canadian varieties. Yet, we should not forget that the findings in Tables 69 and 70 are based on a sample so that an extension of the study from the sample to the total corpus of private dialogues in ICE-Canada would be needed to confirm the findings.[146] In cross-varietal comparison, *say* shows the same 'person' effect in the Canadian sample as in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland, although there is a slightly stronger preference for third- than first-person contexts in the sample compared with the other two datasets (74% and 55% vs. 66% / 70% and 62% / 59%, cf. Tables 14 and 40). The quotative *go*, on the other hand, only occurs in third-person contexts in the Canadian sample, while it shows a higher rate with third- than first-person contexts in the Irish data (see Table 40). In contrast to *say* and *go*, *be like* occurs slightly more often in first- than third-person contexts (13% vs. 11%).[147] This finding is similar to the Jamaican and Irish results although the effect (first over third) is even weaker than in the other datasets (see Tables 14 and 40). Moreover, it supports the findings in previous studies on Canadian English such as Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007), in which *be like* favours first-person subjects.

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[146] Note that neither the social factors 'speaker sex' and 'gender groups' nor the linguistic factor 'tense of the quotative' have an influence on the distribution of *say* across the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' (see Appendix 6, Tables A6.2 to 4). In the cross-tabulation with the factor 'content of the quote', however, *say* occurs more frequently with first- than third-person subjects in direct speech. Again, further data would be needed to confirm these findings as *say* accounts for a very large proportion of quotative use in both contexts in the sample (80% and 87%; see Appendix 6, Table A6.5).

[147] Note that *be like* is clearly favoured with first-person subjects when excluding *existential it + be like*.

Notably, the three datasets clearly differ with respect to the frequency of *it + be like*. There are five instances of *existential it* and one instance of *referential it* in the Irish private dialogues as well as one instance of *referential it* in the Jamaican private dialogues, while there are seven *existential it + be like* constructions in the Canadian sample. The instances seem to clearly introduce a representation of the speaker's internal dialogue or another person's potential thoughts although *be like* is used with dummy *it*, as in (44). In the example, the second speaker explains what his girlfriend probably thought when she dug her nails into his hand.

(44) <ICE-CAN:S1A-022#114:1:A> <O> laugh </O> We've gone from the uh pathetic stage to the relationship stage to the S and M stage <O> laugh </O> is that what this is
<$B> <ICE-CAN:S1A-022#115:1:B> No it was like <,,> I'm angry at what I see at the screen so I'll <&> not " I'm" </&> going to vent it on <{> <[> my boyfriend </[> (ICE-Canada, S1A-022)

If the sample taken from ICE-Canada is representative, we would expect to find about three times as many instances of *existential it* in the whole set of private dialogues in ICE-Canada as in the sample. Then, this type of construction would be far more frequent in the Canadian data from 1995 than in the Irish data from the period between 2002 and 2005.[148]

As with the distribution of quotatives across 'grammatical person of the quotative', there are clear similarities between the Canadian sample and the other two datasets with regard to the factor 'tense of the quotative'. Table 71 shows that *go* occurs most frequently with the HP, as in the Irish data. In contrast to the latter dataset, *be like* does not show the highest rate with the simple present but the HP in the Canadian sample, similar to the Jamaican data. The traditional quotative *say*, on the other hand, occurs most frequently in the simple past, whereas it occurs with the simple present and the simple past alike in ICE-Jamaica and with the HP and the simple past alike in ICE-Ireland. Apart from the similarities with the Jamaican and Irish data, the findings again confirm the 'tense' effects observed in previous studies on Canadian English. Both in D'Arcy (2004) and in Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) *be like* shows the highest rate with the HP and *say* with the simple past.[149]

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[148] All *existential it + be like* constructions in the Irish data stem from the latest collection period.

[149] Note that the distribution of *say* across the factor 'tense of the quotative' varies across social and linguistic factors: *Say* shows the highest rate with the simple past in female speech but with the simple present in male speech. Furthermore, the quotative occurs most frequently with the simple present in male-only groups and it is the only quotative used with the HP in female-only groups. In addition, the overall finding is not supported by the youngest speakers, who use *say* least frequently according to Table 68, and speakers aged 41-50, who use only *say* with the HP. Regarding 'content of the quote', *say* is the only quotative used with the simple present in direct speech (see Appendix 6, Tables A6.2 and A6.6 to 9).

Table 71: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, *think* and *go* across 'tense of the quotative' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2286)

		say	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
Present	N	180	49	82	16		343
	%	52	14	24	5		15
HP	N	98	65	0	65		261
	%	38	25	0	25		11
Past	N	1192	180	147	0		1682
	%	71	11	9	0		74

Finally, let us turn to the factor 'content of the quote'. Table 72 reveals that *say*, *go* and the zero quotative occur most frequently with direct speech in the Canadian sample, whereas *be like* shows the highest rate with internal dialogue and *think* only introduces internal dialogue.[150] Thus, the quotatives show the same directions of effects in the Canadian sample as in the Jamaican private dialogues (see Table 16). The same applies for the Irish data regarding *say*, *go* and *be like*, while the zero quotative only occurs with direct speech in the Canadian sample but almost equally as often with direct speech and internal dialogue in the Irish data (see Table 42).

Moreover, the findings support previous research on Canadian English with regard to *go* (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999) and s*ay* (Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999, D'Arcy 2004 and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007). Concerning the zero quotative and *be like*, the directions of effects differ across previous studies. For example, D'Arcy (2004) found that the zero quotative occurs more frequently with internal dialogue than with direct speech, whereas Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) report the opposite. As Table 72 reveals, the latter finding is supported in the Canadian sample. Furthermore, previous studies traditionally found that *be like* introduces internal dialogue more frequently than direct speech (e.g. Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999). However, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) and D'Arcy (2004) report that in recent data, the new quotative shows a higher rate with direct speech than internal dialogue among speakers aged 17 to 19 and 8 to 18, respectively. In the Canadian sample, *be like* shows the same direction of

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[150] Note that the distribution of *say* across this factor is not influenced by any of the social and linguistic factors (see Appendix 6, Tables A6.5 and A6.9 to 12). When excluding *existential it + be like* constructions, *be like* still shows the highest rate with internal dialogue.

effects as in Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), which is based on data from the year 1995, as with most of the private dialogues in the sample.[151]

Table 72: Distribution of *say*, zero, *be like*, *think* and *go* across 'content of the quote' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2270)

		say	zero	*be like*	*think*	*go*		Total
Direct speech	N	1323	114	49	0	82		1731
	%	76	7	3	0	5		76
Internal dialogue	N	33	0	196	245	0		539
	%	6	0	36	45	0		24

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[151] Although the frequency of *be like* does not allow for a more refined analysis, it might nevertheless be worth noting here that *be like* shows the highest rate with internal dialogue (1) in the collection period 1995-2001 (i.e. if we exclude the data from the period 2002-2005) and (2) in the first three age groups in the sample, i.e. in any age group in which *be like* is used (with and without 'collection period' as an additional factor).

4.4 Summary: The profile of be like, say, seh, go *and the zero quotative in the three ICE-corpora*

After this detailed report on the findings of the distributional and multivariate analyses, let us summarise the distinctive features of *be like*, *say*, *seh* and the zero quotative in Jamaican English and those of *be like*, *say*, *go* and the zero quotative in Irish and Canadian English.

Firstly, *be like* is almost exclusively used in private, informal conversations in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland that were collected between 2002 and 2005. However, *be like* is also used in the early 1990s in the Irish data. These tokens are among the first attestations of *be like* on the British Isles. ICE-Jamaica does not allow any conclusions about the use of *be like* in the 1990s because of limited data. What the data suggest is that the innovative quotative spread to Jamaican English and was (at least) quite popular in this variety in the early years of the 21st century. Its attractiveness may be fuelled by the social value of the *be like* option: It allows speakers to use the acrolect in an informal way. The *be like* tokens in the Canadian sample stem from the period 1995-2001. In all three datasets, the new quotative is favoured with internal dialogue and first-person subjects. In contrast to this overall trend, an expansion of *be like* as an introducer of direct speech and internal dialogue alike can be observed in the Irish data: The quotative shows the same rates for both pragmatic contexts among female speakers and a higher rate with direct speech than internal dialogue among speakers aged 26-33. Also, the multivariate analyses of factors conditioning the use of *be like* in the Irish data revealed that 'content of the quote' is a marginal factor group.[152] In the Jamaican data, speakers in the second age group (26-45) differ from the younger ones (17-25) in the following respects: they use this quotative most frequently with direct speech and in third-person contexts. As *be like* accounts for just 8 per cent of the quotative use among speaker aged 26-45 (vs. 21% in the first age group), further Jamaican data are needed to substantiate these findings. It seems that there is also an interaction of the factors 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in the Jamaican data. Moreover, it is worth noting that 9 per cent of the Jamaican tokens are used without *be* and that there is not a single token of existential *it* + *be like*, while there are existential *it* + *be like* constructions in the Irish and Canadian data. Regarding the factor 'tense of the

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[152] See also Tables A5.17 and A5.18 in Appendix 5.

quotative', more Jamaican data are needed to confirm a favoured use with the HP. Given that *be like* is not restricted to simple present, simple past and HP contexts, it seems that the use of this innovative quotative is not merely a lexical fad in Jamaican English. In the Irish data, *be like* is favoured with the simple present in general but with the simple past in the most recent collection period. Also, different social groups favour *be like* with different tense forms. In the Canadian private dialogues, *be like* shows the highest rate with the HP. Finally, let us turn to the social conditioning of *be like*: The findings revealed that the quotative is used most frequently in female-only groups in the Jamaican and Irish data and in male-only groups in the Canadian data. It is favoured by the youngest age group in the Jamaican (17-25) and Canadian (19-24) data as well as in the Irish data (19-25) from the latest collection period.

Say, on the other hand, is used as a quotative in all text categories in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland and accounts for the majority of quotatives in all three datasets. It is preferred with third-person subjects and direct speech. However, there is also variation across social groups. For example, *say* is used with first- and third-person subjects alike in mixed groups in the Irish private dialogues. In general, *say* seems to be favoured with the simple past but in the most recent collection period in the Jamaican and Irish data it shows the highest rate with the present tense and, again, we find variation across social groups in all three datasets. Let us now turn to the differences in the use of *say* between the three corpora: In the Jamaican and Irish data, *say* is favoured by mixed groups and shows higher rates with male than female speakers, while it shows the same rates with female-only and mixed groups in the Canadian data as well as higher rates with women than men.[153] Furthermore, the traditional quotative shows the highest rates of use with the oldest age group in the Jamaican and Irish data, whereas it is used frequently by all age groups but the youngest in the Canadian sample.

Be like's local competitor in Jamaica, the quotative *seh*, shows the highest rates with female speech, same-sex groups, third-person subjects and direct speech. Its social value is that it can be used as a signal of anti-formality in an otherwise "English" context. Thus, the local quotative stands in clear contrast to traditional, formal quotatives such as *say*.

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[153] Male-only groups in the Jamaican and Irish data are not taken into consideration here. The effect of the factor 'speaker sex' changes across time in both the Jamaican and Irish data (although in different directions).

While it seems that the quotative *go* is not used in Jamaican English, there are tokens of *go* in both the Irish and Canadian datasets. As with *be like, go* is almost completely restricted to private dialogues in ICE-Ireland. In the latter text category, it occurs slightly more often in the early 1990s than in the 2000s. As time passes, the proportion that the quotative *go* represents of all quotatives decreases, especially in the second age group (26-33). It would seem then that *go* lost ground to *be like* in this age group. In the Canadian sample, all tokens stem from the period 1995-2001. What both datasets have in common is that *go* is favoured with direct speech and the HP (although the 'tense' effect varies across collection periods and social groups in the Irish data).[154] Regarding the social factors, there are clear differences: *go* is favoured by speakers aged 26-33 in the Irish data but it is used by the first and second age group (19-24 and 25-30) alike in the Canadian data. Moreover, the quotative shows the highest rate with men in the North American data, while it is generally used slightly more frequently by women in the Irish private dialogues. In the latest collection period in the Irish data, however, *go* occurs most frequently with men, similar to the Canadian data. Finally, there is a difference in the favoured grammatical person of *go* between the Irish and Canadian data: Canadian speakers use *go* only in third-person contexts in the sample, whereas Irish speakers use *go* with first- and third-person subjects alike in the first collection period and more frequently with third- than first-person subjects in the most recent collection period. The latter difference might be partially caused by the Canadian sample size, i.e. a larger sample might also include tokens of *go* in first-person contexts.

The use of the last quotative discussed here, the zero quotative, is restricted to the second and third collection period in the Jamaican private dialogues. Therefore, its use can only be dated back to the period 1995-2001 in this dataset. In the Canadian and Irish private dialogues, the zero quotative is used in all collection periods represented in the respective dataset (1995-2001 and 2002-2005 in the Canadian case vs. 1990-1994 and 2002-2005 in the Irish case). When we compare the proportion that the zero quotative represents in the earlier collection period in each dataset with the later one, we find the following variation: In the Jamaican data, the use of the zero quotative increases slightly across time, while it remains stable in the Canadian sample and decreases in the Irish data. Its proportion decreases especially in the first age group (19-25) in the Irish data; it seems that the zero quotative made room for *be like* in this age

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[154] See also Tables A5.17 and A5.18 in Appendix 5.

group. With regard to the factor group 'content of the quote' and the social factors, the use of the zero quotative also differs across varieties: It is used only with direct speech in the Canadian data, more frequently with direct speech than internal dialogue in the Jamaican data, but slightly more frequently with internal dialogue in the Irish data. In the latter dataset, the factor group has no effect in the 2000s and different effects in different age groups (younger speakers favour it with thought, older ones with direct speech). Both the 'sex' and 'age' effects are marginal in the Jamaican and Irish data. The finding in the former factor group in the Irish private dialogues seems to be an aggregate view of the findings in the two collection periods: The zero quotative shows the highest rate with male speakers in the early 1990s and with women in the 2000s. In the Canadian sample, on the other hand, the zero quotative is used most frequently by male speakers and in the youngest age group (19-24). A cross-varietal comparison with respect to the factor 'gender groups' is not possible as the Irish and Jamaican subcorpora of male-only groups are too limited. As the findings revealed, the zero quotative is slightly favoured by female-only groups in the Jamaican data and by mixed groups in the Irish data (yet by female-only groups in the 2000s in the Irish data), whereas the quotative shows the highest rate with male-only groups in the Canadian sample.

5. Perceptions and reality: A survey study on the use of quotatives in Jamaica

In addition to the corpus-based study, I collected attitudinal data to discover the attitudes Jamaicans have towards the new and traditional quotatives. A look at previous studies on the new quotatives reveals that the great majority of them are based on some kind of corpus and discuss various linguistic and social factors that condition the use of quotatives (cf. Chapter 2.2). To date, only a very small number of studies use attitudinal data (including Blyth et al. 1990, Dailey-O'Cain 2000, Buchstaller 2006b and Halford 2008). Buchstaller (2006b: 376) explains that "attitudinal information can present an important backdrop to distribution studies in cases of global language trends." I also believe that a survey study can be of vital importance to explain distributional data. The findings of my investigation into quotatives in ICE-Jamaica leave some questions open. For instance, it would be interesting to know why the quotative *go* is so infrequent in Jamaican English. In order to find an answer, I carried out a survey study. In the following, I will introduce the methodology that I used. I then will present the results and compare them with both attitudinal data from other varieties of English and with the results of my distributional analysis based on ICE-Jamaica.

5.1 Methodology

The attitudinal study was carried out in Kingston, Jamaica, between May 2008 and July 2008. One hundred and twenty informants were asked to fill out an anonymous questionnaire. More precisely, attitudinal data was collected from sixty male and sixty female informants from three age bands (0-19, 20-35, 36+). This means that there are twenty questionnaires per age group for each sex. All of the informants are Jamaicans and non-linguists. Before a questionnaire was delivered to any informant, the person was asked whether he or she studies linguistics or is a linguist. Furthermore, a question concerning the informants' nationality was explicitly put at the end of the questionnaire to assure that no person with a different nationality or with dual citizenship is included in the study. The survey was mainly carried out on the campus of the University of the West Indies, where both students and university staff (lecturers, researchers, librarians, secretaries etc.) were asked to participate. Some of the informants in the youngest age group are high school students, who either attended classes on campus or were approached off campus.

The questionnaire consists of four pages and deals with the quotatives *be like*, *go* and *say*, which are the most frequently used quotatives in various varieties of English according to previous research, as well as the Jamaican quotative *seh* (see Appendix 7). At the top of each page, there is an example, which includes the respective quotative in bold. As it might be difficult or unusual for a non-linguist to read examples based on a phenomenon of the spoken language (see also Buchstaller 2006b), the questionnaire was accompanied by audio-recordings in which a native speaker reads the examples. After playing these recordings, I pointed out that the examples are just provided as illustrative material and that I was attempting to glean information on the use of each of these quotatives in general. Furthermore, I mentioned that informants can write down comments on any of the questions. In the questionnaire, the same set of questions is repeated for each quotative. Informants were asked on each page whether they associate the quotative with young or old people, men or women, Jamaicans or non-Jamaicans. In the second question, they had the opportunity to give more detailed information on the personal traits of a typical user of the quotative. Then they were asked whether they considered its use as good English or bad English[155], as indicative of casual or formal speech and as indicative of Patwa (Jamaican Creole) or Standard English. The final questions were whether or not they used it themselves and if they used it more likely in first-person or third-person contexts or more or less equally in both contexts.

5.2 Findings

The findings on the first part of Question 1, which deals with the perceived age distribution, reveal that informants agree overwhelmingly on the age of a typical user of *be like*. As can be seen in Table 73, 91 per cent believe that young people use it mostly. The quotative *go* is also associated with young speakers by 76 per cent of the informants. In question 2, 19 per cent explicitly state that *be like*-users are under 35 years of age and 13 per cent say so about *go*-users. In contrast to this, more than half of the informants believe that *say* and *seh* are used by speakers of any age (53% and 67% respectively). Thus, the quotatives *be like* and *go* are widely associated with the speech of the younger generation, whereas *say* and *seh* are mainly seen as features without any age affiliation. However, the second most frequent answer for *say* and *seh* is that young

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[155] Many thanks to Professor Hubert Devonish for his feedback on an earlier version of the questionnaire. Thanks especially for pointing out that Jamaican non-linguists do not use the terms *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* but *good English* and *bad English*.

people use them mostly. It is also interesting that 17 per cent associate *go* with older speakers. Does the sex or the age of the informants have an influence on such answers? While men and women differ only slightly in their answers about age associations (see Appendix 8, Figures 1 and 2), the age of the informants seems to have an influence on the informants' associations.

Table 73: Perceived effects of 'age'

		be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
Question 1a	young	90.8 %	75.8 %	31.7 %	26.7 %
	old	5.0 %	16.7 %	14.2 %	6.7 %
	any age	4.2 %	5.0 %	53.3 %	66.7 %
	unsure	-	0.8 %	0.8 %	-
	no answer	-	2.5 %	-	-
Question 2	under 35	19.2 %	13.3 %		
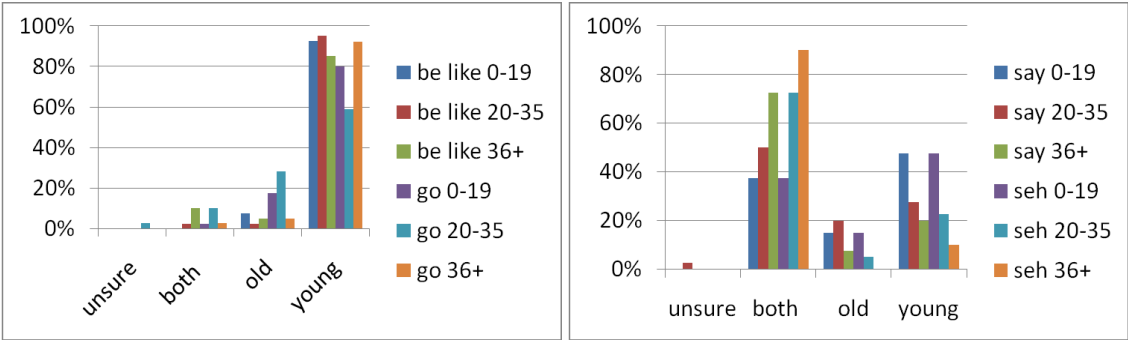
Figure 5: Question 1a * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)
Figure 6: Question 1a * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

Figure 5 shows that informants from age 36 upwards believe that a typical user of *go* is a young person. To a lesser extent, informants under 20 also share this opinion, although 18 per cent of them associate it with older people. Informants in the age group 20-35, however, vary considerably in their response: 59 per cent say that young people use *go*, 28 per cent believe that older speakers use it and 10 per cent associate it with any age. It is striking that there is such a large variation in the second age group. Given that *go* is practically absent in ICE-Jamaica, a possible reason is that informants have problems in assigning *go* to a specific age group as the quotative is infrequent in this variety. It is premature to discuss this hypothesis at this stage as further evidence from the informants is needed. Let us therefore continue the discussion below.

With regard to the quotative *say* (see Figure 6), there are also differences across age groups. It seems that as informants become older, they also become increasingly more convinced that not only young speakers but also older speakers use *say* and associate it more often with speakers of any age. More or less the same development can be observed with regard to *seh*. The difference between these two quotatives is that *seh* is earlier and stronger associated with speakers of any age.

In the second part of Question 1, the informants were asked to provide information on the perceived sex distribution. Table 74 shows that the respondents largely agree that *be like* is used predominantly by women (83%). Moreover, 68 per cent believe that women are typical *go*-users. The quotatives *say* and *seh*, on the other hand, are again perceived as neutral quotatives: 72 per cent of the informants wrote that *say* is used by both sexes and 80 per cent did so regarding *seh*. Only a few responses are that men use any of the quotatives more likely than women. Thus, the four quotatives are either associated with both sexes or with women.

Table 74: Perceived effects of 'sex' (Question 1b)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
men	4.2 %	5.8 %	6.7 %	5.8 %
women	82.5 %	68.3 %	20.0 %	13.3 %
both	13.3 %	24.2 %	71.7 %	80.0 %
unsure	-	-	0.8 %	-
no answer	-	1.7 %	0.8 %	0.8 %

Let us now move on to the possible effect of the factors 'informant sex' and 'informant age' on the selection of an answer. Similar to the question about associations with 'age', the factor 'informant sex' only minimally affects the sex-stereotypes among respondents (see Appendix 8, Figures 3 and 4), whereas there is some variation across the different age groups of informants (see Figures 7 and 8 below). As Figure 7 shows, informants below twenty and those between 20 and 35 share the same stereotypes about typical *be like*-users, whereas informants older than 35 associate the quotative more often with both sexes and less often with women than the younger informants do. With regard to quotative *say* and *seh*, there is the same effect as in Question 1a (see Figure 8): The older the informants are, the stronger is their association of *say* and *seh* with both sexes.
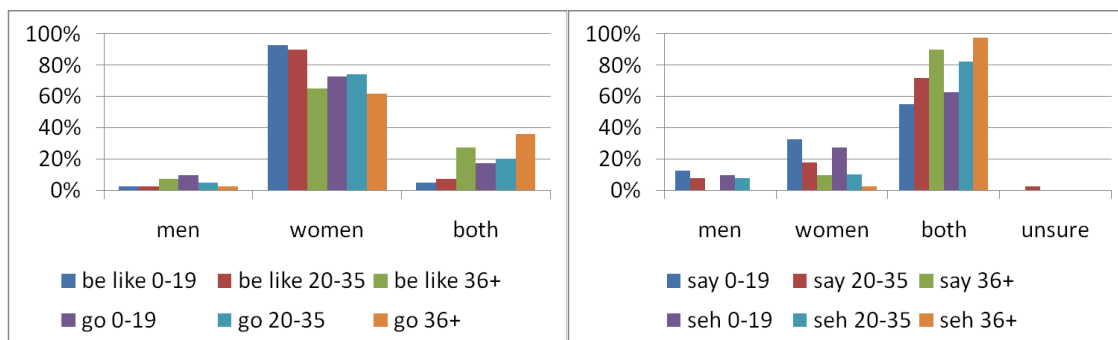
Figure 7: Question 1b * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

Figure 8: Question 1b * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

Which stereotypes do the Jamaican informants have about the nationality of typical users of these quotatives? Table 75 shows that more than forty per cent of the informants believe that *be like* is mainly used by Jamaicans (43%), and that more than half of the informants associate *go* with Jamaicans (53%). Moreover, there is wide consensus on the nationality of *seh*-users: 95 per cent believe that Jamaicans use *seh* mostly (all age groups and sexes agree in this respect; see Figure 9 and Appendix 8, Figure 5). The majority of informants also wrote that both Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans often use *say*. However, it is surprising that only 63 per cent have this opinion and that 27 per cent associate *say* with Jamaicans.

Table 75: Perceived effects of 'nationality' (Question 1c)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
Jamaicans	43.3 %	52.5 %	26.7 %	95.0 %
non-Jamaicans	26.7 %	20.0 %	8.3 %	0.8 %
both	30.0 %	23.3 %	63.3 %	4.2 %
miscellaneous	-	0.8 %	-	-
unsure	-	0.8 %	0.8 %	-
no answer	-	2.5 %	0.8 %	-

The sex of the informants does not influence the type of answer given here (see Appendix 8, Figure 5) but the age of the informants does. As Figure 9 illustrates, informants below the age of twenty differ from those in the middle and highest age group in that they attribute *say* more often to Jamaicans than informants in the other two groups (40% vs. 18% and 23%). This explains the surprising finding in Table 75.
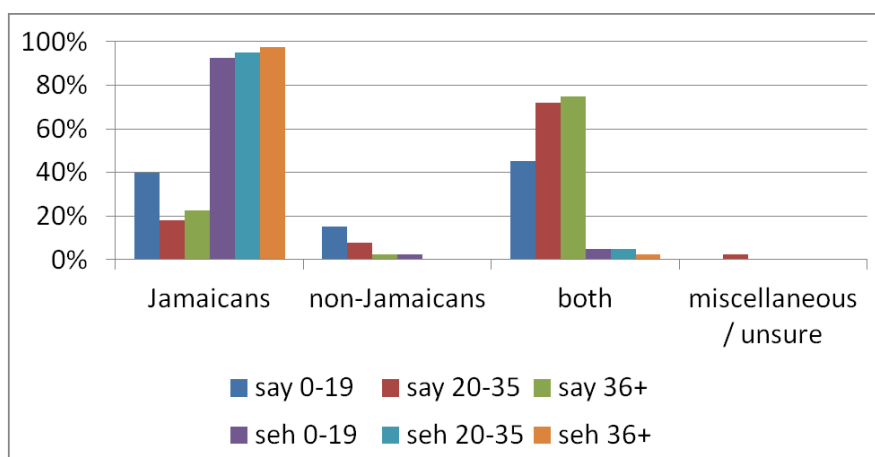
Figure 9: Question 1c * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)
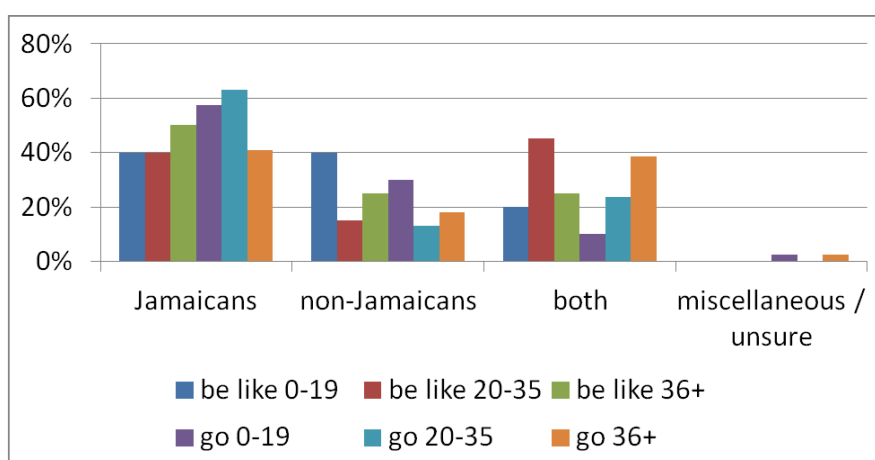
Figure 10: Question 1c * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

Figure 10 reveals that stereotypes about *be like* and *go* also vary across age groups. Of all age groups, the oldest shows the weakest association of *go* with either Jamaicans or non-Jamaicans only. In contrast, it offers the largest percentage of answers in favour of a lack of 'nationality' effect, which is almost as high as its percentage of answers in favour of Jamaicans only (39% and 41% respectively). In the case of *be like*, the oldest speakers gave an answer in favour of Jamaicans only more often than any other age group (50% vs. 40% and 40%). The youngest age group associates the new quotative as frequently with Jamaicans only as with non-Jamaicans only (40% each). That is, it shows an awareness that *be like* is also popular outside Jamaica. The latter is also reflected in the findings for the second age group, in which more informants than in any other age group answered that there is no 'nationality' effect (45%).

In contrast to the quotative *go*, not only does the age of the informants but also the sex play a role in answering the nationality question on *be like*. While the same

percentage of male and female informants believes that Jamaicans are typical *be like*-users (43%; see Figure 11), they vary in their second most frequent answer: Female informants believe that both Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans use it often, whereas the male informants wrote that non-Jamaicans use it mostly (38% and 35% respectively).
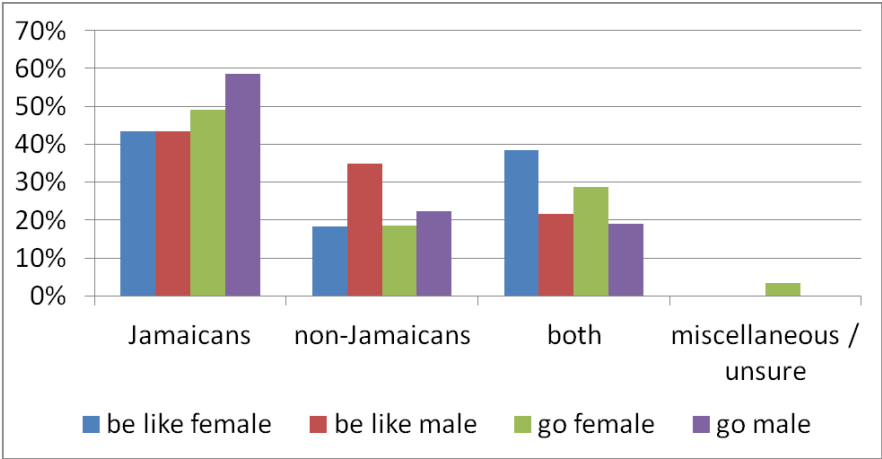
Figure 11: Question 1c * 'informant sex' (*be like* and *go*)

While informants had to choose between different options in Question 1, they had the opportunity to answer freely in Question 2. Some of them gave more specific information on the nationality of those speakers that were called "non-Jamaicans" in the questionnaire: A third of the informants wrote that they associate *be like* with Americans and another 5 per cent mentioned that North Americans (people from the USA and Canada) use it. In addition, about 17 per cent of the informants pointed out that Americans use *go*.

Apart from associations with 'nationality', some informants provided information on their stereotypes about 'social class'. The findings are given in Table 76 below. As the table shows, comments on the questionnaire indicate that *be like*, *go* and *say* are often associated with the middle class and the middle to upper class, although these associations are quite weak. Actually, quotative *seh* carries the strongest associations: 41 per cent of the informants attribute it to speakers from the lower class or the lower to middle class.

Table 76: Perceived effects of 'social class' (Question 2)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
lower class and lower to middle class	10.0 %	14.9 %	4.2 %	40.8 %
middle class	22.4 %	25.8 %	15.8 %	5.0 %
middle class and above	13.3 %	8.3 %	10.0 %	0.8 %
upper class	7.5 %	4.2 %	5.8 %	1.7 %
no distinction / unsure	12.5 %	13.3 %	14.2 %	8.3 %
no information	34.2 %	33.3 %	50.0 %	43.3 %

Also, 'education' does not trigger strong stereotypes (see Table 77). The most frequent answers were that the use of *be like, go* and *say* is typical for speakers in the high school/secondary school or with an educational level above high school and that *say* indicates that a speaker is educated, whereas *seh* is associated with less educated or uneducated speakers.

Table 77: Perceived effects of 'education' (Question 2)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
primary level and high school	10.0 %	11.7 %	2.5 %	8.3 %
between high school and college / high school and above / up to tertiary level	20.9 %	15.0 %	15.8 %	6.6 %
above high school / tertiary level	7.4 %	4.2 %	5.0 %	0 %
not most educated / less educated / not educated	4.2 %	6.7 %	4.2 %	15.0 %
educated	14.2 %	12.5 %	18.3 %	4.2 %
good education / well educated / higher level of education	6.6 %	2.5 %	4.2 %	0.8 %
no distinction / unsure	9.2 %	10.8 %	13.3 %	11.7 %
no information	30.8 %	36.7 %	35.0 %	53.3 %

Still infrequent, but nevertheless interesting are the comments on the adoption process of *be like*. Two informants mentioned in Question 2 that *be like* is adopted from America and another informant said that its origin is California; five informants wrote that there is an influence from the media and two of them believe that the influence comes from the American media. According to two informants, there is also an influence from the media on the use of *go*. Moreover, the informant who said that California is the origin of *be like* associates *go* with California. However, the latter quotative does not seem to be as widespread as *be like* as three informants wrote that they had not heard it before.

Question 3 deals with perceptions about 'grammaticality'. The majority of informants agree that *be like* and *go* are bad English (62% and 67% respectively, see Table 78), but both quotatives are also associated with good English by some informants (24% and 23% respectively). *Say* is clearly considered as a feature of good English (88%), and *seh* is perceived as bad English by many informants (76%). Other informants, especially female and/or older informants, made use of the additional option of writing a comment. Here, 6 per cent of all informants said that *seh* is "not English" but "a different language", and 10 per cent used the terms *Creole*, *Patwa*, *dialect* and *Jamaican idiom* for *seh*.

Table 78: Perceptions about 'grammaticality' (Question 3)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
good English	24.2 %	22.5 %	88.3 %	3.3 %
bad English	61.7 %	66.7 %	8.3 %	75.8 %
in between	5.8 %	5 %	1.7 %	0.8 %
miscellaneous	7.5 %	5 %	0.8 %	4.2 %
not English, a different language	-	-	-	5.8 %
Creole/Patwa/dialect/Jamaican idiom	-	-	-	10.0 %

With regard to the factors 'informant sex' and 'informant age', it is interesting that more male than female informants and more informants below the age of twenty than above believe that *be like* and *go* are good English (see Figures 12 and 13).
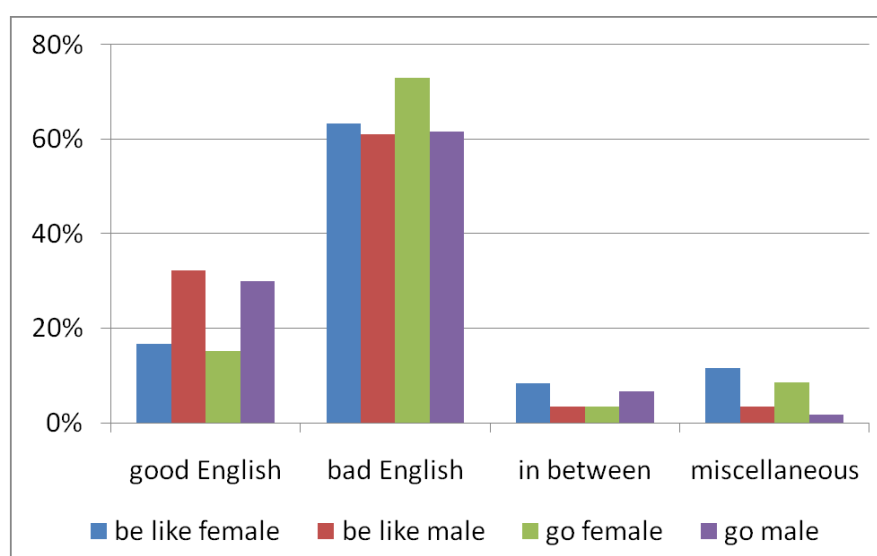
Figure 12: Question 3 * 'informant sex' (*be like* and *go*)
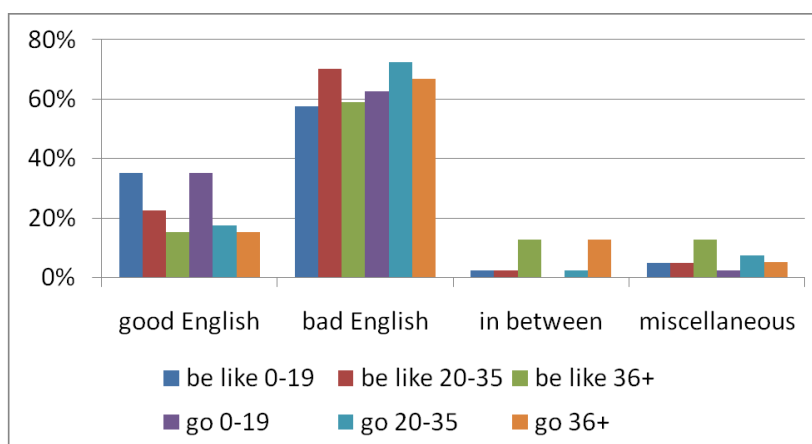
Figure 13: Question 3 * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

The oldest informants, on the other hand, wrote more often than informants in the other age groups that both quotatives are somewhere in between good and bad English (13% vs. 3% / 0% and 3%; see Figure 13) and described *seh* less often as bad English (55% vs. 88% and 85%; see Figure 14).
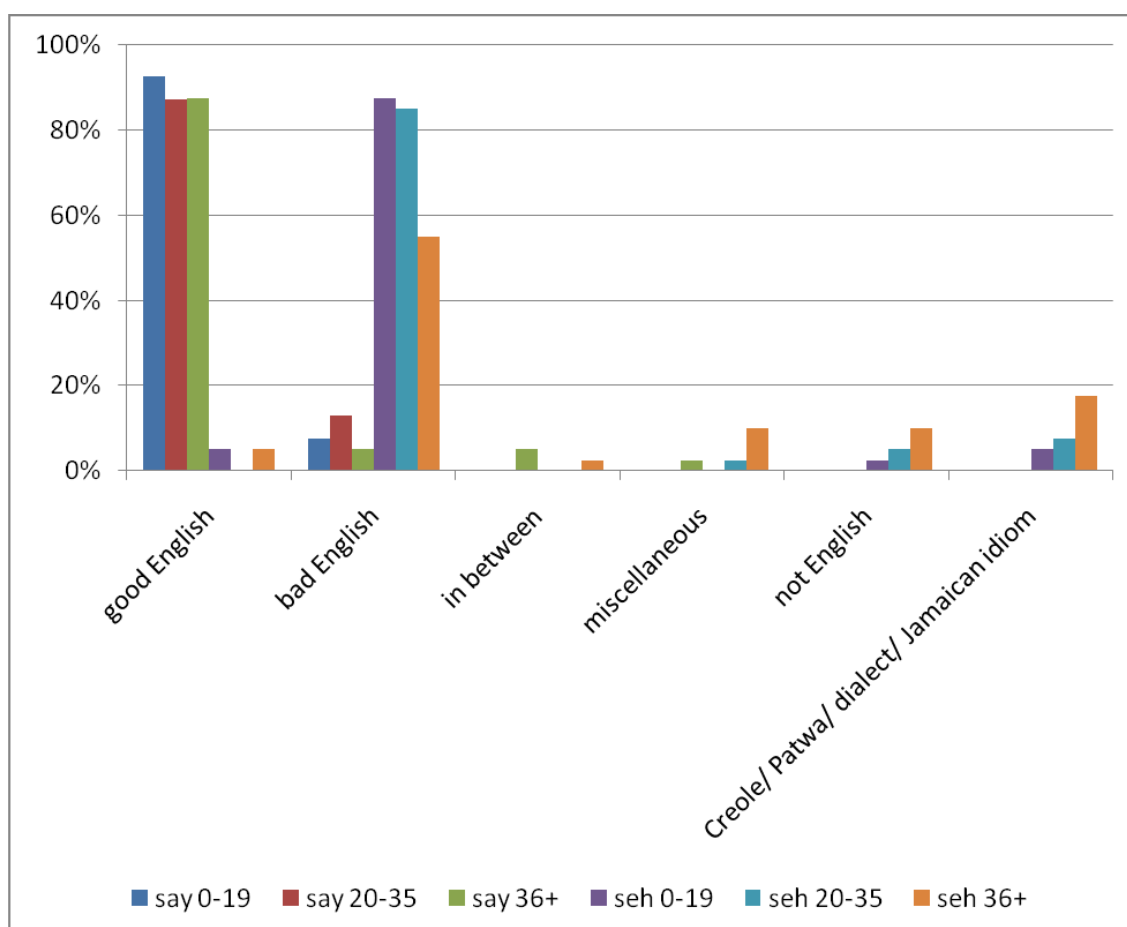
Figure 14: Question 3 * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

Associations with 'register' are the focus of the first part of Question 4. The answers to this question are given in Table 79. It shows that the vast majority of respondents agree that *be like*, *go* and *seh* are used in casual speech (89%, 85% and 91%), whereas the informants are quite divided in their opinion about *say*. While 38 per cent of the informants associate *say* with both formal and casual speech, 35 per cent attribute it to formal speech and 27 per cent think it is indicative of casual speech.

As Figure 15 illustrates, male and female informants differ in their answers in this case. Men associate *say* more often with casual speech than women (33% vs. 20%), while a higher percentage of women than men believes that it is a feature of formal speech (44% vs. 27%).

Table 79: Perceptions about 'register' (Question 4)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
casual speech	89.2 %	85.0 %	26.7 %	90.8 %
formal speech	7.5 %	11.7 %	35.0 %	3.3 %
both	3.3 %	1.7 %	37.5 %	4.2 %
in between	-	1.7 %	-	-
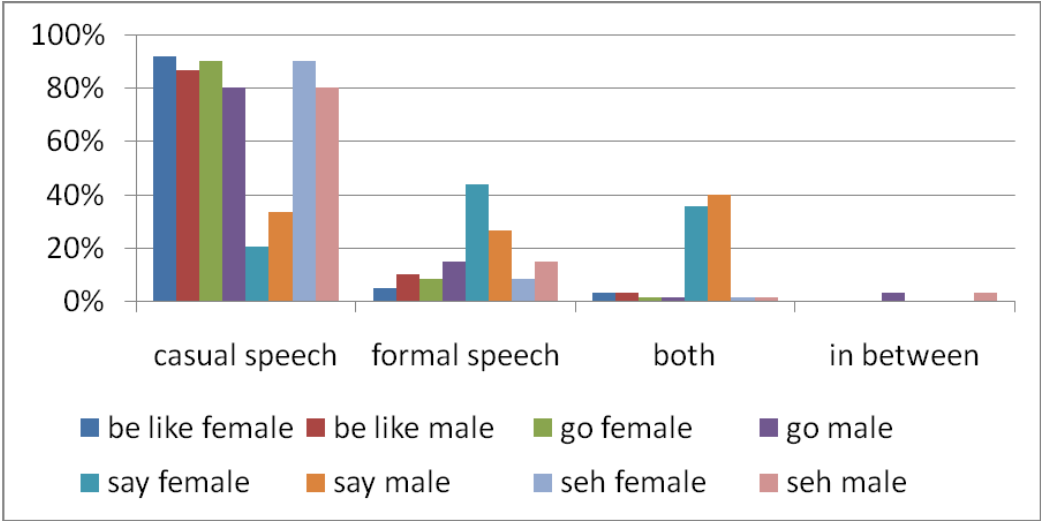
Figure 15: Question 4 * 'informant sex' (*be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh*)

Furthermore, the informants' age has an influence on the perceptions about 'register' regarding *be like*, *go* and *say*. The youngest age group associates *be like* and *go* more often with formal speech and less often with casual speech than the older informants (see Figure 16).
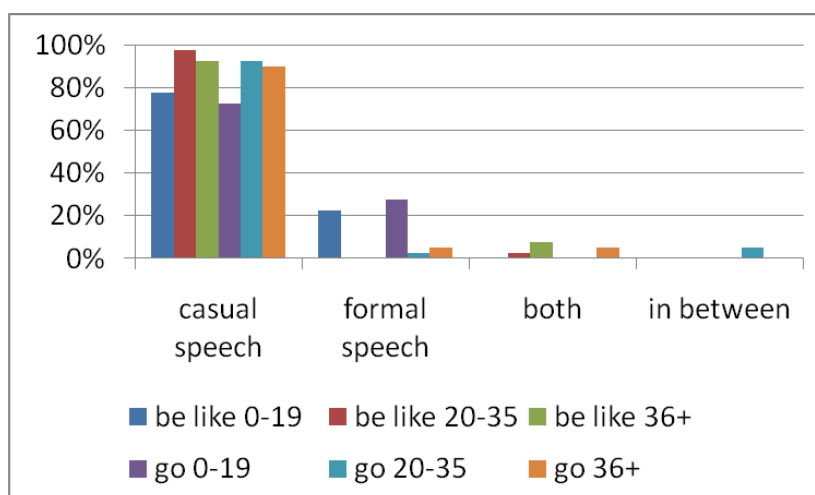
Figure 16: Question 4 * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

However, the older informants are, the stronger is their association of *say* with both formal and casual speech and the weaker their association of *say* with either casual or formal speech (see Figure 17). That is, older informants are less torn between associations with either casual speech or formal speech.
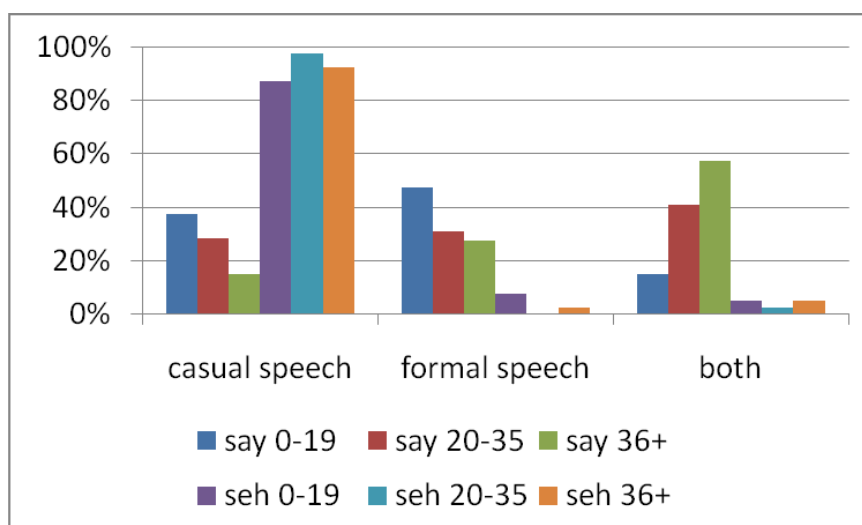
Figure 17: Question 4 * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

In the second part of Question 4, informants were asked whether they believe that the quotatives are indicative of Patwa or Standard English. Due to the language situation in Jamaica, these two options were offered in the questionnaire and, as a third option, the informants were allowed to write comments. Table 80 reveals that almost every informant associates *seh* with Patwa and that the vast majority recognises *say* as a word in Standard English.

Table 80: Perceptions about 'language typology' (Question 4)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
Patwa	25.0 %	30.0 %	7.5 %	99.2 %
Standard English	35.8 %	39.2 %	85.0 %	0.8 %
both	2.5 %	2.5 %	3.3 %	-
in between	9.2 %	6.7 %	-	-
slang	12.5 %	9.2 %	0.8 %	-
American dialect, TV / casual American English, Americanized / American-style English	5.0 %	2.5 %	0.8 %	-
miscellaneous	8.3 %	7.5 %	-	-

A more controversial issue was the classification of *be like* and *go*. Some informants believe that these quotatives are used in Patwa (25% and 30% respectively), others associate them with Standard English (36% and 39% respectively), and yet another group wrote various comments on what they think that *be like* and *go* are indicative of. For, instance, several comments said that these quotatives are American English (5% and 3%) or slang (13% and 9%). The latter answer was especially frequent among female informants in relation to *be like* (19%; see Appendix 8, Figure 7) and among the oldest informants in relation to both *be like* and *go* (26% and 29%; see Figure 18).
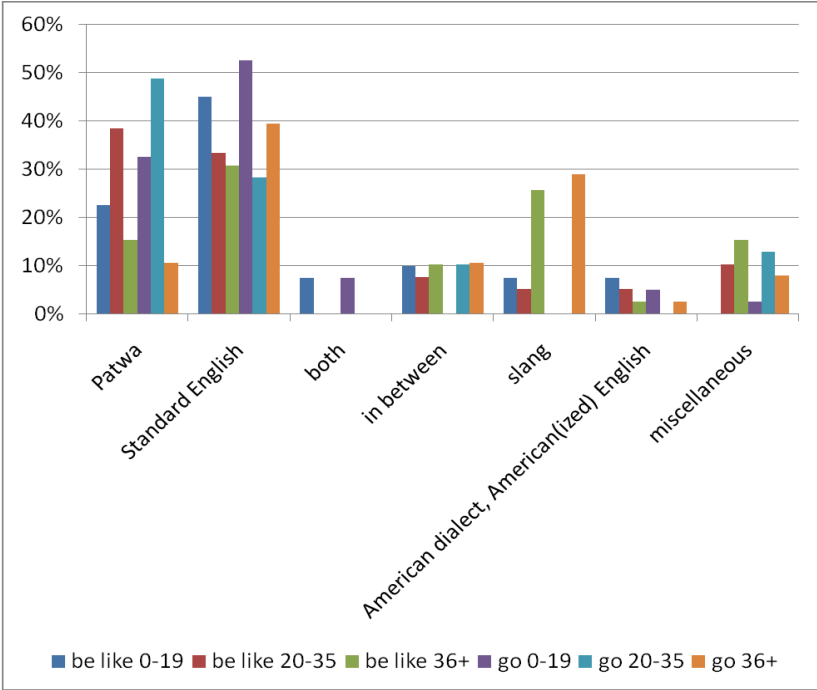
Figure 18: Question 4 * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

Depending on age, informants also vary in other respects (see Figure 18): The group aged 20-35 most frequently ticked the option *Patwa* for *be like* and *go* (38% and 49%), followed by the option *Standard English* (33% and 28%). The most frequent answer by the youngest and oldest informants, on the other hand, is that *be like* and *go* are used as quotatives in Standard English (young: 45% and 53%; old: 31% and 39%).

Having answered this list of questions, the informants were asked to reflect on their own use of quotatives in the last section of each page. The aim of Question 5 was to find out whether or not the informants thought they might use the investigated quotatives. It was designed as an open-ended question where informants were invited to write about their perceived use on the lines offered below the question. However, all informants decided to make it short. Table 81 displays a summary of the answers.

Table 81: Perceived use of quotatives (Question 5)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
yes	65.8 %	34.2 %	92.5 %	90.0 %
no	34.2 %	65.8 %	7.5 %	10.0 %

The table shows that almost all informants think that they use *say* and *seh*, and most informants, including primarily younger respondents, think they use *be like*. In contrast, the percentage of perceived use of *go* is low (34%). It is worth noting that women gave a positive answer less often in relation to *go* than men (27% vs. 42%; see Figure 19). This means that the self-perception of informants does not reflect the perceived 'sex' effect since the majority of informants said in Question 1 that *go* is used predominantly by women (cf. Table 74). Also, the informants' perception of their own use does not mirror the perceived effect of the factor 'sex' on *be like* (women over men). With regard to 'age', the self-perceptions are in all cases consistent with the perceived effects (see Table 73 and Appendix 8, Figures 6 and 7). Thus, the largest percentages of positive answers for the informants' perceived use of *be like* and *go* can be found in the first and second age group in the case of *be like* and in the first age group in the case of *go*, whereas there are no age differences regarding the perceived use of *say* and *seh*.
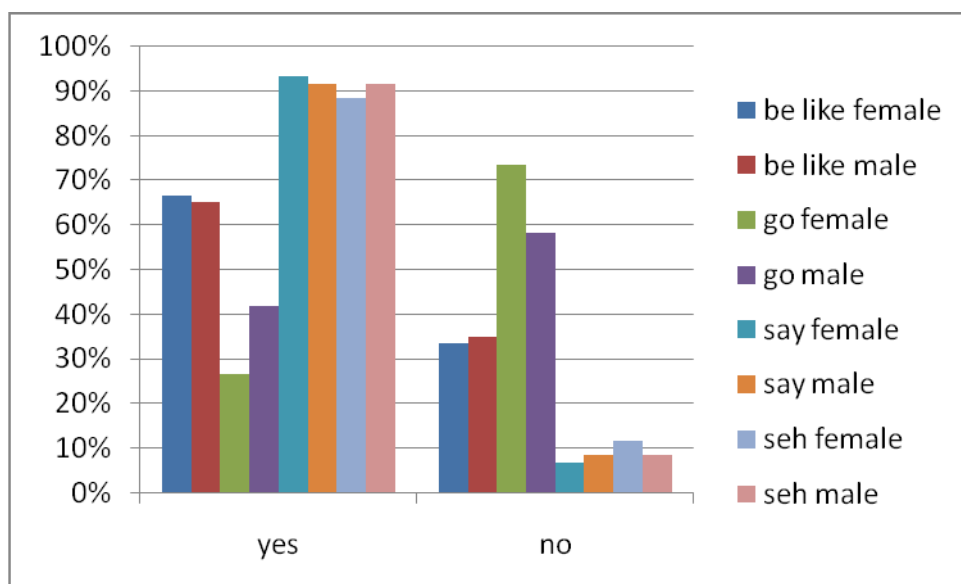
Figure 19: Question 5 * 'informant sex' (*be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh*)

The final question was addressed to those informants who answered Question 5 in the affirmative. They were asked whether they think that they use the quotatives more likely in first-person contexts (first option), in third-person contexts (second option), or in both contexts alike (third option). Table 82 reveals that most of the informants think that they combine each of the quotatives with both first- and third-person subjects alike. The remaining two options, either first- or third-person contexts, are chosen more or less equally by the informants for quotatives *go*, *say* and *seh*, while a larger number of informants think that they use *be like* more likely in third-person contexts. Male informants in particular gave this answer as Figure 20 illustrates (28% vs. 10%). Female informants, on the other hand, chose the third option slightly more often than men (88% vs. 67%).

Table 82: Perceived use of quotatives in first- and third-person contexts (Question 6)

	be like	*go*	*say*	*seh*
1st person	2.5 %	14.6 %	11.7 %	9.3 %
3rd person	19.0 %	17.1 %	13.5 %	13.9 %
both	77.2 %	68.3 %	74.8 %	76.9 %
no answer	1.3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Total N	79	41	111	108
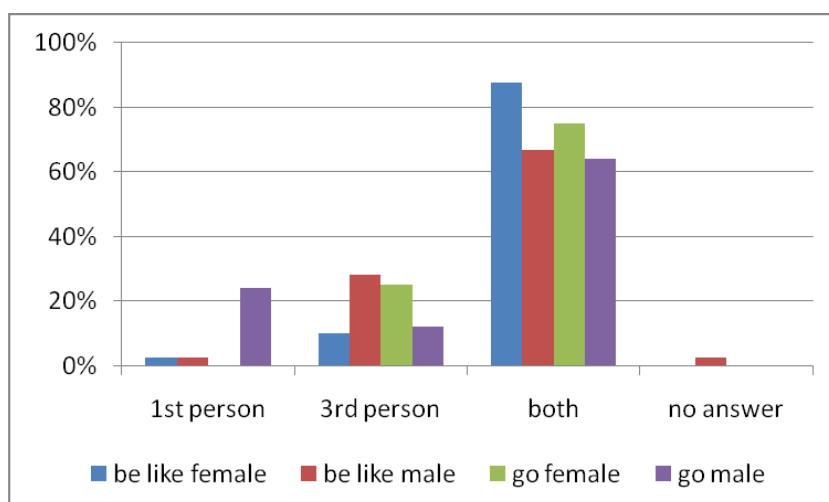
Figure 20: Question 6 * 'informant sex' (*be like* and *go*)

The same difference between male and female informants can be found in relation to the quotative *say* (see Figure 21). With regard to 'informant age', there is only one notable difference between the youngest age group and the others: The former chose the first and second option for *say* and *seh* more often than older informants, i.e. a larger number of younger than older informants think that they use these quotatives in a particular context (see Appendix 8, Figure 9).
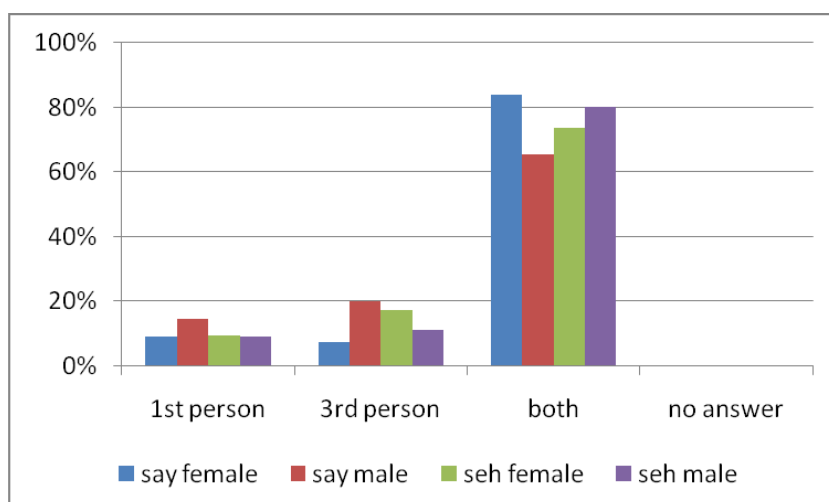
Figure 21: Question 6 * 'informant sex' (*say* and *seh*)

5.3 Comparison with the Jamaican distributional data

To what extent do the informants' perceptions support the findings of the distributional analysis and help explain peculiarities in the corpus? The following section will deal with this question and compare the attitudinal data of each investigated quotative with

the corresponding distributional data in ICE-Jamaica. In the latter analysis, the findings on 'speaker age', 'speaker sex' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' are based on the private dialogues in the collection period between 2002 and 2005. This is the closest possible collection period to the point in time when the survey study was carried out (2008).

Table 83: Comparison of attitudinal and distributional data on *be like*

	age	sex	grammatical person	register
Questionnaire	young: 91 %	women: 83 % men: 4 %	both: 77 %	casual: 89 % formal: 8 %
ICE-Jamaica	17-25: 21 % 26-45: 9 % 45+: -	women: 18 % men: 4 %	1st person: 22 % 3rd person: 17 %	almost exclusively used in private dialogues

Firstly, Table 83 summarises the findings for the quotative *be like*. As we can see, the perceived effects of 'age', 'sex' and 'register' as well as the self-perceptions on the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' reflect the distributional data. With regard to the social factors, however, the situation is a bit more complex than the corpus results suggest at first sight: information on 'speaker age' is missing for 6 per cent of the subcorpus, and only 4 per cent of the remaining data stem from speakers above the age of 45, whereas 68 per cent stem from speakers aged 17-25. Moreover, the 26-45 age band is so wide that it includes both likely users of *be like* and less likely users. Previous studies and my survey study have shown that *be like* is typically associated with speakers under the age of 35. This means that all of the speakers in the age band who use *be like* may come from the perceived generation of *be like*-users. In other words, we are left with a very small proportion of data stemming from speakers aged 46 and older, who do not use *be like*. Given the skewed composition, it seems difficult to draw a comparison between the attitudinal and distributional data. What we can say is that young speakers in the Jamaican subcorpus actually use *be like*. This subcorpus is not only skewed towards younger speakers but also towards women. More precisely, 80 per cent of the data stem from women. Of all quotatives used by male and female speakers respectively, *be like* accounts for a larger proportion of quotatives among women than men. This suggests that the distributional data parallel the attitudinal data but more data from male speakers are needed to confirm the finding. The perceived

effect of the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative', on the other hand, aligns with the distributional data in that the effect is rather weak in the 2002-2005 subset (as the multivariate analysis in Chapter 4.1.7 suggested). In terms of register differences, the subcorpus of private dialogues in the period between 2002 and 2005 needs to be supplemented by data from another text category. One text type in the subset of public dialogues, class lessons, seems to be suitable for that purpose because young people, i.e. typical users of *be like*, participate and class lessons are more formal than private dialogues due to the presence of a person of authority. As the quotative is very infrequent in this subset,[156] the perceived effect of 'register' is supported by the corpus data. That is, *be like* seems to be widely restricted to casual speech in Jamaican English.

The quotative *go* is practically absent in ICE-Jamaica. There is just one debatable example by a young, female speaker in the private dialogues. The social and linguistic features are consistent with the perceived effects: young (76%); female (68%) and casual speech (85%). More importantly, the attitudinal data explain the infrequency of *go* in ICE-Jamaica. Since 66 per cent of the informants in the survey wrote that they do not use *go* as a quotative, it seems that *go* is generally not a popular quotative in Jamaican English. However, it is worth noting in this context that men in the youngest age group most frequently answered that they perceive using *go* (Question 5: 60%). It was also the latter group that showed the strongest association of *go* with Jamaicans (Question 1c: 70%) although other informant groups also do not assume a frequent use of *go* outside Jamaica. Thus, to explain the contrast between a strong association of *go* with Jamaicans and the low level of perceived use of *go* by Jamaican informants in general it would seem that young Jamaican men and others perceive *go* as a feature of young Jamaicans, whereas mainly young Jamaican men perceive themselves as actually using it. If this perception reflects reality it might be (a) a new trend among young Jamaicans as speakers aged 17-25 in the corpus data collected between 2002 and 2005 do not indicate such a development, or (b) highly restricted to young men. As mentioned before, the corpus is skewed against men so that more data from young Jamaican men are needed to allow a firm statement. What the corpus data from women aged 17-25 reveal is that they do not use *go*.[157]

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[156] Almost all tokens of *be like* occur in the subset of private dialogues.
[157] In the subcorpus of the youngest age group in the last collection period (109,390 words; see Appendix 1, last table), female speech accounts for 83 per cent. The debatable example of *go* was found in the speech of a female Jamaican aged 26-45.

Informants in the survey describe *say* as a quotative that is used by speakers of any age as well as by both sexes (see Table 84). They also report that they perceive using *say* in first- and third-person contexts alike, but they are divided in their associations with 'register'. As expected, the Jamaican distributional data support the perceptions about 'age', 'sex' and 'grammatical person of the quotative'. Although older speakers and men favour *say* in the Jamaican subcorpus, the quotative accounts for more than fifty per cent of quotative use in the remaining categories, i.e. it is frequently used by all age groups and by both sexes. *Say* is also used frequently in both first- and third-person contexts in the Jamaican subcorpus, although third-person contexts favour it. With regard to 'register', it is not possible to present concrete numbers in relation to the distributional analysis, as the extraction of the zero quotative was limited to private dialogues only. In addition to the private dialogues, there are three further subsets in the corpus: public dialogues, unscripted monologues and scripted monologues. As mentioned in Chapter 3, public dialogues and unscripted monologues cover a rather broad spectrum on the formality continuum between mainly informal and mainly formal, while scripted monologues are predominantly formal in their character. When we consider these three categories as subsets of more formal speech than the private dialogues, the data reveal that *say* is used frequently in both types of register but the proportion that *say* represents of all quotatives is larger in the subsets of more formal speech. This aligns perfectly with the attitudinal data. However, conclusions must remain tentative due to the fact that the zero quotative was not extracted from all subsets.

Table 84: Comparison of attitudinal and distributional data on *say*

	age	sex	grammatical person	register
Questionnaire	any age: 53 %	both: 72 %	both: 75 %	casual: 27 % formal: 35 % both: 38 %
ICE-Jamaica	17-25: 56 % 26-45: 54 % 45+: 83 %	women: 53 % men: 69 %	1st person: 56 % 3rd person: 62 %	used in all text categories

Finally, let us compare the results of the quotative *seh*. Table 85 shows that most informants in the survey associate *seh* with speakers of any age. In the Jamaican subcorpus, the local quotative is used in the first and second age groups but not in the

oldest one. Given that *seh* is rather infrequently used in the subcorpus, the subset of data stemming from speakers older than 45 years might be too limited in size to include tokens. Of the remaining two age groups, the local quotative is slightly favoured by speakers aged 26-45.

Table 85: Comparison of attitudinal and distributional data on *seh*

	age	sex	grammatical person	register
Questionnaire	any age: 67 %	both: 80 %	both: 77 %	casual: 91 %
ICE-Jamaica	17-25: 4 % 26-45: 9 % 45+: -	women: 6 % men: 2 %	1st person: 7 % 3rd person: 7 %	(see discussion)

With regard to 'speaker sex', the findings of the attitudinal analysis suggest a frequent perception of *seh* as a sex-neutral quotative, while the distributional analysis shows that *seh* is used by both sexes, but more likely by women. Again, the skewed composition of the subcorpus with regard to 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' leads me to take a cautious approach. It should also be noted that the informants in the survey might have thought of more mesolectal conversations when answering the questionnaire than those represented in ICE-Jamaica. Deuber (2009a) explains the guidelines for the compilation of the private conversations in ICE-Jamaica and says that

> fieldworkers tried for the most part to record educated Jamaicans in private interactions in which, in spite of their relative informality, a variety considered as English was used at least at the outset, but they were not supposed to intervene if the language changed in the course of the conversation, nor were recordings excluded in the process of corpus compilation on the grounds that Creole was used. (Deuber 2009a: 6-7)

That is, the private conversations in ICE-Jamaica may, but need not, include Jamaican Creole. Thus, a corpus of Jamaican Creole, comprising a larger amount of *seh* tokens, is likely to reveal that the factors 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' have no effect on *seh*. Despite this, however, the attitudinal data parallel the distributional data for the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative': the informants in the questionnaire believe that they use *seh* in both first- and third-person contexts alike and *seh* shows the same rates in these contexts in the 2002-2005 subcorpus. Furthermore, the findings of the two types of analyses align regarding the factor 'register'. Given that the quotative *seh* is

classified as *anti-formal* (see Allsopp 1996: 497, *seh*[1]), we would expect it to be associated with casual speech, as the informants in the questionnaire do. What about its actual use in the corpus data? In comparison with the Jamaican private dialogues collected in the period between 2002 and 2005, *seh* occurs only infrequently in the public dialogues and unscripted monologues in the corresponding collection period, which supports the attitudinal data. However, it must be admitted that the quotative is used remarkably frequently in the unscripted monologues collected in the period between 1995 and 2001. In the latter case, a high frequency within one text explains the situation. Obviously, it would be too simplistic to assume that *seh* is not only indicative of (see Question 4 in the questionnaire, Appendix 7) but also highly restricted to informal conversations. Depending on the topic, speakers might decide (more or less consciously) to switch into Jamaican Creole, even in more formal speech. Then the use of Jamaican Creole (such as the local quotative *seh*) can be seen as a means to negotiate the identity of a native Jamaican (see Shields 1989).

5.4 Comparison with previous survey studies

Let us now move to a comparison of the attitudinal findings with the results from previous attitudinal surveys. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are four studies available for comparison.[158] Table 86 provides information on the design characteristics of these survey studies.

Table 86: Overview of previous attitudinal studies

Study	Variety	Number of informants	Educational level	Quotatives
Blyth et al. (1990)	AmE	54	University students	*be like*, *go*
Dailey-O'Cain (2000)	AmE	40	Highly educated	*be like*
Buchstaller (2006b)	BrE	191	Highly educated	*be like*, *go*
Halford (2008)	CanE	34	Information not retrievable	*be like*

As the table reveals, the previous studies cover perceptions on *be like* (and *go*) by American, British and Canadian respondents. The number of informants is lower in three of the studies than in my study with 120 informants. Only in Buchstaller (2006b) it is greater. The educational background of the informants in the first three studies is

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[158] Blackwell & Fox Tree (2012) carried out a survey study in California. In contrast to the studies in Table 86, however, the focus is on the informants' own use of *be like* and differences between *be like* and *say*.

the same as in the study that I carried out in Jamaica. The last study listed in the table, Halford (2008), offers the results of an online questionnaire.[159] Although Halford collected background information on her informants, she does not provide any details as to the educational level, sex and age of her informants because she found that biographical information did not turn out to be relevant. Thus, the four studies are nevertheless comparable in this respect. Finally, it is worth mentioning that all but Blyth et al. (1990) offer statistical evidence. A summary of the findings both in previous studies and in my own survey study is presented in Table 87 below.

Table 87: Overview of findings in attitudinal studies

	be like	*go*
Grammaticality	*Ungrammatical/bad English*: Blyth et al. (1990) Jamaican data: 62 %	*Ungrammatical/bad English*: Blyth et al. (1990) Jamaican data: 67 %
Level of formality	*Casual/informal speech*: Blyth et al. (1990) Halford (2008): 65 % Jamaican data: 89 %	*Casual/informal speech*: Blyth et al. (1990) Jamaican data: 85 %
Age	*Young*: Blyth et al. (1990) Dailey-O'Cain (2000): 98 % Buchstaller (2006b): 93 % Halford (2008): 85 % Jamaican data: 91 %	*Young*: Buchstaller (2006b): 76 % Jamaican data: 76 %
Sex	*Women*: Blyth et al. (1990) Dailey-O'Cain (2000): 83 % Buchstaller (2006b): 34 % Jamaican data: 83 %	*Men*: Blyth et al. (1990) *No effect*: Buchstaller (2006b): 61 % *Women*: Jamaican data: 68 %
Social class	*Middle class (and above)*: Blyth et al. (1990) Buchstaller (2006b): 11% Jamaican data: 43 % *Working class*: Buchstaller (2006b): 31 % Jamaican data: 10 %	*Lower/working class*: Blyth et al. (1990) Buchstaller (2006b): 56 % *Middle class and above*: Jamaican data: 38 %
Educational level		*Uneducated*: Blyth et al. (1990) Jamaican data: only 7 %

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[159] In her pilot study, Halford (2008) asked questions about pronunciation, orthography, grammar, attitudes, lexicon and innovative expressions. She investigated a large number of features and restricted the questions to a small number. Thus, the questionnaire does not include questions about sex and class stereotypes, which would be very interesting in the context of *be like*.

The table shows that perceptions about *be like* are not equivalent across localities (UK, US, Canada and Jamaica). What all four localities share is their association of *be like* with young people. Furthermore, *be like* is associated with casual speech by American, Canadian and Jamaican informants.[160] The percentage of Canadian informants associating *be like* with casual speech is lower than in my Jamaican study, but still the majority of informants share this association. American and Jamaican informants also share associations of *be like* with women and the middle class although stereotypes about 'class' are relatively weak in the Jamaican survey study. Buchstaller's (2006b) British informants show even weaker stereotypes in that more than fifty per cent of the informants answered that they do not associate *be like* with a specific class. Moreover, more than half of her respondents do not associate the quotative with any particular sex. Among the remaining answers, most informants perceive female and working-class speakers as the most likely *be like* users. Thus, associations with the working-class are stronger in Buchstaller (2006b) than in my Jamaican survey (31% vs. 10%), but the opposite is true in relation to the factor 'sex' (34% vs. 83%). If we consider *bad English* (cf. Footnote 155) as the Jamaican equivalent of *ungrammatical*, the latter being used in Blyth et al. (1990), *be like* is perceived as ungrammatical in both the American and Jamaican study.

As in my study, Dailey-O'Cain (2000) compares the responses given by male and female informants regarding sex-stereotypes and asked informants whether or not they think that they use *be like* themselves. She coded the answers on self-perception according to four levels of frequency. As my informants predominantly answered with *yes* or *no*, it was not possible to make such a distinction. Nevertheless the overall outcome is comparable to a certain extent and comparisons between the two studies can be drawn. First, there are obvious similarities between the two studies in relation to the self-perceptions of young men and women, as one would expect. In Dailey-O'Cain's study, young informants from both sexes wrote that they use the quotative sometimes and the vast majority from both Jamaican groups of younger respondents said – irrespective of their sex – that they use *be like*. However, the older men in her study differ from the older women in that they tended to answer with *never*, whereas older women claimed to use it sometimes or rarely. Note in comparison the much weaker 'sex' effect in my study: 40 per cent of older women said that they use it, while 45 per

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[160] Buchstaller (2006b) does not discuss this factor.

cent of the older men answered in the affirmative, i.e. the percentage of male informants using *be like* is even slightly higher than that of women. An explanation might be that Dailey-O'Cain's oldest age group includes informants from age 45 upwards, whereas the oldest age group in my study starts from age 36. Thus, it might be the case that the number of positive answers given by the Jamaican informants aged 36-44 is disproportionately high in comparison with the older informants in this age group so that a comparison with Dailey-O'Cain (2000) is only possible when taking a cautious approach in this respect. With regard to perceptions about 'sex', Dailey-O'Cain (2000) reports that her male and female American informants differ quite considerably from each other (25%). Again, the difference in my study is negligible (9%).

In the two American studies, informants were also asked about regional affiliations of typical *be like* users. A characteristic description of *be like* users in Blyth et al. (1990) is that they come from California. The same answer was given by several of Dailey-O'Cain's respondents (35%) and one of my Jamaican informants. Similar questions about regional associations were also included in the non-American questionnaires. Halford (2008), for instance, asked whether informants think that *be like* is used by American, Canadian and/or British speakers and identified that all of her informants associate *be like* with American and Canadian usage (but not with British English). It is less surprising that Canadians associate *be like* with Canadian and American usage as they are geographically close to Americans. However, it is striking that, despite the general formulation of the question and the explicit reference to British speakers, Canadians do not associate the new quotative with British speakers. My questionnaire does not offer a list of different nationalities. Rather, informants were invited to specify the nationality of typical *be like* users, as some respondents actually did. Of the 120 informants, only one associates *be like* with English English speakers, while the quotative is frequently associated with American, Canadian and Caribbean citizens. Thus, the association of *be like* with British speakers is, as in Halford (2008), very weak in the Jamaican attitudinal data. Note, however, that there is an explicit reference to typical *be like* users in the Jamaican but not in the Canadian questionnaire, i.e. Jamaicans might nevertheless perceive British speakers as users of *be like*. In contrast to Halford (2008), Buchstaller (2006b) did not ask her informants about the use of *be like* in general but about their perceptions regarding the geographical source of *be like*. Of her British informants, 37 per cent believe that *be like* comes from the United

States. A comparison with my own data is difficult at this point as specifying the nationality of typical *be like* users is not the same as an explicit question about the geographical source. Nevertheless, such answers also show local associations. Interestingly, the perceived effect in the Jamaican data is roughly as strong as in Buchstaller (2006b): 34 per cent of my respondents associate *be like* with Americans, which is by far the most frequently given answer. Furthermore, a few of my informants provided specific information on the adoption process: 4 per cent think that *be like* is American. Considering that my informants had the opportunity to answer freely, while the informants in Buchstaller (2006b) were explicitly asked about local associations, it is astonishing that there is no major difference between the two studies. In the literature, *be like* is commonly described as an American feature that spread from American English into other varieties. As Buchstaller (2006b: 374) notes, it is surprising that less than fifty per cent of her informants associate it with the US, while the majority of informants do not show any local associations. Is spatial distance to the US the reason for this striking result? Is lack of interest in or are reservations about the American popular culture among educated British informants responsible for it? As Buchstaller's questions on the questionnaire are different from my questions, an interpretation of the findings is problematic. There is a risk of reading into it something that we might intuitively expect. Still, an explanation might be that the influence and an awareness of the most recent trends in the American culture are greater among educated Jamaicans than British. I will return to this discussion later (see Chapter 6.2).

For a comparison of the findings on *go*, only three studies are available: Blyth et al. (1990), Buchstaller (2006b) and my own study. Again, the factors 'grammaticality' and 'level of formality' are not tested in Buchstaller (2006b). In both Blyth et al. (1990) and my own study, *go* is perceived as ungrammatical and as indicative of casual speech. Social connotations of *go*, on the other hand, are quite dissimilar across the three studies: The association of *go* with the lower/working class reported in the American and British data has not been revealed by Jamaican informants. In addition, the perceived 'sex' effect varies across localities: Americans believe that a typical *go* user is male, while 68 per cent of my Jamaican informants associate it with women, and the majority of the British informants do not have any specific associations of *go* with 'speaker sex'. In contrast with the perceptions of American informants, *go* is also not perceived as indicative of uneducated speakers in Jamaica since my Jamaican

informants have no clear education-stereotypes. The Jamaican findings, however, parallel the British findings in relation to the perceived age of typical *go* users in that the majority of informants associate *go* with younger speakers. Furthermore, there are only weak associations of *go* with the US in both the British and Jamaican data: 12 per cent of British informants answered that *go* is American English and one Jamaican informant thought this. Moreover, 17 per cent of the Jamaican informants believe that *go* is most likely to be used by American English speakers. Thus, I happily come to the same conclusion as Buchstaller (2006b: 362) that the perceptual load of *go* is "similar in some respects and different in others."

In the closing stage of this comparison, let us briefly return to the different design characteristics of the previous studies. As mentioned above, Dailey-O'Cain's study is based on just forty informants and was published in the year 2000; Blyth et al. (1990) is even ten years older and includes attitudinal data from fifty-four informants. So the number of informants is quite small in both studies. Dailey-O'Cain (2000) is the only American study with statistical evidence, and the informants in this study have wide consensus on their associations. Therefore, the relatively small number of informants might be justified in view of the findings. However, the difference in sampling dates between the American and Jamaican studies may be an important factor. It might, of course, be the case that the perceptual load of *be like* in the United States has changed in the meantime. On the basis of the given data, we might speculate that attitudes have not changed as *be like* at least does not seem to have changed in the period between 1990 and 2000: The informants in Blyth et al. (1990) and Dailey-O'Cain (2000) share the same stereotypes.[161] However, further research will be needed to find a less speculative answer. It is also worth noting that Blyth et al. (1990) collected attitudinal data in one area on the East Coast and that Dailey-O'Cain's survey study was probably carried out in Michigan, where the author collected her conversational data. One could imagine that stereotypes about *be like* might differ between people from the East Coast, the middle and the West Coast of the United States.[162] Further research will be needed to gain clarity. For the time being, on the basis of the studies mentioned above we can say that the attitudinal load of the quotatives *be like* and *go* in the four varieties is "similar in some respects and different in others" (Buchstaller 2006b: 362).

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[161] Unfortunately, we lack comparative data for *go*.
[162] Note that the informants in Buchstaller (2006b) are from Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland.

Thus, the Jamaican attitudinal data provide further support for Buchstaller's (2006b) hypothesis about the adoption process of quotatives. She states that

> attitudinal assignment towards globally transferred linguistic material seems to be a relatively complex process, whereby incoming features are assessed and re-evaluated by speakers from the borrowing variety. (Buchstaller 2006b: 370)

This hypothesis about the locally created perceptual loads of quotatives is part of a larger discussion of globalisation and the adoption process of quotatives and other linguistic items, which will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 6.2.

6. Discussion

The findings will now be discussed in the light of grammaticalisation, globalisation of vernacular linguistic resources and the possible role of English as a Second Language (ESL) as a barrier to the spread of vernacular innovation.

6.1 Grammaticalisation?

What is so fascinating about quotatives? Ferrara & Bell (1995: 287) conclude their paper with the words:

> Investigation of quotatives, both newer forms (e.g., "I'm all, 'Get lost'") and obsolescent forms ("quoth the raven, 'Nevermore'"), in their paths of grammaticalization has the potential to shed considerable light on important language processes.

One of my motivations in carrying out this study speaks to this statement. Hopper & Traugott (2003: 2) define grammaticalisation in the following way:

> Grammaticalization is usually thought of as that subset of linguistic changes whereby a lexical item or construction in certain uses takes on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical.

It is suggested in the quotative literature that the development of *be like* as a quotative is a case of grammaticalisation (although see Vandelanotte 2012). Romaine & Lange (1991: 261), for example, propose that the preposition or conjunction *like* became more grammatical in that this grammatical item came to serve a more specialised textual function, that of introducing quotations (see Buchstaller 2001 for an alternative model). The following discussion, however, will not deal with such models but rather approaches the topic of *grammaticalisation* from a different angle, referred to as the "synchronic" perspective in Hopper & Traugott (2003: 2). Here, grammaticalisation is seen as

> primarily a syntactic, discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use. (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 2)

Traugott & Hopper (2003: 46) distinguish spread across linguistic environments from spread across social contexts and genres and point out that one of the tendencies in the spread across linguistic contexts is generalisation, i.e. the grammatical form is increasingly used in less limited contexts (Traugott & Hopper 2003: 63-66).

This brings us back to the developmental trajectories for *be like* suggested by Ferrara & Bell (1995), Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007).[163] The guiding idea behind these trajectories is that "the development of a grammaticalizing form can be […] observed in the variable hierarchies and shifting weights and constraints of factors in synchronic data" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004: 496) as demonstrated in the tradition of large-scale quantitative analyses (e.g. Tagliamonte 2003; Poplack & Tagliamonte 1999, 2001). In relation to generalisation in the ongoing grammaticalisation of *be like*, both Ferrara & Bell (1995) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) propose that *be like* is used primarily for internal dialogue at an earlier stage and for both pragmatic contexts alike at a later stage. With regard to 'grammatical person of the quotative', the former suggest that the use of *be like* is less constrained at a later stage, while the latter found evidence for the constancy of effect. In the Jamaican and Irish datasets that I investigated, the results of the multivariate analyses of the factors conditioning the use of *be like* in the collection period 2002-2005 revealed that the 'content' and 'person' constraints of *be like* in Jamaican speakers aged 17-45 align more with the predictions of an earlier stage of grammaticalisation, whereas the respective constraints of Irish speakers aged 19-33 point rather towards a later stage. That is, it seems that *be like* is more grammaticalised in the Irish than in the Jamaican data on the basis of the suggested developmental trajectories.

Let us now turn to other criteria that are indicative of continued grammaticalisation in order to see whether there is further evidence. According to the grammaticalisation literature (see, e.g., Hook 1991, Hopper 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003) as well as previous research on quotatives (see, e.g., Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004), grammaticalisation of *be like* can also be observed in its increasing frequency. In the Irish subset – restricted to the first and second age group in the most recent collection period – *be like* accounts for 18 per cent of all quotatives, whereas in the corresponding Jamaican dataset it accounts for 17 per cent. In other words, frequency does not seem to play a role here, in contrast to Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2004) findings.[164] Likewise, the related criterion of *specialisation*, "the process of reducing the

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[163] See also Traugott & Heine (1991) and Hopper & Traugott (2003) on clines and the unidirectionality of grammaticalisation.

[164] Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004) found that *be like* accounts for 58 per cent of all quotatives in the speech of Canadian speakers aged 10-19 in the collection period 2002-2003. Similarly, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2007) found that the quotative accounts for more than 40 per cent of all quotatives used by Canadian speakers below the age of 30 in the collection period 2002-2004. In contrast to these studies (in

variety of formal choices available as the meanings assume greater grammatical generality" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 116), does not offer further evidence of ongoing grammaticalisation either: The most frequently occurring quotatives account for 83 per cent of the Irish data but for 89 per cent of the Jamaican data.

The Jamaican and Irish data enable a discussion of a further set of candidates for indicators of grammaticalisation: Drawing again on the idea of generalisation in the spread across linguistic contexts, three further criteria lend themselves to a cross-varietal comparison. The first is existential *it + be like*. Since the construction occurs in the Irish but not in the Jamaican data, I suggest above that the two corpora qualify as testing grounds for D'Arcy's (2004) and Singler's (2001) hypothesis that an increased use of existential *it + be like* constructions is indicative of continued grammaticalisation of *be like*. D'Arcy (2004: 334) proposes that

> a rise in *it + be like* does not straightforwardly follow from a concomitant rise of *be like*. Rather, I would like to suggest that increases in the overall frequency of *it + be like* are diagnostic of a latter [sic!] stage of grammaticalization of *be like* within the quotative system of English (see also Singler 2001, 260).

This is precisely what we find in the Irish data: There is no significant difference in the frequency of *be like* between the Irish and Jamaican data, but existential *it + be like* constructions are limited to the former dataset. Hence, the findings indicate that the grammaticalisation process of *be like* is more advanced in the Irish than in the Jamaican dataset in two respects – developmental pathway and *it + be like* constructions.

Is there evidence of further grammaticalisation of *be like* in the Jamaican dataset in any other respect? Kohn & Franz (2009: 275) suggest that copula absence is a sign of ongoing grammaticalisation of *be like*. In the Jamaican data, this phenomenon is relatively frequent (8.9%, N = 23.8), while it is practically absent in the Irish data as we would expect for "White Englishes outside of the American South" (Rickford 1998: 189). Also, the Jamaican data indicate continued grammaticalisation with regard to the last criterion discussed here, the use of *be like* with tense forms over the simple present, HP and simple past. The use of *be like* is not restricted to these tense forms in the Jamaican corpus, as Examples (20), (24) and (25) illustrated, but it is in ICE-Ireland. This cross-varietal difference provides further evidence to support the hypothesis that

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which the use of *be like* seems to reflect a later stage of grammaticalisation), Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) – studies in which early-onset constraints of *be like* are observed – report that the percentage of *be like* in the quotative system of young speakers is below 20 per cent in the mid-1990s in American English, Canadian English, English English and New Zealand English.

information on tense is locally reorganised (see Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). Given that *be like* is integrated into different grammatical structures in different varieties, the spread of *be like* is inevitably linked to localisation, a topic that is further discussed in Section 6.2.

To find a more precise answer to the question of whether the development of *be like* in Jamaican English represents a grammatical or lexical change, it is also worth considering its spread to and development in Jamaican Creole, on which Jamaican English has an influence. The CCJ lends itself best to the study of borrowing versus code-switching in the use of *be like. Code-switching* refers to the phenomenon of "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (Meyers-Scotton 1993: 1), whereas *borrowing* is defined as "the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another" (Gumperz 1982: 66).[165] To draw a distinction between *code-switching* and *borrowing* of *be like* from Jamaican English in an otherwise Jamaican Creole context, I will draw on Poplack's (1980) approach for disambiguating single donor-language items. She suggests analysing the grammatical structure of the construction in question and argues that loanwords are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language, whereas code-switching involves two grammatical systems. The corpus includes, on the one hand, grammatically unintegrated versions such as *I'm like*, *I was like*, *he's like* and *she is like* in passages in which otherwise Jamaican Creole is used, as illustrated in (45) and (46).

(45) When mi yeye prips pan di sexy lickle sinting *I was like* DATS IT!! An mi pick up di nicest wan pan di   display shelf.. (CCJ, [3573] Wendy)

(46) Part3 well wen mi say good mawning we start to reason,yes mi learn quick quick say mi nuh have to be in kitchen all de time....an dat mi can dress up inna de mawning an enjoy de life of de famous...tink mi did fool , den mi drink mi wata,as mi put dung de glass guess wah mi see lipstick stain pon it, mi nuh wear dem sinting .... yu waan see mi a force de food fi tan dung,while Ms Ting naw even kick up a fuss fi mi, *she is like* ...nuh mess up wat mi have goin here wid likle lipstich stain yu knoh justsuckitupkipyumountshetyuwillbefineyuisabiggirl-watsyuproblem....ohlawd mi belly,mi a go dead...den mi hear har say,she dont want har drink,hear mi,an mi nuh drink,i will have it,mi did need fi sekkle mi food dat out fi spill ova.... well big mistake,mi nuh knon if a de rum or de food or de lipstick stain (tink a de latter) but mi was drunk all evening,walk roun de property like a mad ooman,a try get bak inna mi space.... (CCJ, [3315] grandma2)

These are straightforward examples of code-switching. On the other hand, there are grammatically more integrated versions such as *mi is like*, *mi was like* and *me was like*

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[165] Note that there is terminological confusion in relation to code-switching and other language contact phenomena in the literature. I will not go into detail here, but refer the reader to Boztepe (2003) and Clyne (2000) for a summary of the competing approaches.

in the CCJ. Borrowing also takes place in Jamaican Creole. Examples (47) and (48) are a case in point.

> (47) OK....suh mi ready fi play squash. Let wi continue. Mi hear di man (in di oddah couple) ahn di current mr ilp chattin bout di ball wi fi use fi play wid. Suh *mi is like* wah di habaloo fah dem go back ahn forth, den dem sekkle pon one ball daht look exactly like a racketball but wadeva. See one squash court hereso.... see some ah di Squash equipments here Suh wi pair up. di oddah man ahn ilp mek Team #1. Di current mr ilp ahn di oddah ooman mek Team #2. Let di games begin.... Here is how di game play... Mi not gwine go ova di 47 hundred rules weh dem did try fi give wi, cah who was gonna memba daht di current mr ilp neva appreciate daht atall, but wadeva . Wi decide juss fi get wi use to being able to "hit ahn follow" di ball. Now mi know why dem did hah di arguments bout di ball mi nuh think mi hit one ah dem What ah ball hard fi ketch Mi did ah reach. Mi did serve. Mi did fall back. Mi did back swing. None of it work. Mi miss every single dyam, eediat ball. Afta mi did bout fi cry sakah how mi did shame, dem announce daht wi court time did finish. Tank gawd Di oddah ooman seh, great workout, ILP! Mi did feel fi gi har ah bax cross har jaw carnah, enoh? But mi notice daht mi was washing wid sweat. Mi all sweat out all mi hairstyle. Suh mi did kinna calm dung. Mi ahn di oddah ooman went to di juice bar (inside di club) ahn ordered some smoothies. While di current mr ilp ahn di oddah man ah compare notes. Dem did reserve ah next (CCJ, Hibern8ting_ILP)

> (48) From di show start promote *me was like*....ok, ungle Movado one deh pon di show. (CCJ, [3266] Pepper)

The latter set of examples suggests that the change is partly grammatical, but mainly lexical. While the personal pronoun in (47) and (48) conforms to the paradigm of Jamaican Creole, the conjugation of the verb follows the Standard English system of conjugating the verb *be*. In contrast, one would expect in Jamaican Creole that there are examples without overt marking (i.e. the verb is omitted as in *(h)im like*) or with an invariant marker (e.g. *(h)im did like* or *(h)im a like*, Sherriah pers. comm. 2011, see also Patrick 2004). To my knowledge, however, the CCJ does not include any examples of these types. A possible explanation might be that users of the online discussion forum pay attention to what they assume to be linguistic accuracy in writing when using a word that spread from Standard Jamaican English to Jamaican Creole. Interestingly, around nine per cent of the tokens in the private dialogues of ICE-Jamaica are used without *be*, as pointed out above. Thus, the influence seems to work well in the other direction, i.e. from Jamaican Creole grammar to language use in Standard Jamaican English.

6.2 Globalisation meets localisation: A selective transfer of the US model of *be like?*

Thus far the discussion has focused on the spread of *be like* across linguistic contexts in Jamaican and Irish English. Let us now turn to the issue of how the innovative quotative spread globally, especially how it reached Jamaican English, and whether social and linguistic constraints or perceptual loads were on board.

Globalisation has been discussed in various domains for many years and perhaps most actively in economics.[166] Since 2003, when an issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* dealt with globalisation, it has also become a prominent topic in sociolinguistics. Linguists who published in this issue associate globalisation with localisation, i.e. they suggest that the rapid dispersal of global vernacular features may still lead to distinct local properties in their use. Blommaert, writing in this issue, states that

> whenever discourses travel across the globe, what is carried with them is their shape, but their value, meaning or function do not often travel along. They are a matter of uptake, they have to be *granted* by others, on the basis of the dominant indexical frames and hierarchies. (Blommaert 2003: 616, original emphasis)

He argues that the adoption process leads to different outcomes in different places as sociolinguistic items "travel across *structurally different* spaces" (Blommaert 2003: 612; original emphasis). Meyerhoff & Niedzielski (2003) build on theories in economics and point out that there is a correlation between the type of information that is transferred and the type of contact. They apply economic insights to linguistics and explain that "high-context knowledge that includes the social *meaning* of an innovation" (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003: 538, original emphasis) is transferred "via face-to-face interaction and through frequent and repeated contact between individuals" (ibid.: 537), whereas simple information about an innovation – comprising information just on the lexical form and on crude usage trends but not highly context-dependent sociolinguistic constraints – may be transmitted without or with only limited personal contact (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003: 537-538).

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[166] Another term in use is *Americanisation*, which emphasises that the influence comes from the USA (cf. Halford 2008 and Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003). The reason why this term is not used in the following is that it may carry negative connotations such as imposition or substitution. However, there is no wholesale adoption of linguistic features in receptor varieties as the discussion will show. Therefore, I decided to use the term *globalisation*.

Several previous studies on quotatives draw on Meyerhoff & Niedzielski (2003). Buchstaller (2006b, 2008) and Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009), for example, claim that simple information on the linguistic innovation *be like* includes its surface form and perhaps some "apparently universal" (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 322) linguistic constraints, while more detailed information includes other linguistic constraints in addition to social and perceptual constraints. In a discussion of the perceptual loads of quotatives, Buchstaller lists the possible outcomes of the adoption process: Global features can lose information during the adoption process; new meanings can be created by speakers of the receptor variety, or information can travel with the feature, whereby the borrowed information can lose or gain importance and may be re-analysed and re-evaluated (cf. Buchstaller 2006b: 373, 375). On the basis of her findings, she hypothesises that attitudes are part of the social information that needs a high level of interpersonal contact to be transmitted, and that they are therefore open to re-analysis and re-evaluation (see quotation at the end of Chapter 5.4). Similarly, Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009: 322-323) say in relation to the linguistic and social constraints that condition *be like*:

> While this form has indeed spread to numerous varieties worldwide in a very short time span through presumably limited interpersonal contact, it has not been adopted entirely wholesale by the speakers in these receptor varieties. […] we have been able to show that the surface form *be like* indeed globalizes but that there is 'transformation under transfer': the specific details of its social and functional constraints are re-created by localized groups of speakers, who adopt and routinize the newcomers in a locally specific way.

Halford (2008) also supports the hypothesis that globalisation is accompanied by localisation. She uses the term *glocalisation* for this phenomenon and suggests that local needs are an important factor in the adoption process (see Halford 2008: 7). Buchstaller (2008) creates the following concept for the aspect of localisation during the process of globalisation: She states that "conceptualizing participation in global linguistic processes as acts of conformity as well as rebellion seems advantageous" (Buchstaller 2008: 35). This concept comprises the idea of simultaneous borrowing and reassignment of constraints. The expression might, however, be less felicitous in one respect. To me, the term *rebellion* includes connotations of a conscious act and the question is then how consciously "globally travelling features" (Buchstaller 2006b: 375) are adopted by a receptor variety. This is linked to the still unanswered question as to

how they in fact travel from one variety to another (see also Sayers 2008). Until we have an answer to this question, it will be difficult to determine the level of awareness in the adoption process.

If we suggest that *be like* travelled from one variety to others, we have to ask ourselves first of all where its epicentre lies. *Be like* was first attested in the United States, and it is widely assumed that it spread from there to other places (cf. Buchstaller 2008: 16).[167] There is less agreement on the way that it spread from American English to other varieties (see also Sayers 2008). Some of my informants wrote that it is the influence of the media. According to Chambers (1998) and Stuart-Smith (2007), this is a typical answer for non-linguists, while there is a controversial discussion among linguists on the role of the media in the spread of linguistic innovations. Trudgill (1986) and Chambers (1998), for example, argue that the media do not play a significant role in the spread of most types of language change, especially grammatical and phonological innovations, but that they may do so in the spread of lexical innovations. With regard to the former type of innovations, Trudgill suggests that the role of television is limited to being a contributory factor in a "'softening-up' process" (1986: 55). Cheshire, Kerswill & Williams (2005), on the other hand, propose that the media play a role in the diffusion of globally spreading features provided that their spread does not solely depend on face-to-face contact. With regard to research on quotatives, the situation is the following: Macaulay (2001) suggests that the media might have had an influence on the spread of *be like*, and Buchstaller proposes that *be like* spread "in all probability mainly via the media" (Buchstaller 2008: 37; see also Cheshire et al. 2011). However, both Meyerhoff & Niedzielski (2003: 541) and Buchstaller (2008: 37) point out that only surface information such as the surface form of the variant is transmitted in this way, while high-context knowledge depends on face-to-face contact.

Another important question that we have to ask ourselves is: Who predominantly uses the innovation and thus enhances its spread? As Britain (2002: 618-619) notes in his discussion of space and spatial diffusion in the field of dialectology, we should not explain the spread of innovations by considering the possibilities of mobility and exchange that adults have, when the main innovators are young people, for whom these possibilities may be limited and others may apply (see also Buchstaller 2008: 36). Which possibilities do, for example, young Jamaicans have? Buchstaller (2008) argues

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[167] However, Macaulay (2001: 16-17) comments that we lack detailed information on the emergence of *be like* as a quotative in the United States.

that the form of contact between British and American adolescents is almost entirely restricted to mediated forms such as television and Internet. This is certainly an important factor in the Jamaican situation. According to TILAN (2007), 2.34 per cent of all Jamaicans were Internet users in the period between 2001 and 2002.[168] More importantly, 70 per cent of all Jamaican households had a TV set in this period, as reported in NationMaster (2011). Access to American TV programmes is provided by subscription cable television (see Gordon 2009: 309), which was already very popular in Jamaica in 2002 according to the All Media Survey 2002 (see Vasciannie 2003). In addition, Jamaican television stations air programmes predominantly imported from the United States. Gordon (2009) reports that American programmes comprised approximately 60 per cent of the airtime for Jamaica's three national commercial television stations, Television Jamaica (TVJ), CVM Television (CVMTV), and Love Television (LOVETV), in the year 2007. This rate has remained quite consistent over the last four decades as Abram et al. (2011) observed: Between 53 and 66 per cent of the total television broadcasting by Jamaican television stations was imported from the United States in the years 1972, 1982, 1994 and 1999. In other words, it has been and is still very easy for young people in Jamaica to watch American TV programmes.

Due to the smaller geographical distance between Jamaica and the USA, face-to-face contact may also play an important role. Firstly, let us consider the contact situations between young people from Jamaica and the USA in Jamaica. At the University of the West Indies (Mona Campus), the number of students from non-Caribbean countries accounted for less than 1 per cent in the academic year 2003/2004 and the number of visiting and exchange students from these countries was also very low according to the UWI official statistics (cf. http://www.mona.uwi.edu/opair/statistics/).[169] So there might be contact at the university, but this is limited. Other possible contact situations are in schools and, more likely, in tourist areas. On the other hand, it is possible that the transmission took place in the USA. Although the financial situation and the visa requirements might represent obstacles, travelling and migration to the States takes place (see Britain 2002 for linguistic consequences of migration). In

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[168] Given the range of the last collection period in ICE-Jamaica (2002-2005), figures are offered for the years 2001 and 2002.

[169] These are the earliest available statistics. The website for statistics on visiting and exchange students in 2003/04 was not accessible, but the respective numbers were very low in the academic years 2004/05 and 2007/08. In the latter year, the rate of students from non-Caribbean countries was also still below one per cent but there has been a more recent increase in numbers: In the academic year 2009/10, 2.5 per cent of the students were from non-Caribbean countries.

this context, Jamaican youngsters involved in circular (or re-turn) migration may play a role as "brokers", e.g. picking up *be like* authentically in the USA and spreading it through visits to Jamaica and/or transnational family networks (see also Olwig 2007 on the role of family networks in the Jamaican migration tradition). There are Jamaican communities in the USA and also in other countries such as Canada and Great Britain. Of course, it is possible that the innovation was not exclusively transmitted through contact in the USA. It cannot be ruled out that contact with speakers from other countries might have been a contributory factor in the transmission process. To me, however, the spread from the USA or Canada to Jamaica seems to be more likely than influence from countries on other continents. My Jamaican informants in the survey have local associations with North America, but only one respondent wrote that both American and English speakers use *be like*. What might also support this hypothesis is the general influence that American culture has on Jamaican culture (cf. Mair & Sand 1998).[170]

It is difficult to make a more qualified statement about the factors contributing to the spread of the new quotative as we lack systematic evidence (see Stuart-Smith 2007 for a general discussion of this problem in sociolinguistics). In-depth ethnographic work, as called for by Blommaert (2003) and Sayers (2008), may indeed offer valuable insights into the mechanisms of the spread of global innovations via the media and face-to-face contact, but lies beyond the scope of my study. Furthermore, I agree with Stuart-Smith (2007) that "sociolinguists are unlikely ever to receive a definite answer as to whether television does – or does not – affect core systems of language" (Stuart-Smith 2007: 148), such as grammar and phonology. Thus, the discussion cannot move beyond such speculation.

We also have to consider that linguistic and social constraints conditioning quotatives as well as stereotypes about their users that we observe in a dataset do not necessarily represent the final stage. Such an assumption would obviously be too simplistic, given that languages change over time. There is no reason to assume that this might not affect quotatives (and perceptions about their users). Buchstaller (2006b: 376) raises questions about the future of the perceptual load of quotatives in British English and about a possible consolidation between Britain and the USA. In my opinion, we can

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[170] See also Meyerhoff & Niedzielski (2003) for a discussion of the possible link between US cultural and linguistic influence in New Zealand.

extend these questions. In addition to the perceptual load, the linguistic and social constraints of quotatives may change in varieties of English (see also D'Arcy 2013). Initial evidence of an actual change in constraints across time comes from Tagliamonte & D'Arcy's (2007) findings. They observed a levelling of the 'content' constraint on *be like* in Canadian English, a development that is also observable in the Irish data in my study. If we extend this thought, a possible outcome might be that quotative *be like* loses further linguistic and social constraints. In relation to linguistic constraints, the discussion brings us back to the topic of *grammaticalisation*. Mair (2006) discusses language change that affected a former, temporary usage contrast between British and American English and explains that

> Relevant shifts in usage preferences in individual varieties are embedded in a long-term process of grammaticalization which is transforming the core grammar of English, and thus the language as a whole. (Mair 2006: 194)

The lesson to be learned here is that if we assume that *be like* is a case of (continued) grammaticalisation – as has repeatedly been suggested in the literature – this allows us not only to explain the continued grammaticalisation of *be like* in varieties of English but also its rapid spread across varieties of English. Rather than arguing for a purely American influence, this would suggest a parallel development across varieties of English "along the same lines and toward the same putative end-point, but at slightly different speeds" (Mair 2006: 194; see also Robles 2007). Interestingly, Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) point out in a footnote that they do not rule out a parallel development of *be like* in the varieties they investigated (see also Buchstaller 2008). Due to its earlier attestation in American English than in other varieties of English, they believe that American English nevertheless has an influence on other varieties and that "such a scenario does not preclude any consideration in the light of globalization theory" (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009: 325).

What does this all mean for the development of *be like*? I suggest the following scenario: The development of the quotative *be like* is a case of grammaticalisation (see Vandelanotte 2012 for an alternative proposal). This language change first took place in American English. Speakers of this variety promoted its use in other varieties of English via "many causal pathways" (Sayers 2008: 183), including face-to-face contact as well as television and other types of media. Apart from the aforementioned information "brokers", i.e. young Jamaicans involved in circular migration, it is unlikely that face-

to-face contact played a pivotal role so that the answer to the question as to whether we should blame the media might be seen as confirmed at this point for the lexical element of *be like*. In other words, I assume that what spread from American English to other varieties was the surface form *be like* (see Buchstaller 2008). This also aligns with Mair's (2006: 194) suggestion that "American influence operates selectively", working best in the field of lexicon. By different pathways, a process was started that could be described in Trudgill's terms as "softening-up" (1986: 55): It helped initiate the grammaticalisation process of *like* to the quotative *be like* in the receptor varieties. As Trudgill (1986) suggests, the media may have promoted positive attitudes towards the use of the innovative quotative. In what sense can we speak of positive attitudes? Tagliamonte & D'Arcy explain that, "[a]s part of the "preppie" movement of the 1980s, *be like* gained prestige as a trendy and socially desirable way" (2007: 212) to introduce quotations. This does not necessarily mean that speakers of varieties other than American English would later associate *be like* with Americans. There is cumulative evidence in the literature as well as from my own study that perceptions about *be like* are locally created: they are "similar in some respects and different in others" (Buchstaller 2006b: 362) across varieties. Having identified the extent to which the surface form and perceptions have presumably spread, let us turn to the linguistic and social constraints. Two of the linguistic constraints – 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person' – can be explained in the light of grammaticalisation. The 'person' and 'content' constraints on *be like* (first over third, thought over speech) – attested as early-onset constraints in varieties of English in previous research (see, for example, Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999 and Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009) – are the default, initial effects predetermined by the grammaticalisation pathway (see Section 6.1). Concerning the effect of the factor 'tense of the quotative', my data support Buchstaller & D'Arcy's (2009) hypothesis that this type of information is locally reorganised, although further Jamaican and Irish data are needed to support my findings. Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009: 322) also report that social effects on *be like* are "locally idiosyncratic constraints." Following their suggestions, I assume that neither grammaticalisation nor globalisation can account for the 'tense' effect or the social constraints. Rather, pressures in the local socio-cultural context in each variety shape these constraints (see also Halford 2008, Buchstaller 2008 and Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009 in relation to local socio-cultural pressures). In addition, the use of *be like* may be

localised in other respects, resulting, for example, in copula absence in the case of Jamaican English.

With regard to the end-point of the development, we might observe that varieties of English converge both in terms of their constraints on and perceptions about the innovative quotative and that it becomes part of everyday vocabulary use for various social groups in various varieties of English. Thus, the quotative *be like* could be understood as another example "reflecting a 'broadening of the vernacular base'" (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003: 534).[171]

6.3 Is English as a Second Language (ESL) a barrier?

Finally, let us turn to the possible role of English as a Second Language (ESL) as a barrier to the spread of vernacular innovation. The term *ESL* is part of the traditional trichotomy of English as a native (ENL), second (ESL) and foreign (EFL) language. These terms are defined in the following way:

Table 88: Definitions of ENL, ESL and EFL

English as a Native Language (ENL)	ENL [...] refers to the situation where English is the mother tongue of the dominant group and, hence, the dominant language in the society. (Moag 1982: 11)
English as a Second Language (ESL)	Typically these are varieties that arose in countries where English was introduced in the colonial era in either face-to-face communication or (more usually) via the education system of a country in which there is, or had once been, a sizeable number of speakers of English. In ESL countries like Kenya, Sri Lanka and Nigeria, English plays a key role in education, government and education [sic!]. (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 5)
	ESL is essentially an abbreviation for the acquisition of English under conditions of additive bilingualism (Lambert 1978), i.e. the addition of a socially relevant language to a community's repertoire. (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 10)
	[It refers] to the use of English in countries where it has some official status. [...] The exact functions associated with the language will depend on the language-ecological context of the country or community in which it is used. It is probable, however, that its use will primarily be in public or institutional domains, and will thus contrast with the language of the home, which is likely to be a heritage language, ideologically associated with community identity. (Seargeant 2010: 102-103)

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[171] Meyerhoff & Niedzielski use the term *vernacular* as the variety that speakers use "in their most [...] unself-conscious, and most importantly, their most local contexts" (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003: 550). It might be difficult to transfer this concept from the language situation in New Zealand to that in Jamaica as it is most likely that Jamaican Creole is preferred in very local contexts. In the case of the Jamaican language situation, I suggest using the term in relation to casual, informal contexts.

English as a Foreign Language (EFL)*	This category typically refers to the English used in countries in which its influence has been external, rather than via a body of 'settlers'. For EFL speakers English plays a role for many *inter*-national rather than *intra*-national purposes. Whereas ESL countries produce literature in English (and other languages), EFL countries typically do not use English in creative writing. The trend towards globalisation in economics, communication and culture has made EFL prominent in places like China, Europe and Brazil, etc. (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 5)

*Sometimes also called *English as an international language* (EIL; see Seargeant 2010).

Moag (1982) discusses the differences between these three types (plus another one) on the basis of a list of 17 sociolinguistic and 9 linguistic features and offers a list of example societies in each category. In linguistic reality, however, there are grey areas and transitional zones so that categorising societies or varieties is not always an uncontested or uncontroversial endeavour.[172] For example, Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008) suggest that there is "a soft boundary" (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 8) between ESL and EFL. The distinction between ESL and EFL was also criticised by Quirk (1988), who says "[…] I doubt its validity and frequently fail to understand its meaning" (Quirk 1988: 236). Kachru (1991), on the other hand, refers to it as "a widely recognized and justified sociolinguistic and pedagogical distinction" (Kachru 1991: 5). Furthermore, it can be difficult to allocate a society or variety to the categories ENL and ESL. Moag (1982: 13-14), for instance, proposes that the creole continuum in Jamaica should be grouped among the ENL varieties, whereas Kachru (1992) deliberately does not assign English in Jamaica to one of these categories as the "sociolinguistic situation [in Jamaica] is rather complex, particularly with reference to the English-using populations and the functions of English" (Kachru 1992: 3).

Since the categorisation into ENL, ESL and EFL is based on language external, social grounds, it is necessary to backup these categories with linguistic criteria. Currently, intensive research is being carried out that attempts to distinguish second- from first-language varieties (see, e.g., Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi's 2004 typologically inspired comparative research on a broad front) and second- from foreign-language varieties (see, e.g., Mukherjee & Hundt 2011). With regard to Jamaican English and English in the Caribbean in general, Deuber (2009b: 258-259) says

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[172] Another difficult issue is the modelling of the spread of English. Kachru's (1988) model, for example, embodies the categorisation of ENL, ESL and EFL varieties.

> Previous research on Jamaican English has shown that when features are being analysed that cannot be directly related to the Creoles but that distinguish ENL and ESL varieties, Jamaican English does not pattern clearly with either type of variety. […] English in the Caribbean comprises informal varieties that have a highly special character, sharing features with ESL varieties, ENL varieties, and Pidgins/Creoles, without really belonging in either of these groups.

As for the distinction between ENL and ESL varieties, one observation in my own study calls for further investigation.

As previous research and my own study have shown, *be like* is highly amenable to globalisation. In Jamaican English, a "borderline case" (Mair 1992: 75) between ENL and ESL, *be like* shows similarly rapid localisation as in previous studies on quotatives in ENL varieties. What its use in Jamaican English reveals at the same time is that this variety shares in global vernacular processes. Thus, the data suggest that one criterion for the spread of *be like* is that a receptor variety comprises vernacular features and shares in global vernacular processes.

It is interesting that despite the broad coverage of quotatives in the literature, previous studies have focused on ENL varieties and to date there has only been just one preliminary study on *be like* in ESL varieties. For example, Bonnici's (2010) study on Maltese English, which at first sight might seem to fall into the latter category, reports on quotative use among "L1 English dominant speakers" (Bonnici 2010: 283) in Malta. She found an overall frequency of *be like* in the speech of young informants (18-35 year-olds) that is similar to that in my Jamaican data (17-45 year-olds; 16% vs. 17%). Further similarities with my Jamaican data are that early-onset constraints (first over third, thought over speech) operate on *be like* in her data and that Maltese English speakers use *go* infrequently.[173] Furthermore, some exploratory but promising findings are presented in D'Arcy (2013), rightly titled "There is still more to learn" (D'Arcy 2013: 496). She did not find any examples of *be like* in ICE-India and a very low frequency of *be like* in ICE-Hong Kong, ICE-Philippines, ICE-Singapore and ICE-Kenya. Of course, the problem here is that we only know when the corpora were made available. What needs to be established is the precise date of collection of the studied

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[173] Moreover, Bonnici reports that young Maltese women show a slightly higher rate of *be like* with direct speech than internal dialogue. This suggests ongoing grammaticalisation in Maltese English. A similar tendency was not observed in the Jamaican data. However, a cross-varietal comparison is difficult in this respect given that there are only 34 internal dialogue contexts in the speech of young women in the Jamaican dataset (see Table 32). Also, it seems that Bonnici's data were collected more recently than the Jamaican data (i.e. that her data collection started in the year 2007).

dialogues.[174] We know that a more precise time frame will likely explain the infrequency of *be like* in these corpora. D'Arcy's (2013) exploratory findings suggest a tendency for the favoured use of *be like* with both first-person subjects and internal dialogue in ICE-Hong Kong but not in the other three corpora she investigated (ICE-Philippines, ICE-Singapore and ICE-Kenya), i.e. only in the former data do both constraints align with those in ENL varieties. Given the very low frequency of *be like* in the ICE corpora D'Arcy used, further investigations based on more and newer data from these L2 varieties are needed to confirm her findings. All in all, the initial findings suggest that the study of *be like* in ESL varieties is a very promising field for future research. Due to the scarcity of published work on new quotatives in L2 varieties such as Nigerian English or Indian English, the question remains as to whether the use of *be like* has been overlooked or whether the quotative is not used at all in these L2 varieties. Interestingly, Chand's (2009) analysis of changes in ideologies in Urban Indian English comprises two examples in which *be like* is used as a quotative.[175] Moreover, I found examples of *be like* within the Internet domains .in, .sg and .my when using the Google Groups website in a pilot study (see Chapter 4.1.5). Hundt (personal communication, December 16, 2010), on the other hand, did not observe use of *be like* in Fiji English when collecting data for ICE-Fiji. Further research into the quotative systems of L2 varieties is needed to see whether ESL is a barrier to the spread of vernacular innovation. If *be like* is not used in an investigated L2 variety, the question is whether this variety shares in global vernacular processes in other respects. More importantly, if *be like* is used in an L2 variety, it would be most interesting to see the extent to which its constraints align with those reported in L1 varieties (see also D'Arcy 2013), i.e. whether the distinction between L1 and L2 varieties is otherwise fulfilled in objective criteria.

In addition to *be like*, the quotative *go* may be well worth studying in L2 varieties. As *go* is not an important presence in the Jamaican data and infrequent in African-American Vernacular English (see Kohn & Franz 2009) and Maltese English (L1; cf. Bonnici 2010), it would seem that *go* does not spread to other varieties as easily

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[174] Note that the amount of ICE texts studied is not specified in D'Arcy (2013).
[175] The study is based on sociolinguistic interviews with Hindi English early bilinguals in Delhi, India. Recently, Judith Evers, University of Münster (Germany), started an M.A. thesis project (under the supervision of Dagmar Deuber) on the use of *be like* and other quotatives in the Trinidad and Tobago component of ICE.

as *be like*.[176] Hence, the question is whether *go* is merely part of the quotative system in L1 varieties, and infrequent in or absent from L2 varieties.

In this sense, the present study of new quotatives in a borderline ENL-ESL context can be seen as an important further step in a research programme whose aim is to correlate the essentially sociologically based ENL-ESL-EFL triad with structural linguistic features. As mentioned above, this has been done in a dialectometric macro-perspective in Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi (2004) and in several contributions to the recent volume on bridging the gap between ESL and EFL edited by Mukherjee & Hundt (2011). A careful and systematic study of the circumstances in which ESL varieties become open to widespread vernacular processes characterising contemporary ENL varieties is valuable because it sharpens our awareness of the internal heterogeneity and possible diachronic instability of the ESL category.

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[176] In D'Arcy's (2013) study, *go* is not part of the quotative system in ICE-Hong Kong and ICE-India and even more infrequent than *be like* in ICE-Philippines, ICE-Singapore and ICE-Kenya.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Quotatives and Jamaican English

This study has made an initial contribution to fill the research gap on discourse features in the emerging local variety of English in Jamaica by investigating its quotative system. As mentioned in the introduction, three major influences on the emerging local variety are identified in the literature: Jamaican Creole, American English and British English.

Chapter 4 of my study revealed that the creole influence is clearly manifested in the quotative system of the emerging local variety in two respects. Firstly, Jamaicans use the quotative *seh*, a feature of Jamaican Creole, as a signal of anti-formality in otherwise "English" contexts. The use of the local quotative *seh* in such contexts is precisely what Mair describes as "occasional forays into more basilectal territory" (2002: 36). In ICE-Jamaica, *seh* was found to be used most frequently with direct speech and third-person subjects, similar to the acrolectal quotative *say*. In the quotative system of the emerging local standard, *seh* is one of the competitors to the quotative *be like*, a quotative which has recently spread to Jamaican English and many other varieties of English. This brings us to the second way in which substrate influence has played a vital role in shaping the emerging local norm. *Be like* has been locally reorganised in Jamaican English as in many other varieties of English but one locally specific outcome is that approximately nine per cent of the *be like* tokens in the private dialogues of ICE-Jamaica are used without *be*, which can be attributed to creole influence. Apart from Jamaican English, *be like* with copula absence is only attested in African-American Vernacular English (see Kohn & Franz 2009). Interestingly enough, the only occurrence of *be like* in the Jamaican private dialogues collected between 1995 and 2001 is an example of copula absence. The new quotative is used more frequently in the data collected between 2002 and 2005. The findings revealed in the latter dataset that *be like* is favoured with first-person subjects and internal dialogue and occurs most frequently in female-only conversations and in the speech of the youngest age group (17-25). Its use with a range of tense forms suggests that it is not merely a lexical fad in Jamaican English. What makes *be like* attractive to Jamaicans is that it allows speakers to use the acrolect in an informal way, i.e. it allows speakers to both communicate informally and indicate a level of education. Thus, it offers a new dimension to the creole continuum,

which formerly ranged from more Creole (mesolectal – anti-formal/ informal, e.g. *seh*) to more English (acrolectal – formal, e.g. *say, think*) ways of language use.

In addition to Creole influence on the emerging local variety of English in Jamaica, one might also be tempted to suggest that the use of *be like* is a result of the influence of American English on the emerging norm, given that *be like* was first attested in the United States. However, I propose that the American influence is limited to the surface form *be like*, and that a parallel development has taken place and continues in various varieties of English (see Chapter 6.2 and also Robles 2007), i.e. that Jamaican English shares in global vernacular processes.

In addition to the influence of American English on Jamaican English in the form of borrowing, another possible area of influence is that American English functions as a role model for the favoured linguistic and social contexts of *be like* in Jamaican English. In the literature, cross-varietal comparisons revealed that there are differences between American English and English English in some respects (see, e.g., Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009) so that an intriguing question is whether English English, the former (colonial) norm in Jamaica, or American English has a greater attraction in that case. Two of the linguistic constraints – 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person' – can be explained in the light of grammaticalisation, i.e. they are predetermined by the grammaticalisation pathway (see Chapters 6.1 and 6.2). My findings revealed that the early-onset constraints (first over third, thought over speech) can be observed in the Jamaican data. More significant to our discussion here are the constraints that are locally reorganised, i.e. those that are shaped by the pressures in the local socio-cultural context in each variety. According to Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009), locally reorganised constraints are the 'tense' effect as well as social constraints. Further data from Jamaican English is needed to support my findings, but the favoured use of *be like* with the HP aligns with American English rather than with English English (see Buchstaller & D'Arcy's 2009 data showing an early stage of *be like* use in both varieties). Previous findings on the factor 'gender groups' are only available for American English (see Singler 2001). Again, the Jamaican data align with the American constraint (female-only favours). Further testing, especially a comparison with English English data regarding the factor 'gender groups', is needed to substantiate the findings. Nevertheless, the findings indicate that those constraints that are locally reorganised

according to the literature tend to operate the same way in Jamaican English as in American English.[177]

Moreover, when we take the perceptual load of *be like* in Jamaica into consideration, a greater tendency towards American English is again confirmed. In the questionnaire section of my survey which allowed informants to provide additional information on the nationality of a typical user of *be like*, only one informant mentioned an association with speakers in England, whereas the quotative is frequently associated with American citizens (ca. 34%; see Chapter 5). Furthermore, a few of my informants provided specific information on the adoption process: 4 per cent think that *be like* is American. Thus, the Jamaican informants' perceptions suggest that there are local associations with American English rather than the variety of the former colonial rulers.[178]

The quotative *go*, another relatively new quotative in American English and other varieties of English, is not an important presence in Jamaican English. This finding is also supported by the result of my survey in which 66 per cent of the informants wrote that they do not use *go* as a quotative. One might assume that the local informal *seh* has come to replace *go*. In my opinion this is not the case as there are, for example, differences such as a widespread use of *seh* across all age groups, while the use of *go* is more limited in this respect in other varieties of English (see, for example, Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).

Taken together, the findings of my study show that quotative use in the emerging local variety of English in Jamaica can be explained in the light of creole influence and global vernacular processes, while the influence of American English seems to work on a more restricted level (*be like*: surface form, constraints, perceptual load). On the basis of the proposed developmental trajectories, the findings suggest that the use of *be like* in Jamaican English reflects an early developmental stage. Considering that the new quotative is beginning to establish itself in the emerging variety, *be like* is naturally not yet especially frequent (indeed, not as frequent by far as in Canadian studies such as Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004). While my study documents the way in which this new quotative *be like* conquers new territory in the Jamaican

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[177] The four most frequently used quotatives in Jamaican English are *say*, *be like*, *seh* and the zero quotative (see Chapter 4.4 for information on the profile of *say* and the zero quotative).

[178] Also, the associations of *be like* with 'sex' and 'social class' in Jamaica align with the associations in the United States rather than in England (see Chapter 5.4 and the following section of the conclusion).

quotative system, further research is needed to substantiate the hypotheses about the usage patterns of *be like* in Jamaican English, i.e. to show that the patterns observed in ICE-Jamaica are equally valid for a larger dataset and perhaps also for more recent data.

This dissertation has taken initial steps in studying discourse features in the emerging local variety of English in Jamaica. More research is needed on further discourse features to broaden our understanding of the characteristics of spoken Jamaican English and to disentangle the web of influences shaping this emerging norm.

7.2 Jamaican English in the context of other varieties of English

In this dissertation, I compared the use of quotatives in Jamaican English with that in Irish English as well as Canadian English (based on a sample). In such a cross-varietal comparison, it is especially interesting to see the extent to which regional variation can be observed in the use of *be like*, a globally emerging quotative, since previous research suggests that some constraints conditioning this quotative hold globally while others are locally reorganised (see, e.g., Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). In the following, I will summarise the main findings on *be like* in this study, addressing the question of the extent to which regional variation can be observed in its use (at least for a short term).

Firstly, there is just a minor difference between the three datasets in the rates that *be like* represents of all quotatives. Its proportion ranges from 13 per cent in Jamaican English to 9 per cent in Canadian English and 7 per cent in Irish English. In other words, the new quotative does not account for the majority of the total number of quotatives in any dataset.

Secondly, the cross-varietal comparison in the present study provides evidence for hypotheses in previous research suggesting that the 'person' and 'content' effect operate in a globally consistent way at an early stage of *be like* use (first over third, thought over speech, see e.g. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). A deviation from this overall finding was, however, observed in the Irish private dialogues from the latest collection period (2002-2005). In the latter dataset, speakers in the first and second age group follow precisely the predictions suggested by Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) for a later stage of *be like* use, i.e. these speakers use *be like* with direct speech and internal dialogue alike and still favour the quotative with first-person subjects.[179] In this context,

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[179] However, the 'content' effect is also rather marginal in the private dialogues of ICE-Ireland in general. When excluding *existential it + be like* constructions, *be like* is disfavoured with internal dialogue and more strongly favoured with first-person subjects than shown in Table 60 (see Appendix 5, Table A5.18).

it is also worth noting that the Jamaican data provide what D'Arcy calls "evidence for a functional expansion" (2004: 36) of *be like*, i.e. the quotative most frequently introduces direct speech rather than internal dialogue in third-person contexts.

While my findings support hypotheses about the factors 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in previous research, they also challenge a suggestion regarding the developmental trajectory for *be like*: The Irish data do not align with the prediction for the 'tense' effect of *be like* either at an initial or a later stage. In the Irish private dialogues collected between 2002 and 2005, *be like* is favoured with the simple past, whereas Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004, 2007) suggest that it is favoured with the present tense at an early stage and with the HP at a later stage. Hence, the data tend to confirm the hypothesis proposed by Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) that the 'tense' effect is locally reorganised. The Jamaican and Canadian 'tense' effects differ from the Irish results in favouring *be like* with the HP. However, more Jamaican HP contexts are needed to confirm the latter finding.

In addition to the 'tense' effect, social constraints and perceptual loads are suggested in the literature to be subject to local reorganisation (see Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009, Buchstaller 2006b). In the present study, I tested the effect of 'gender groups', which had previously only been investigated in Singler (2001).[180] The findings in both the Jamaican and Irish data parallel those in Singler's American data (female-only groups favour), although this time it is in the Canadian sample that a different constraint holds (male-only groups favour). With regard to perceptual loads, the findings of my Jamaican survey were compared with previous studies (USA, Canada, and UK) in Chapter 5.4. Although the perceptual load of *be like* in Jamaica is similar in some aspects to its load in the USA, Canada and the UK (casual/informal speech[181], young speakers), the cross-varietal comparison also showed that there are differences in other respects. For example, *be like* is strongly associated with women by Jamaicans and Americans but not by British informants, and associations regarding the factor 'social class' vary distinctly across localities (middle class in Jamaica and the United States vs. working class in the UK).

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[180] I also tested the effect of the factor 'speaker sex' but both ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Ireland are skewed in favour of female speakers. Therefore, the findings are not included in this summary.
[181] Not discussed in the British study, i.e. Buchstaller (2006b).

In all of the above-mentioned cases, the findings in the Jamaican data align with the findings in at least one variety of English in North America and/or on the British Isles. One notable exception where there is a clear difference between Jamaican English, on the one hand, and Irish/Canadian English, on the other hand, was observed in Chapter 4: existential *it* + *be like* constructions do not occur in the former but in the latter datasets.

In sum, the findings of my study support hypotheses about the universality of two constraints at an early stage of *be like* use and the local reorganisation of social constraints as well as the effect of the factor 'tense of the quotative'. Regional variation can be observed not only with regard to the social and linguistic factors that are locally reorganised but also for the perceptual load of *be like*. Moreover, the findings revealed that the grammaticalisation process of *be like* seems to be more advanced in the Irish than in the Jamaican dataset (see Chapter 6.1).[182]

In this study, it was found that the constraints conditioning *be like* in Jamaican English – a "borderline case" (Mair 1992: 75) between ENL and ESL – do not deviate in unexpected ways from those observed in ENL varieties. Since there is a shortage of studies on quotatives in ESL varieties (see Chapter 6.3), the next step would be to investigate in-depth the quotative systems of L2 varieties (see also D'Arcy 2013) to see whether ESL is a barrier to the spread of vernacular innovation. If *be like* can be attested in an ESL variety, research will be needed on both the social and linguistic constraints conditioning *be like* to discover whether the constraints align with those reported in L1 varieties (see also D'Arcy 2013), that is whether the distinction between L1 and L2 varieties is otherwise fulfilled in objective criteria. Research on *be like* will thus contribute significantly towards our understanding of its rapid, global spread and local development in the interplay of global and local pressures, which so far rests heavily on observations in ENL varieties.

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[182] When excluding *existential it* + *be like* constructions in the Irish dataset, the 'person' effect (first over third) is stronger in the Irish than in the Jamaican data.

7.3 Integrating corpus-based and variationist approaches in the study of quotatives

Finally, let us turn to the methodological characteristics of this study, which deserve a concluding remark. In this dissertation, I used parallel corpora as datasets, corpus-linguistic tools to extract quotatives and a corpus-linguistic frequency measure (normalised frequencies) in combination with variationist methodologies.[183] Combining methods used in corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics to study language variation and change is a somewhat recent trend (see Gabrielatos et al. 2010: 304). The topic has, for example, been addressed in Mair (2009a, b), Baker (2010) and in a special issue of *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* in 2011.[184] Kendall (2011: 365, 368) points out that

> corpora and corpus-based methods have an important and still growing place in sociolinguistic research. Yet, the similarities are often approximate, and the connections often still indirect. […] I would agree that Baker's (2010) "corpus sociolinguistics" indeed appears possible and, I would argue, is being realized by some researchers, although I would also note that the uptake for this kind of work appears to be greater among researchers coming from corpus linguistic perspectives than among those coming from sociolinguistic backgrounds.

In previous research, quotatives were either studied using corpus-linguistic methods in corpora collected with standard corpus-linguistic techniques (e.g. Barbieri 2005) or using sociolinguistic (variationist) methods in datasets collected with standard sociolinguistic techniques (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007).[185] To my knowledge, this is the first study that clearly combines the methodologies used in both camps, i.e. the dissertation offers the closest combination of the two methods hitherto used in studies published on quotatives. In the following, I will first review the major similarities and differences between corpus-linguistic and variationist methodologies, before discussing the benefits and limitations of a combined methodological approach in my study on quotatives.

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[183] Only zero quotatives were extracted from reading corpus texts.

[184] An example of a study in which both corpus-linguistic and variationist methods are used is Szmrecsanyi's (2006) outstanding study on morphosyntactic persistence in spoken English.

[185] An exception to the latter type is D'Arcy's (2013) exploratory study, presenting a table with the overall distribution of quotatives as well as a figure with the distribution of *be like* across two factors in four ICE corpora. Kendall points out that "there is also an increasing tendency for sociolinguistic researchers to consider and discuss their data as "corpora" in ways that over-generalize that term. More and more sociolinguistic field-based projects appear to outcome in collections of data that are named as corpora (e.g., hypothetically, "Smalltown USA Corpus"), when for corpus linguists they often have none of the characteristics of "corpus proper"." (Kendall 2011: 364).

What both camps have in common is that they analyse natural language data with quantitative methods in order to study language variation and change, sometimes by comparing datasets for different groups of language users (see Baker 2010, Gabrielatos et al. 2010, Kendall 2011, Kendall & van Herk 2011). Nevertheless, the methodologies used differ significantly: In corpus linguistics, there is a focus on frequencies, and it is common practice to normalise these frequencies. The latter is understood as a vital prerequisite for drawing comparisons across corpora and between different social groups in a dataset.[186] Also, corpus linguists usually adhere to the "principle of total accountability" (Quirk 1992: 459) by accounting for all occurrences of the phenomenon under study (see Gabrielatos et al. 2010, Baker 2010, Mair 2009b, Kendall 2011). The main pillar of variationist sociolinguistics, on the other hand, is the "principle of accountability" (Labov 1972). That is, linguists working in the variationist paradigm extract all variants of a linguistic variable under investigation and study which social and linguistic factors condition the probability of a variant (see Gabrielatos et al. 2010, Kendall 2011).

Let us now turn to the benefits and limitations of the combined methodological approach used in this study. First, it is a great advantage that different national components of the ICE family are available for research. Basing the present study on three of these components freed me from the laborious task of collecting data. What proved to be very convenient is that the ICE family includes not only recent data on Jamaican English but also recent data on Irish English and Canadian English, which allows the drawing of cross-varietal comparisons. Thus, it was possible to contribute to research on cross-varietal differences in quotative use and offer information on the quotative systems of two varieties that have not hitherto been studied. Given the common corpus design (resulting in parallel corpora), the direct comparability of findings is assured (see also Jantos 2009, D'Arcy 2011). With all these advantages at hand, there is no doubt that "the ICE project is an immensely useful and valuable resource for the linguist interested in comparative investigations of different varieties of English" (Jantos 2009: 200).

What variationists can learn from corpus linguists in this respect is that datasets such as the ICE corpora are publicly available, whereas sociolinguistic datasets are usually not for various reasons (including privacy rights; see Baker 2010, Beal 2009,

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[186] Normalising frequencies is indispensible because different (sub)corpora can have different sizes.

D'Arcy 2011, Mair 2009b).[187] Another major methodological advantage of my study over previous sociolinguistic studies on quotatives that use data collected from different varieties of English or different collection periods is the comparability of the corpora. Buchstaller (2011), for example, acknowledges that different interview techniques were used to collect the (precollected) datasets on which her real-time comparison of quotative use is based. Also, Buchstaller & D'Arcy (2009) admit in their impressive study that different sampling techniques (sociolinguistic interviews vs. telephone conversations) were used to collect the corpora on which their cross-varietal comparisons are based. This brief discussion of previous studies shows that the compilation of parallel spoken corpora sampling different national varieties of English is an important endeavour that should be strongly supported in the future (see also Kendall 2011, D'Arcy 2011).

However, there are also some disadvantages of drawing on these ready-to-use corpora: For example, the ICE corpora have a downside with regard to the corpus size of each national component (see also Jantos 2009). As the use of innovative quotatives is almost completely limited to one of the four text categories of spoken English, the main part of the analysis was limited to the subcorpus of private dialogues comprising 200,000 words, or to smaller subsets.[188] The ICE corpora offer valuable insights into the quotative systems of different varieties, but the results of the multivariate analyses revealed that in some contexts, such as HP contexts, more data is needed to allow more than tentative statements.

Second, the teams responsible for different national ICE components collected data in different collection periods. This means, for example, that cross-varietal comparisons of quotative use between Jamaican English and English English are not possible on the basis of the ICE family as ICE-Great Britain was published in 1998, i.e. the data is clearly older than for ICE-Jamaica.[189] Moreover, corpus collection was limited to the speech of adult speakers. As the use of *be like* is most prominent among

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[187] However, there has been an about-face among sociolinguists according to Kendall & van Herk (2011).
[188] I.e. the Canadian sample (61,235 words) or, for example, the subcorpus of data collected in the most recent collection period (ICE-Jamaica: 170,712 words, ICE-Ireland: 67,377 words; see Table 7 in Chapter 3).
[189] It is also noteworthy at this point that the private dialogues in different national components may comprise subcorpora stemming from different collection periods with varying sizes (see, for example, Table 7 in Chapter 3).

young people, it would have been interesting also to analyse data from slightly younger speakers (i.e. adolescents).

The factor 'speaker age' brings me to the next disadvantage: the skewedness of the corpora with regard to independent social variables. For example, the corpora differ largely in the amount of data collected from women in comparison with men. Greenbaum (1996: 5) says that

> It is unreasonable to expect compilers of the corpora to match speakers or writers exactly in the whole range of bibliographical features, such as sex, age, educational level, occupation, or to replicate the types of relationships between speakers in conversations in each corpus in exactly the same proportions.

The dimension of the bias unfolds only when counting the number of words produced by different social groups, as statistical information on social factors is not available with the corpora. Furthermore, the factor group 'speaker age' was problematic in that different corpus teams used different age ranges and information on 'speaker age' is not available for all speakers. Obviously, these aspects can be controlled easily if a researcher collects data, for example, by conducting sociolinguistic interviews with selected social groups, rather than working with pre-collected datasets. The lesson for corpus linguists is to strive towards compiling more balanced corpora and to be more persistent when collecting social background information from speakers to foster stronger synergies between corpus linguists and variationist sociolinguists (see also Kendall 2011, Kendall & van Herk 2011).[190]

Having discussed positive and negative aspects of the selected corpora, let us move now to the extraction process. As mentioned before, I used corpus-linguistic tools (i.e. a concordancer to construct concordances and wordlists), which allow for an accurate and efficient extraction of the linguistic phenomenon under study (see Gabrielatos et al. 2010, Baker 2010). Coming from a background in corpus linguistics and therefore without a knowledge of variationist extraction methods, I can only refer to the literature with respect to a methodological comparison between the two camps. Baker (2010: 9) suggests that "a useful way in which corpus approaches can aid

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[190] Mair (2009b) mentions that studying variation across social factors in ICE corpora "is not supported by standard corpus-analytical software tools" (Mair 2009b: 25), i.e. linguists have to consult databases or manuals in order to extract social information. Creating online search programs such as BNCweb or utility programs such as ICECUP for ICE corpora other than ICE-GB is an example that one may add to Kendall's list of "wished for items for the future" (Kendall 2011: 382).

sociolinguistics is in providing […] computational tools and procedures", which implies that sociolinguists would benefit from using corpus-linguistic tools.[191]

Finally, let us turn to key aspects of the analysis that are affected by the combined methodological approach. When presenting the findings, I offered normalised frequencies in two types of tables: those displaying the overall distribution of quotatives in private dialogues as well as those showing the findings of the distributional analyses. Using normalised frequencies allowed me to draw a comparison between the three datasets with regard to the total number of quotatives in each dataset. Given the different sizes of subcorpora (see Tables 2 to 7 in Chapter 3 and Appendices 1 to 3), this method also puts the frequencies offered in the distributional analyses in the right perspective as frequencies for different social groups or different collection periods are comparable. In addition, the normalised frequencies are invaluable for possible comparisons in future studies on quotatives: As corpus linguists focus on frequencies rather than factor weights, the presentation of my results by means of normalised frequencies as used in corpus linguistics and percentages as used in variationist sociolinguistics makes it possible to draw comparisons easily between my findings and those in studies working in the corpus-linguistic and/or variationist framework. In contrast to my study, (variationist) sociolinguists rarely mention the precise total number of words of their (sub)corpora but rather report on the total number of speakers that were interviewed.[192] This makes it difficult for corpus linguists to compare findings as frequencies can only be estimated (see, for example, Mair 2009b).

On the other hand, linguists who study quotatives using corpus-linguistic methods need to be very careful when comparing their findings with suggestions about the universality of certain constraints on *be like*, or with the proposed developmental trajectories. The latter were proposed by variationist sociolinguists, who follow the

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[191] The suggestion in the literature raises the question as to how variationist sociolinguists extract linguistic variables. As I am unfamiliar with the extraction techniques used by sociolinguists, I searched the internet for further information and found a website that offers instructions for students of a class in sociolinguistics. In order to extract quotatives for a project in the variationist framework, it is suggested that students should "read through the transcript file" (Nagy 2010). Whether or not this method is representative of variationist sociolinguists remains to be seen. Further support comes from D'Arcy (2011: 65), who says that "the transcriptions represent a tool for uncovering variation" and that "there is less emphasis on automated data extraction" in variationist sociolinguistics. Tagliamonte (2007) mentions that she uses a concordancer and says that "studies of *like* [...] cannot be based on automated extraction alone, but must be conducted by going back through the data files and extracting relevant contexts by hand" (Tagliamonte 2007: 219).
[192] Notable exceptions are Macaulay (2001) and Buchstaller (2011), in which total numbers of words are offered for (sub)corpora.

principle of accountability and report the proportion that an investigated quotative represents of all quotatives occurring in the respective category of a factor group (see also Tagliamonte 2006). Studies with a corpus-based perspective typically focus on a selection of quotatives only (see, for example, Barbieri 2005) and compare the proportion that an investigated quotative represents in a certain context of all contexts in which the respective quotative is used. Linguists working in the two camps may come to the same conclusion but they may just as easily reach different conclusions.[193] In order to avoid comparing apples and oranges, it is thus beneficial for corpus linguists to use variationist methods, as well. This is why the major part of the results (given in percentages and factor weights) in the present study follows the variationist paradigm.

Finally, it is worth noting that it can be very useful to think outside of the boxes of corpus linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics and benefit from other methods in sociolinguistics such as survey studies. As Chapter 5 revealed, for instance, an examination of attitudes deepens our understanding of global vernacular linguistic resources.

Taken together, I believe that it is very fruitful to combine corpus-based and (variationist) sociolinguistic approaches to the study of quotatives and hope that my arguments in favour of a combined approach have convinced readers from both camps to continue work on quotatives using an integrative approach incorporating corpus-linguistic and (variationist) sociolinguistic methods. Further research is needed to determine (i) how innovative quotatives spread globally, (ii) whether and the extent to which they are used in L2 varieties, (iii) how they are adopted into the local quotative systems of various varieties, (iii) how they grammaticalise, and (iv) which attitudes speakers have towards them in each locality. I encourage readers to think about ways to further develop and strengthen the existing ties between corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics and to establish new connections both with regard to the study of quotatives and when pursuing research on other phenomena (see also Kendall & van Herk 2011). As Kendall & van Herk (2011: 5) conclude, "there remains ample room for further engagement between these disciplines." Future research is open to exciting explorations.

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[193] See, for example, the discussion of the last study in Chapter 2.2, which follows the principle of accountability but does not consider the proportion of *be like* of all quotatives used in a certain context when discussing linguistic factors. Readers interested in the discourse marker *like* are referred to D'Arcy (2011) for a discussion of rather unsystematic (corpus-linguistic) vs. structured (variationist) findings, showing how the perspective on the data "can alter the way we interpret their meaning" (2011: 69).

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Appendices

Total for each of the following subcorpora: 209,833 words

'Speaker sex' and 'speaker age'

	17-25		26-45		45+		Unclear/missing information
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Word totals	91484	20794	31920	18384	7042	9762	30447

'Speaker sex' and 'gender groups'

	Female - Female	Male - Male	Mixed		Unclear
			Female	Male	
Word totals	121713	8760	29755	49398	207

'Gender groups' and 'speaker age'

	17-25			26-45			45+		
	Female	Male	Mixed	Female	Male	Mixed	Female	Male	Mixed
Word totals	73358	0	42458	27148	1239	19790	6754	3275	5364

Unclear/missing information: 30447

'Speaker sex' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994		1995-2001		2002-2005		Unclear/missing information
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Word totals	12745	8150	514	16589	136929	33716	1190

'Gender groups' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994			1995-2001			2002-2005		
	Female	Male	Mixed	Female	Male	Mixed	Female	Male	Mixed
Word totals	8343	4246	8306		4514	12627	113370		57317

Unclear/missing information: 1110

'Speaker age' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994			1995-2001			2002-2005		
	17-25	26-45	45+	17-25	26-45	45+	17-25	26-45	45+
Word totals	438	627	1411	2124	4148	8639	109390	44872	6754

Missing information: 31430

Appendix 2: Word totals in different subcorpora of the private dialogues in ICE-Ireland

Total for each of the following subcorpora: 194,334 words

'Speaker sex' and 'speaker age'

	19-25		26-33		34-41		42-49		50+	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Word totals	68064	21337	31705	2941	5572	3604	3406	265	25567	5704

Speaker age 0-18: 611 words female, 608 words male
Unclear/missing information: 24950

'Speaker sex' and 'gender groups'

	Female - Female	Male - Male	Mixed		Unclear
			Female	Male	
Word totals	91841	1850	61089	39247	307

'Gender groups' and 'speaker age' (f = female, m = male, mix = mixed)

	19-25			26-33		34-41		42-49		50+	
	f	m	mix	f	mix	f	mix	f	mix	f	mix
Word totals	41431	1850	46120	24668	9978	4211	4965	1728	1943	16452	14819

Speaker age 0-18 and mixed group: 1219 words
Unclear/missing information: 24950

'Speaker sex' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994		2002-2005		Unclear/missing information
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Word totals	94973	31815	57957	9282	307

'Gender groups' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994			2002-2005			Unclear/missing information
	Female	Male	Mixed	Female	Male	Mixed	
Word totals	47356	1850	77751	44485		22785	107

'Speaker age' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994					2002-2005				
	19-25	26-33	34-41	42-49	50+	19-25	26-33	34-41	42-49	50+
Word totals	76388	7739	2811	3406	13445	13013	26907	6365	265	17826

Collection period 1990-1994 & speaker age 0-18: 1153 words
Collection period 2002-2005 speaker age 0-18: 66 words
Unclear/missing: 24 950

Appendix 3: Word totals in different subcorpora of the private dialogues in ICE-Canada

Total for each of the following subcorpora: 61,235 words

'Speaker sex' and 'speaker age'

	19-24		25-30		31-40		41-50		51+	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Word totals		8954	9098	4112	6576	11611	11212	4080	2515	2968

Unclear/missing information: 109

'Speaker sex' and 'gender groups'

	Female - Female	Male - Male	Mixed		Unclear
			Female	Male	
Word totals	9196	13066	18093	18659	2221

'Gender groups' and 'speaker age'

	19-24	25-30		31-40		41-50		51+	
	Male	Male	Mixed	Female	Mixed	Female	Mixed	Female	Mixed
Word totals	8954	4112	9098	2250	14755	6534	7828	412	5071

Unclear/missing: 2221

'Speaker sex' and 'collection period'

	1990-1994		1995-2001		2002-2005		Unclear/missing information
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Word totals			25496	29398	3905	2327	109

'Gender groups' and 'collection period'

	1995-2001			2002-2005			Unclear/missing information
	Female	Male	Mixed	Female	Male	Mixed	
Word totals	7581	13066	32135	1615		4617	2221

'Speaker age' and 'collection period'

	1995-2001					2002-2005				
	19-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51+	19-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51+
Word totals	8954	13210	16984	10675	5071			1203	4617	412

Unclear/missing: 109

Appendix 4: Distributional analysis – ICE-Jamaica

[Correlations between independent linguistic and social variables]

4.1 The role of the factor 'collection period'

Let us take a look at the extent to which the distribution of *say* across independent linguistic and social variables varies between different collection periods.[194] 'Speaker sex', the first factor to be presented, does not remain stable for all collection periods, as Table A4.1 reveals.

Table A4.1: Distribution of *say* across 'collection period' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 13042)

		say		Total
1990-1994 Female	N	2197		2275
	%	97		17
1990-1994 Male	N	245		491
	%	50		4
1994-2001 Female	N	1946		3891
	%	50		30
1994-2001 Male	N	2050		2592
	%	79		20
2002-2005 Female	N	1139		2162
	%	53		17
2002-2005 Male	N	1127		1631
	%	69		12

It is very interesting that the use of quotative *say* is especially frequent among women in the first period (97% vs. 50%), whereas a higher proportion of use can be found with men in the last two collection periods (as in the general findings in Chapter 4.1.4, Table 11). Although the first collection period contributes a lower raw frequency of quotatives than the third one and particularly tokens from men are rare in the first collection period, these male speakers nevertheless use a greater variety of quotatives than women, i.e. the low raw frequency alone does not account for the whole picture. So it seems that the quotative system of women changed between the first and third collection period in

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[194] Tokens of *be like*, *seh* and the zero quotative are almost completely restricted to the most recent collection period (the raw frequency of these quotatives is lower than 5 tokens in the first two collection periods). Therefore, differences in their distribution across the factor 'collection period' will not be discussed.

that they started using a larger number of other quotatives, especially *be like* (it accounts for 18% of the quotative use by women in the last collection period). The difference between the first and second collection period, however, is caused by the corpus design: The total number of words collected from women in the second collection period is extremely small (514 words, cf. Appendix 1) and the low raw frequency of *say* in this period (N = 1) is not representative.

Moreover, there is variation between collection periods with regard to the distribution of *say* across the factor 'gender groups'. Table A4.2 shows that not all types of gender groups necessarily occur in each collection period.

Table A4.2: Distribution of *say* across 'collection period' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 13178)

		say	Total
1990-1994	N	1678	1798
Female only	%	93	14
1990-1994	N	471	942
Male only	%	50	7
1990-1994	N	1686	1686
Mixed	%	100	13
1994-2001	N	0	0
Female only	%	0	0
1994-2001	N	1772	1994
Male only	%	89	15
1994-2001	N	2138	2851
Mixed	%	75	22
2002-2005	N	1173	2267
Female only	%	52	17
2002-2005	N	0	0
Male only	%	0	0
2002-2005	N	1064	1640
Mixed	%	65	12

These gaps in the distribution can be explained by the sampling methods: In the second collection period, no data were collected from female-only groups, whereas no data

from male-only groups were collected in the last collection period.[195] The findings suggest that *say* was initially a quotative used in mixed and female-only groups. In the second period, in which no data were collected for female-only groups, the highest rate is with male-only groups. In most recent times, however, it can be found most frequently with mixed groups (no data were collected for male-only groups in this period). Thus, there is fluctuation across the factor 'collection period', but the finding observed in Table 12 in Chapter 4.1.4, i.e. a favoured use of *say* in male-only and mixed groups, is confirmed in that Table A4.2 does not report the highest rates of quotative use for female-only groups in any collection period.

As a next step, let us turn to differences between collection periods in the distribution of *say* across 'speaker age', as illustrated in Table A4.3.

Table A4.3: Distribution of *say* across 'collection period' and 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 15028)

		say	Total
1990-1994 17-25	N	0	0
	%	0	0
1990-1994 26-45	N	0	0
	%	0	0
1990-1994 45+	N	0	0
	%	0	0
1994-2001 17-25	N	0	942
	%	0	6
1994-2001 26-45	N	4339	6027
	%	72	40
1994-2001 45+	N	1736	1852
	%	94	12
2002-2005 17-25	N	1097	1956
	%	56	13
2002-2005 26-45	N	1337	2474
	%	54	16
2002-2005 45+	N	1481	1777
	%	83	12

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[195] Due to the fact that ICE-Jamaica is skewed against male-only groups (cf. Table 3 in Chapter 3), findings based on cross-tabulations of this type of gender group with other factors should be taken with a pinch of salt.

The table shows that information on 'speaker age' is obviously missing for many tokens in the first collection period as the subcorpora for the three age groups in the first collection period do not include any quotatives. Moreover, the dataset of speakers in the youngest age group in the second collection period is so small (only 2124 words) that *say* is not represented. What Table A4.3 nevertheless shows is that the use of *say* by different age groups seems to be rather stable across the factor 'collection period': The highest rates of *say* occur with the oldest age group, like in Table 13 in Chapter 4.1.4. In summary, comparisons across the factor 'collection period' and social factors must remain tentative due to restrictions imposed by the corpus design. We need to take into account that the distribution of quotatives across these independent social variables in certain collection periods might possibly be blurred at such a rate that the distribution does not reflect how the quotatives were actually used at that point in time.

Similar to 'speaker sex' and 'gender groups', there is also variation in the distribution of *say* across the factor 'collection period' and linguistic factors. For example, its highest rates can be found in third-person contexts in Table 14 in Chapter 4.1.5, while this applies only for the last collection period in Table A4.4.

Table A4.4: Distribution of *say* across 'collection period' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4828)

		say	Total
1990-1994	N	431	479
First person	%	90	10
1990-1994	N	670	766
Third person	%	88	16
1994-2001	N	696	754
First person	%	92	16
1994-2001	N	986	1218
Third person	%	81	25
2002-2005	N	410	732
First person	%	56	15
2002-2005	N	545	879
Third person	%	62	18

In the first collection period, there is almost no difference in rates and *say* accounts for a larger proportion of first- than third-person contexts in the second collection period. So

variation is limited to the periods that contribute lower raw frequencies of *say* and in which few quotatives other than *say* are attested.

Consistent findings, however, can be found for the factor 'content of the quote': The quotative *say* is favoured with direct speech in any collection period, as Table A4.5 shows. Interestingly, it occurs with internal dialogue only in the period 2002-2005.[196]

Table A4.5: Distribution of *say* across 'collection period' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3850)

		say	Total
1990-1994 Direct speech	N	814	814
	%	100	21
1990-1994 Internal dialogue	N	0	0
	%	0	0
1994-2001 Direct speech	N	1102	1334
	%	83	35
1994-2001 Internal dialogue	N	0	232
	%	0	6
2002-2005 Direct speech	N	592	1142
	%	52	30
2002-2005 Internal dialogue	N	111	328
	%	34	9

4.2 The role of the social factors in the distribution across linguistic factors

After this first set of correlations with 'collection period', it is worth considering whether 'speaker sex', 'gender groups' and 'speaker age' have an influence on the distribution of quotatives across independent linguistic variables. Firstly, when we consider female and male use of quotatives separately, the distributional pattern across the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' observed in Table 14 in Chapter 4.1.5, i.e. a preferred use of *seh* and *say* in third-person contexts and a preferred use of *be like* in first-person contexts, remains the same for both sexes in all but two cases (see Table A4.6): *Say* is used (almost) equally as often in first- and third-person contexts in male speech. Furthermore, male speakers, who turned out to be infrequent users of *be like* (cf. Table 11 in Chapter 4.1.4), do not use *be like* in first-person contexts. When we recall

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[196] As the zero quotative and *seh* are not coded for 'tense of the quotative' and other quotatives show an even lower frequency in the first and second collection period, *say* occurs with very high rates with all of the three tenses. Therefore, I refrain from discussing its cross-tabulation here.

the discussion above about the consistent preference of *be like* in first- over third-person contexts, this finding is interesting. If it is not due to chance, it might indicate that Jamaican men offer further support for the hypothesis that the effect of the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' is levelling. However, further data are needed to substantiate this finding.

Table A4.6: Distribution of *say*, *be like* and *seh* across 'speaker sex' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3010)

		say	*be like*	*seh*		Total
Female	N	417	179	46		741
First person	%	56	24	6		25
Female	N	615	165	79		986
Third person	%	62	17	8		33
Male	N	479	0	17		616
First person	%	78	0	3		20
Male	N	530	34	34		667
Third person	%	79	5	5		22

With regard to 'content of the quote', male and female speakers do not differ in their distributional patterns for quotative *say* and *be like* (see Table A4.7), and differences in the distribution of *seh* and the zero quotative appear to be negligible if we consider that *seh* occurs infrequently in male speech (cf. Table 11 in Chapter 4.1.4) and that the frequency of the zero quotative in internal dialogue is very low (normalised frequency: N = 5; cf. Table 16 in Chapter 4.1.5).

Table A4.7: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'speaker sex' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2599)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
Female	N	648	205	192	106		1211
Direct speech	%	54	17	16	9		47
Female	N	112	112	0	13		344
Internal dialogue	%	33	33	0	4		13
Male	N	667	0	120	17		907
Direct speech	%	74	0	13	2		35
Male	N	34	17	17	17		137
Internal dialogue	%	25	13	13	13		5

In contrast to 'content of the quote', the distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' differs between male and female speakers. As Table A4.8 reveals, women show the patterns observed in Table 15 in Chapter 4.1.5, whereas men break ranks in that their rare occurrences of *be like* are restricted to the simple present and in that their rate of *say* with the HP is very high. Although men, like women, often use *say* in the simple present and simple past, as the normalised frequencies in this table reveal, they never use a quotative other than *say* with the HP, which explains this high rate in male speech.

Table A4.8: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'speaker sex' and 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2041)

		say	*be like*		Total
Female	N	53	86		152
HP	%	35	57		7
Female	N	377	146		556
Past	%	68	26		27
Female	N	291	73		443
Present	%	66	16		22
Male	N	103	0		103
HP	%	100	0		5
Male	N	325	0		411
Past	%	79	0		20
Male	N	291	34		376
Present	%	77	9		18

With regard to variation across 'gender groups', it is worth noting that the distribution of the zero quotative, *say* and *be like* across the factor 'content of the quote' is stable for all types of gender groups (see Table A4.9).[197] *Say*, however does not occur with the highest rate in third-person contexts in female- and male-only groups, but occurs equally as often in first- and third-person contexts (see Table A4.10).

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[197] *Be like* and the zero quotative do not occur in male-only groups. Findings for the distribution of *seh* across 'gender groups' and linguistic factors should be treated with caution due to a low raw frequency of tokens in male-only and mixed groups (see also Footnote 195 above).

Table A4.9: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'gender groups' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3367)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
Female only	N	657	205	238	115		1290
Direct speech	%	51	16	18	9		38
Female only	N	123	107	0	16		345
Internal dialogue	%	36	31	0	5		10
Male only	N	571	0	0	0		571
Direct speech	%	100	0	0	0		17
Male only	N	0	0	0	0		0
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	0	0		0
Mixed	N	656	76	88	38		934
Direct speech	%	70	8	9	4		28
Mixed	N	50	63	13	13		227
Internal dialogue	%	22	28	6	6		7

Table A4.10: Distribution of *say*, *be like* and *seh* across 'gender groups' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4098)

		say	*be like*	*seh*		Total
Female only	N	468	164	49		772
First person	%	61	21	6		19
Female only	N	592	181	90		1011
Third person	%	59	18	9		25
Male only	N	342	0	0		457
First person	%	75	0	0		11
Male only	N	342	0	114		457
Third person	%	75	0	25		11
Mixed	N	391	88	25		631
First person	%	62	14	4		15
Mixed	N	618	63	25		770
Third person	%	80	8	3		19

In addition, there is great variation between the different types of gender groups in the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'tense of the quotative': While *be like* is used most frequently with the HP in the overall trend (as given in Table 15 in Chapter 4.1.5) as well as in female-only groups, it does not occur with the HP in mixed groups

(see Table A4.11). The overall trend in Table 15 (Chapter 4.1.5) and the distribution of *say* for female-only groups are also very similar in that the quotative occurs most frequently with the simple present and the simple past. In male-only and mixed groups, on the other hand, *say* is used most frequently with the HP. In other words, quotative use with the HP is (almost) exclusively restricted to *say* in these two types of gender groups.

Table A4.11: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'gender groups' and 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2950)

		say	*be like*	Total
Female only	N	58	107	173
HP	%	33	62	6
Female only	N	394	115	550
Past	%	72	21	19
Female only	N	255	74	419
Present	%	61	18	14
Male only	N	114	0	114
HP	%	100	0	4
Male only	N	0	0	0
Past	%	0	0	0
Male only	N	571	0	685
Present	%	83	0	23
Mixed	N	76	0	88
HP	%	86	0	3
Mixed	N	353	101	517
Past	%	68	20	18
Mixed	N	316	50	404
Present	%	78	13	14

Moreover, there is variation in the use of *be like* between age groups as Chapter 4.1.6.2 shows. Concerning quotative *seh*, however, the same trends can generally be observed across age groups and the factors 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' (see Tables A4.12 and A4.13).[198]

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[198] If we remove again the female speaker (aged 26-45) who uses the local quotative more frequently than other women in ICE-Jamaica, the probability of *seh* with direct speech in the second age group becomes 7 per cent and for internal dialogue it becomes 6 per cent. Thus, it is almost equally as frequent in both contexts.

Table A4.12: Distribution of *say, be like,* zero and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3983)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	597	205	187	53		1078
Direct speech	%	55	19	17	5		27
17-25	N	89	151	0	18		321
Internal dialogue	%	28	47	0	6		8
26-45	N	835	159	278	219		1590
Direct speech	%	53	10	18	14		40
26-45	N	159	20	20	20		398
Internal dialogue	%	40	5	5	5		10
45+	N	417	0	60	0		536
Direct speech	%	78	0	11	0		13
45+	N	60	0	0	0		60
Internal dialogue	%	100	0	0	0		2

Table A4.13: Distribution of *say, be like* and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4749)

		say	*be like*	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	392	223	18		704
First person	%	56	32	3		15
17-25	N	525	169	53		828
Third person	%	63	20	6		17
26-45	N	596	40	119		914
First person	%	65	4	13		19
26-45	N	696	159	119		1133
Third person	%	61	14	11		24
45+	N	425	0	0		425
First person	%	100	0	0		9
45+	N	638	0	0		745
Third person	%	86	0	0		16

Also, there are no differences between age groups in the distribution of the zero quotative across 'content of the quote'. Deviations in the respective distributions of *say* can be explained by the fact that *say* is the only quotative used to introduce internal

dialogue and first-person contexts among speakers older than 45.[199] Furthermore, deviations in the distribution of *say* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' might possibly be the result of a lack of information on the factor 'speaker age' (there are 9 non-coded tokens of *say* in first-person contexts but 18 in third-person contexts). This might also explain why *say* accounts for a larger proportion of quotative use in first-person than third-person contexts in the second age group (i.e. deviates from the overall trend in Table 14 in Chapter 4.1.5). So comparisons across 'speaker age' and the linguistic factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' must remain tentative.

Deviations come in threes: In addition to 'grammatical person' and 'content of the quote', the distribution of *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' differs between age groups (see Table A4.14):

Table A4.14: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'speaker age' and 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 3178)

		say	*be like*		Total
17-25	N	53	116		178
HP	%	30	65		6
17-25	N	365	143		534
Past	%	68	27		17
17-25	N	240	80		330
Present	%	73	24		10
26-45	N	119	0		139
HP	%	86	0		4
26-45	N	358	119		517
Past	%	69	23		16
26-45	N	437	80		736
Present	%	59	11		23
46+	N	53	0		53
HP	%	100	0		2
46+	N	213	0		266
Past	%	80	0		8
46+	N	425	0		425
Present	%	100	0		13

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[199] Note that *say* accounts for only 2 per cent of all pragmatic contexts considered here. Moreover, Table 13 in Chapter 4.1.4 shows that *say* accounts for 89 per cent of the quotative use in the speech of speakers older than 45. Limiting the data to the period 2002-2005 results in the same effects for *seh* and the zero quotative regarding 'content of the quote'. In this period, *say* occurs equally as often with direct speech and internal dialogue as well as with first- and third-person subjects in the second age group. In this period and age group, *seh* also occurs more frequently with first- than third-person subjects.

The quotative occurs most frequently with the HP in the first age group but never in the HP in the second age group. Also, the very same age groups that deviated from the overall patterns of *say* regarding the above-mentioned linguistic factors do so with regard to the distribution across 'tense of the quotative' in Table 15 (in which *say* shows the highest rates with simple present and simple past; see Chapter 4.1.5). So *say* is the only quotative used with the HP and the simple present amongst the oldest speakers and it occurs most frequently with the HP among speakers aged 26 to 45 in the private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica. Even although information on 'speaker age' is missing mainly for tokens of *say* with the simple past (raw frequency: 13 tokens vs. 1 token with the HP and 4 tokens with the simple present), the rate of *say* with the simple past would still be lower than for *say* with the HP if the missing tokens could be ascribed to the second age group. This means that quotative use with the HP in the Jamaican private dialogues is almost completely restricted to *say* from the age of 26 onwards, whereas the use of *be like* with the HP is strong in the first age group.[200]

4.3 Correlations between independent linguistic variables

Apart from the influence of social factors on linguistic factors, it is worth discussing the influence of linguistic factors on each other. Firstly, there is no distinguishable influence of the factor 'content of the quote' on 'tense' and vice versa (cf. Table A4.15).

Table A4.15: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 876)

		say	*be like*		Total
HP	N	67	52		124
Direct speech	%	54	42		14
Past	N	300	57		376
Direct speech	%	80	15		43
Present	N	133	24		176
Direct speech	%	76	14		20
HP	N	0	5		10
Internal dialogue	%	0	50		1
Past	N	43	48		114
Internal dialogue	%	38	42		13
Present	N	24	24		76
Internal dialogue	%	31	31		9

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[200] When limiting the data to the period 2002-2005, the same findings can be observed for *be like* and *say* with the exception that *say* is not used with the HP in the oldest age group.

Also, there is no distinguishable influence of the factors 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' with regard to quotative *say* and *seh* apart from the finding that tokens of *say* introducing direct speech are used most frequently in first-person contexts in contrast to the general preference for *say* with third-person subjects (cf. Table A4.16). In addition to this deviation, there is an influence of the factors 'tense of the quotative' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' on each other (cf. Table A4.17): For example, *say* with a first-person subject co-occurs most frequently with the simple past.

Table A4.16: Distribution of *say*, *be like* and *seh* across 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 1168)

		say	*be like*	*seh*		Total
Direct speech	N	243	52	29		343
First person	%	71	15	8		29
Internal dialogue	N	71	76	10		229
First person	%	31	33	4		20
Direct speech	N	353	95	52		548
Third person	%	64	17	10		47
Internal dialogue	N	19	10	5		48
Third person	%	40	20	10		4

Table A4.17: Distribution of *say* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 958)

		say	*be like*		Total
HP	N	24	29		57
First person	%	42	50		6
Past	N	210	67		315
First person	%	67	21		33
Present	N	33	29		81
First person	%	41	35		8
HP	N	43	33		81
Third person	%	53	41		8
Past	N	133	38		181
Third person	%	74	21		19
Present	N	186	24		243
Third person	%	76	10		25

4.4 Correlations between independent social variables

Finally, let us consider whether or not there are correlations between social factors. With regard to 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' (see Table A4.18), the expected pattern for *say* – a favoured use with male speakers – can only be found with the first two age groups, whereas *say* shows almost the same rates in male and female speech among the oldest speakers. The zero quotative, on the other hand, accounts for the same proportion of quotative use in male and female speech in the first age group (like in Table 11, Chapter 4.1.4), but is slightly favoured in female speech in the second age group. Considered the other way round, that is with a focus on variation between the sexes in the distribution of quotatives across 'speaker age', the table shows that the distributional pattern of the zero quotative in Table 13 in Chapter 4.1.4 (equally high rates with the first and second age group) can be observed in male speech. Independent of 'speaker sex', however, *say* is used most frequently in the oldest age group, similar to the distribution across age groups in Table 13 (Chapter 4.1.4).[201]

Table A4.18: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12025)[202]

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	1159	492	208	98		2153
Female	%	54	23	10	5		18
26-45	N	1159	251	313	313		2506
Female	%	46	10	13	13		21
46+	N	1420	0	0	0		1562
Female	%	91	0	0	0		13
17-25	N	721	0	96	0		962
Male	%	75	0	10	0		8
26-45	N	2230	163	272	109		3101
Male	%	72	5	9	4		26
46+	N	1537	0	102	0		1741
Male	%	88	0	6	0		14

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[201] When limiting the data to the collection period 2002-2005, the same observations can be made. The only exception is that male speakers in the oldest age group do not use *say*.

[202] Note that it was not possible to code all tokens of *say* and *seh* for 'speaker age' due to missing information. As information is missing for tokens of *say* occurring in female speech especially (raw frequency: N = 33), the respective findings in Table A4.18 should be treated with caution.

Furthermore, there is variation across age groups as to the preferred type of gender group in the use of *say*: While Table 12 in Chapter 4.1.4 revealed that the traditional quotative occurs most frequently in male-only and mixed groups, each age group in Table A4.19 shows a different behaviour as to the type of gender group in which *say* is most frequently used:

Table A4.19: Distribution of *say*, *be like*, zero and *seh* across 'speaker age' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Jamaica (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 18497)

		say	*be like*	zero	*seh*		Total
17-25	N	1200	532	259	109		2304
Female only	%	52	23	11	5		12
17-25	N	0	0	0	0		0
Male only	%	0	0	0	0		0
17-25	N	777	141	47	24		1131
Mixed	%	69	13	4	2		6
26-45	N	1179	147	368	295		2468
Female only	%	48	6	15	12		13
26-45	N	3228	0	0	0		4036
Male only	%	80	0	0	0		22
26-45	N	2122	354	253	202		3284
Mixed	%	65	11	8	6		18
45+	N	1481	0	0	0		1629
Female only	%	91	0	0	0		9
45+	N	1221	0	0	0		1221
Male only	%	100	0	0	0		7
45+	N	2051	0	186	0		2424
Mixed	%	85	0	8	0		13

In the absence of data from male-only groups in the first age group, *say* occurs most frequently in mixed groups, whereas it accounts for a larger proportion of the quotative use in male-only than in mixed groups in the second age group. Among the oldest speakers, *say* is the only quotative used in male-only groups although it also shows very high rates with the other two types of gender groups. When we focus again on variation between the different types of gender groups in the distribution of quotatives across 'speaker age', its favoured use in the third age group (as reported in Table 13 in Chapter 4.1.4) can be found in all types of gender groups. Finally, there is no mutual influence

of the factors 'gender groups' and 'speaker age' on the distributional patterns of *seh* and the zero quotative as Table A4.19 reveals.[203] However, the limitations of the corpus regarding 'speaker age' (e.g. a small sample size of the subcorpus of speakers aged 26-45 in male-only groups and missing data for speakers aged 17-25 in male-only groups) do not allow firm conclusions about the quotatives.

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[203] Note that the zero quotative shows almost the same rates for the first and second age group in Table 13 in Chapter 4.1.4, though the more fine-grained distinction across 'gender groups' reveals that differences between the first and second age group are a little larger for female-only and mixed groups. Concerning the local quotative, the findings would not change if we remove the female speaker who uses *seh* more often than other women in the corpus (see discussion of *seh* across social factors in Chapter 4.1.4). When limiting the data to the collection period 2002-2005, the same observations can be made for *seh* and the zero quotative. Note, however, that *say* does not occur in the speech of the oldest age group in mixed groups and that there are no data for male-only groups in this collection period (see Appendix 1).

Appendix 5: Distributional analysis – ICE-Ireland

[Correlations between independent linguistic and social variables]

5.1 The role of the factor 'collection period'

Let us take a look at the extent to which the distribution of quotatives across independent linguistic and social variables varies between different collection periods. As Table A5.1 reveals, there is fluctuation across the factors 'collection period' and 'speaker sex': *Say* and the zero quotative show the highest frequency with male speech in the first and female speech in the third collection period. In this third period, it is worth noting that the zero quotative is not used at all in male speech. In my opinion, a very likely reason for that is the skewedness of the corpus against men in this period. In comparison with ICE-Jamaica, it is also interesting that the 'sex' effect of *say* develops in opposite directions in the two varieties: *say* occurs most frequently in female speech in the early Jamaican data but in male speech in more recent data, while the opposite is true in the Irish data (cf. Table A4.1 in Appendix 4).

Table A5.1: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 18253)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
1990-1994 Female	N	2948	853	684	211		5117
	%	58	17	13	4		28
1990-1994 Male	N	2200	251	503	94		3175
	%	69	8	16	3		17
2002-2005 Female	N	4124	828	483	811		7160
	%	58	12	7	11		39
2002-2005 Male	N	862	754	0	646		2801
	%	31	27	0	23		15

An eye-catcher in the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'gender groups' in Table A5.2 is the second line to the bottom: No data were collected within male-only groups in the period 2002-05. While the skewedness of the corpus against male-only groups aggravated the interpretation of findings on 'gender groups' in Table 38 (see Section 4.2.4), it causes a serious problem for more fine-grained analyses such as the cross-tabulation with 'collection period'. For example, *go* shows the highest rate with male-only groups in the period 1990-94 (as in the general findings in Table 38 in

Section 4.2.4) but due to the lacking data in the latest period it is not possible to see whether that trend continued. Furthermore, the subcorpus of male-only groups in the first collection period is so small (1850 words) that the quotative use in this subcorpus is not representative. In other words, it is difficult to draw comparisons between collection periods, and the results in this table need to be interpreted with great caution.

Table A5.2: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 24049)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
1990-1994	N	3336	1119	781	338		6082
Female only	%	55	18	13	6		25
1990-1994	N	541	1081	0	0		2162
Male only	%	25	50	0	0		9
1990-1994	N	2457	437	566	90		3794
Mixed	%	65	12	15	2		16
2002-2005	N	4114	922	584	967		7710
Female only	%	53	12	8	13		32
2002-2005	N	0	0	0	0		0
Male only	%	0	0	0	0		0
2002-2005	N	2809	614	88	439		4301
Mixed	%	65	14	2	10		18

What the table nevertheless shows is that *say* occurs most frequently in mixed groups in both collection periods, whereas *be like* shows the highest rate in female-only groups independent of the factor 'collection period' (as in the general findings in Table 38 in Section 4.2.4).[204] The zero quotative, on the other hand, occurs almost equally as often in female-only and mixed groups in the period between 1990 and 1994 (similar to the general finding in Table 38 in Section 4.2.4), while it shows the highest rate with female-only groups in the latest collection period. So its use varies across the factor 'collection period'. Interestingly, both the percentage and normalised frequency of the zero quotative in mixed groups decreases drastically between collection periods (while the respective figures of *be like* increase). Thus, it seems that the decreasing use of the

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[204] If we remove the trendsetter in the first collection period, the probability of *be like* in female-only groups becomes as low as the probability of mixed groups. Also, the exclusion of the frequent speaker in the third collection period would result in an almost balanced probability of *be like* with female-only groups and mixed groups (11% vs. 10%).

zero quotative observed in the table for the distribution across 'collection period' in general (see Table 35 in Section 4.2.3) is mainly caused by mixed groups. Finally, a comparison of ICE-Ireland with ICE-Jamaica reveals no differences in the cross-tabulation of *say* – the quotative occurs most frequently in mixed groups irrespective of the factor 'collection period' or the dataset (cf. Table A4.2 in Appendix 4).

Turning to the factor 'speaker age' (see Table A5.3), the striking difference between the two collection periods in the use of the zero quotative is that the variant occurs by far most frequently with the oldest speakers in the first collection period (21% vs. 13% and 11%), while it is most frequent in the second age group, followed by the youngest and oldest one in the period between 2002 and 2005 (9% vs. 5% and 5%).

Table A5.3: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 50227)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
1990-1994	N	2998	877	694	249		5158
19-25	%	58	17	13	5		10
1990-1994	N	2584	2197	775	258		6848
26-33	%	38	32	11	4		14
1990-1994	N	356	0	0	0		356
34-41	%	100	0	0	0		1
1990-1994	N	2349	0	294	0		3817
42-49	%	62	0	8	0		8
1990-1994	N	4239	0	1116	0		5355
50+	%	79	0	21	0		11
2002-2005	N	2075	922	231	1306		5072
19-25	%	41	18	5	26		10
2002-2005	N	2341	1449	632	1041		6764
26-33	%	35	21	9	15		13
2002-2005	N	3142	471	0	0		4556
34-41	%	69	10	0	0		9
2002-2005	N	3774	0	0	0		3774
42-49	%	100	0	0	0		8
2002-2005	N	7517	56	393	0		8527
50+	%	88	1	5	0		17

As stated in the discussion of Table 39 in Section 4.2.4, the high rate of zero quotatives with older speakers is caused by an individual speaker who, in this case, accounts for more than 85 per cent of all zero tokens used by speakers aged 50+ in the first collection period. If we exclude this speaker, the probability for the zero quotative with speakers aged 50+ in the first collection period becomes 4 per cent. With regard to *say*, the same age trend can be observed in the two collection periods: *say* occurs most frequently with speakers aged 50+ (if we ignore unrepresentative results, cf. Footnote 105). This supports the general finding in Table 39 in Section 4.2.4 as well as the Jamaican findings (see Table A4.3 in Appendix 4).

Let us now turn to the cross-tabulations for the linguistic factors. Table A5.4, a cross-tabulation of the factors 'collection period' and 'grammatical person', reveals that *say* shows the highest rates with third-person subjects in the first and third collection period, i.e. the effect remains stable across time.

Table A5.4: Distribution of *say, go* and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'grammatical person' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 9592)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
1990-1994	N	961	260	87		1512
First person	%	64	17	6		16
1990-1994	N	1638	386	79		2228
Third person	%	73	17	4		23
2002-2005	N	1559	267	431		2822
First person	%	55	9	15		29
2002-2005	N	1960	505	342		3030
Third person	%	65	17	11		32

Table A5.5 is a cross-tabulation of the factors 'collection period' and 'tense of the quotative', showing that *say* occurs most frequently in the past tense in the period 1990-94 in ICE-Ireland but in the HP in the period between 2002 and 2005. Note, however, that the difference in rates for *say* in the HP and the simple past is relatively small in both collection periods. Hence, the overall finding in Table 41 in Section 4.2.5 (almost equally high rates for *say* in the HP and simple past) tends to be supported in both collection periods.

Table A5.5: Distribution of *say, go* and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'tense of the quotative' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 7794)

		say	*go*	*be like*	Total
1990-1994	N	118	24	16	181
Present	%	65	13	9	2
1990-1994	N	630	228	0	882
HP	%	71	26	0	11
1990-1994	N	1535	165	157	2008
Past	%	76	8	8	26
2002-2005	N	104	59	74	297
Present	%	35	20	25	4
2002-2005	N	965	163	119	1322
HP	%	73	12	9	17
2002-2005	N	1931	119	594	3104
Past	%	62	4	19	40

Finally, the 'content' constraint (speech over thought) is strong for *say* in all collection periods, as Table A5.6 reveals. It is worth noting that *say* does not occur with internal dialogue in the most recent collection period in ICE-Ireland, while it does so in ICE-Jamaica (see Table A4.5 in Appendix 4).

Table A5.6: Distribution of *say, go*, zero and *be like* across 'collection period' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 10334)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*	Total
1990-1994	N	2480	622	559	142	3921
Direct speech	%	63	16	14	4	38
1990-1994	N	63	39	71	8	354
Internal dialogue	%	18	11	20	2	3
2002-2005	N	3327	683	371	639	5376
Direct speech	%	62	13	7	12	52
2002-2005	N	0	74	45	104	683
Internal dialogue	%	0	11	7	15	7

As for the zero quotative, there seems to be a neutralisation of the constraint as the zero quotative shows the highest rates with internal dialogue in the first collection period and occurs equally as often with direct speech and internal dialogue in the most recent

collection period. This explains why the preference for internal dialogue is rather weak in the overall finding (see Table 42 in Section 4.2.5).

5.2 The role of the social factors in the distribution across linguistic factors

Let us now turn to a discussion of the extent to which 'speaker sex', 'gender groups' and 'speaker age' influence the distribution of quotatives across linguistic factors. As Table A5.7 reveals, male and female speakers differ in their use of *be like*: The quotative shows the highest rates with first-person subjects in female speech (as in the overall finding in Table 40 in Section 4.2.5) but occurs almost equally as often in first- and third-person contexts in male speech. In this respect, the Irish findings differ from the Jamaican ones as *be like* is not used by Jamaican men in first-person contexts (cf. Appendix 4, Table A4.6). Yet, the Irish finding is interesting as it might indicate that Irish men offer further support for the hypothesis that the effect of the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' is levelling. However, more data from Irish men are needed to substantiate this finding.

Table A5.7: Distribution of *say, go* and *be like* across 'grammatical person' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 7479)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
Female	N	1367	333	248		2354
First person	%	58	14	11		31
Female	N	1857	458	177		2668
Third person	%	70	17	7		36
Male	N	438	0	49		535
First person	%	82	0	9		7
Male	N	1363	316	146		1922
Third person	%	71	16	8		26

Further sex differences in the Irish data can be observed in the distribution of *say*: It shows the highest rate with third-person subjects in female speech (as in the overall finding in Table 40 in Section 4.2.5), but with first-person subjects in male speech. Thus, the Irish and Jamaican data have in common that the use of *be like* and *say* differs in male and female speech with regard to the factor 'grammatical person'. The quotative *go*, however, occurs most frequently with third-person subjects in both female and male speech in the Irish data.

There is merely minor variation in the distribution of *say*, *go* and the zero quotative across the factors 'speaker sex' and 'content of the quote'. As with the overall finding (see Table 42 in Section 4.2.5), Table A5.8 shows that the 'content' constraint (speech over thought) is strong for *say* and *go* in both male and female speech. The only difference between the two sexes is that *go* never occurs with internal dialogue in male speech, while it does so in female speech.[205] Furthermore, the zero quotative shows the same rates for direct speech and internal dialogue in male speech and occurs almost equally as often in female speech (like in Table 42 in Section 4.2.5). In cross-varietal comparison, both *say* and the zero quotative show only negligible differences between the two sexes in this distribution in both ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica.

Table A5.8: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'content of the quote' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 8247)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Female	N	3086	719	530	366		4924
Direct speech	%	63	15	11	7		60
Female	N	52	65	72	39		549
Internal dialogue	%	10	12	13	7		7
Male	N	1630	365	365	122		2604
Direct speech	%	63	14	14	5		32
Male	N	0	0	24	49		170
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	14	29		2

For the third linguistic factor, 'tense of the quotative', there are clear differences between the sexes. Table A5.9 shows that the use of *say*, *go* and *be like* in female speech is very similar to the overall finding in Table 41 in Section 4.2.5: *Say* is almost equally frequently used in the HP and the simple past, *go* occurs most frequently in the HP followed by the simple present, and *be like* shows the highest rates with the simple present and the simple past. Among male speakers, however, *say* shows the highest rates with the HP, *be like* with the simple present and *go* occurs most frequently with the HP and the simple past alike. Interestingly, the effect of the factor 'tense of the quotative' is the same for *say* and *be like* among male speakers in ICE-Ireland and ICE-Jamaica despite the fact that both corpora are skewed in favour of women. Regarding

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[205] Note, however, that the corpus is skewed against men.

female speakers, on the other hand, there are differences in cross-varietal comparison (*be like* is favoured in the HP and *say* in the simple present and simple past in ICE-Jamaica).

Table A5.9: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 6195)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
Female	N	131	46	39		262
Present	%	50	18	15		4
Female	N	719	242	46		1059
HP	%	68	23	4		17
Female	N	1929	170	347		2733
Past	%	71	6	13		44
Male	N	49	0	24		73
Present	%	67	0	33		1
Male	N	852	73	24		949
HP	%	90	8	3		15
Male	N	730	73	170		1119
Past	%	65	7	15		18

As a consequence of the variation across 'speaker sex', we can also observe variation in the use of quotatives across 'grammatical person' and 'gender groups'. Due to the small size of the subcorpus of male-only groups (1850 words), I refrain from discussing the findings for this gender group although the frequencies and percentages are included in the following tables for completeness. Let us now turn to Table A5.10. It reveals that *be like* occurs more often in first-person contexts than in third-person contexts in female-only groups, while it occurs almost equally as often in the two contexts in mixed groups, in which *be like* occurs less frequently. Also, the quotative *say* shows almost the same rates with first-person and third-person subjects in mixed groups, whereas the quotative occurs most frequently with third-person subjects in female-only groups. In both types of gender group, however, the quotative *go* occurs more often in third-person contexts than in first-person contexts – although there is only a weak difference in female-only groups. Consequently, the distribution of *say* and *be like* across this linguistic factor varies more clearly in female-only groups (in which we find the same results as in the overall finding in Table 40 in Section 4.2.5), while the

distribution of *go* varies more clearly in mixed groups. In cross-varietal comparison, the 'person' effects of *say* in female-only and mixed groups in the Irish data are just the opposites of those in the Jamaican data (cf. Appendix 4, Table A4.10).

Table A5.10: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'grammatical person' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 9686)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
Female only	N	1549	457	392		2951
First person	%	52	15	13		30
Female only	N	1960	534	240		2951
Third person	%	66	18	8		30
Male only	N	541	0	0		541
First person	%	100	0	0		6
Male only	N	0	0	0		0
Third person	%	0	0	0		0
Mixed	N	836	90	40		1094
First person	%	76	8	4		11
Mixed	N	1592	338	109		2149
Third person	%	74	16	5		22

In contrast, the effect of the factor 'tense of the quotative' on *say* goes in the same direction in the Jamaican and Irish data: The quotative occurs most frequently with the simple past in female-only groups and with the HP in mixed groups (see Table A4.11 in Appendix 4 and Table A5.11 below). This means that the overall finding in Table 41 (Section 4.2.5) is influenced by the findings from both gender types. On the other hand, there seems to be a similar trend for this factor with both types of gender groups regarding *be like* and *go*. As Table A5.11 shows, there are high rates for *go* with the HP and *be like* with the simple present although *go* also accounts for a large proportion of quotative use in the simple present in mixed groups and *be like* shows a high rate with the simple past in female-only groups.[206]

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[206] However, it must be taken into consideration that quotatives in general rarely occur with the simple present in mixed groups (normalised frequency = 129).

Table A5.11: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 7973)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
Female only Present	N	163	54	44		327
	%	50	17	13		4
Female only HP	N	566	250	76		969
	%	58	26	8		12
Female only Past	N	2210	196	512		3321
	%	67	6	15		42
Male only Present	N	0	0	0		0
	%	0	0	0		0
Male only HP	N	541	0	0		541
	%	100	0	0		7
Male only Past	N	0	0	0		0
	%	0	0	0		0
Mixed Present	N	70	20	30		129
	%	54	15	23		2
Mixed HP	N	915	169	10		1104
	%	83	15	1		14
Mixed Past	N	1214	109	129		1582
	%	77	7	8		20

With regard to the factor 'content of the quote', there are no differences between the two gender groups in the distributions of *say* and *go* (see Table A5.12). Furthermore, the use of the zero quotative differs only slightly between female-only and mixed groups in that the quotative occurs most frequently with internal dialogue in the former (as in the overall finding in Table 42 in Section 4.2.5) but equally as often with direct speech and internal dialogue in the latter. Similarly, the Jamaican findings (see Appendix 4, Table A4.9) revealed that the effect of the factor 'content of the quote' is stable for the zero quotative and for *say*.

Turning to the role of 'speaker age' in the distribution of quotatives across linguistic factors, Table 51 in Section 4.2.6.2 reveals that the distribution of the zero quotative differs between age groups (with and without 'collection period' as an additional factor). While the zero quotative shows the highest rates with internal dialogue in the group of the youngest speakers, it accounts for a larger proportion of

direct speech with those aged 26 upwards. However, the size of the subcorpus for speakers aged 34 to 49 is very small (see Table 5 in Chapter 3), i.e. the findings might not be representative. In contrast to the zero quotative, the social factor 'speaker age' does not have an influence on the distribution of the quotatives *say* and *go* across the factor 'content of the quote'.

Table A5.12: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'content of the quote' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12135)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
Female only	N	3365	871	577	544		5673
Direct speech	%	59	15	10	10		47
Female only	N	54	87	98	54		708
Internal dialogue	%	8	12	14	8		6
Male only	N	541	1081	0	0		2162
Direct speech	%	25	50	0	0		18
Male only	N	0	0	0	0		0
Internal dialogue	%	0	0	0	0		0
Mixed	N	2278	428	428	109		3333
Direct speech	%	68	13	13	3		27
Mixed	N	30	20	30	30		259
Internal dialogue	%	12	8	12	12		2

Table 52 in Section 4.2.6.2, a cross-tabulation of the factors 'speaker age' and 'tense of the quotative' reveals that there is variation across age groups in the use of the quotative *go*: It occurs most frequently with the HP in the youngest age group but with the HP and the simple present alike in the second age group (with and without 'collection period' as an additional factor). This explains why the quotative has the highest rate with the HP followed by the simple present in the overall finding (see Table 41 in Section 4.2.5). *Say*, on the other hand, occurs most frequently with the simple past in these age groups.

Finally, the distribution of the quotatives *say*, *be like* and *go* across the third factor, 'grammatical person of the quotative', does not vary between age groups, as Table A5.13 reveals.

Table A5.13: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'speaker age' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 24861)[207]

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	1029	302	201		1700
First person	%	61	18	12		7
19-25	N	1655	526	179		2528
Third person	%	65	21	7		10
26-33	N	1183	635	491		3204
First person	%	37	20	15		13
26-33	N	1097	924	346		2655
Third person	%	41	35	13		11
34-41	N	872	109	0		1308
First person	%	67	8	0		5
34-41	N	1308	0	0		1526
Third person	%	86	0	0		6
42-49	N	817	0	0		1907
First person	%	43	0	0		8
42-49	N	1634	0	0		1634
Third person	%	100	0	0		7
50+	N	2175	0	0		2366
First person	%	92	0	0		10
50+	N	3741	32	0		3869
Third person	%	97	1	0		16
nag	N	601	40	200		1042
First person	%	58	4	19		4
nag	N	762	120	200		1122
Third person	%	68	11	18		5

5.3 Correlations between independent linguistic variables

Another question is whether or not there is a collective trend regarding the influence of linguistic factors on each other. The discussion of Table 48 in Section 4.2.6.1 showed that *be like* in first-person contexts introduces direct speech more frequently than internal dialogue in both collection periods in ICE-Ireland (contrary to the general findings in Table 42 in Secction 4.2.5), while *be like* in third-person contexts occurs

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[207] The exclusion of the two frequent users of *be like* (aged 19-25 and 26-33) would not change the results.

most frequently with direct speech in the first collection period and with internal dialogue in more recent times. The distribution across these two linguistic factors in Table A5.14 (without 'collection period' as an additional factor) reveals the same finding for first-person contexts and the finding for third-person contexts in the latest collection period. Thus, the interactional effect that is apparent in the Jamaican data cannot be confirmed for ICE-Ireland. If we take the factor 'content of the quote' as the basis for our discussion of Table A5.14, *be like* tokens introducing direct speech co-occur most frequently with first-person subjects (as in Table 48 in Section 4.2.6.1 and in the general finding in Table 40 in Section 4.2.5). In contrast, those tokens introducing internal dialogue show the highest rate with third-person subjects due to the fact that hardly any other quotative is used in this particular context. For example, there are no tokens of *say* and *go* in this context in the corpus. In first-person contexts, *say* is preferred with direct speech (as in Table 42 in Secction 4.2.5), while *go* accounts for direct speech and internal dialogue alike (contrary to the latter table). Conversely, the use of *go* preceding direct speech shows the highest rate with third-person subjects (as in Table 40 in Section 4.2.5), whereas *say* introduces direct speech with first- and third-person subjects alike (contrary to the latter table and the Jamaican data, in which the highest rate is with first-person subjects).

Table A5.14: Distribution of *say*, *go* and *be like* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4194)

		say	*go*	*be like*		Total
Direct speech	N	1065	211	180		1513
First person	%	70	14	12		36
Internal dialogue	N	41	51	21		365
First person	%	11	14	6		9
Direct speech	N	1611	407	134		2280
Third person	%	71	18	6		54
Internal dialogue	N	0	0	21		36
Third person	%	0	0	57		1

Furthermore, the factor 'tense of the quotative' influences the distribution of *go* across the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative'. As Table 53 in Section 4.2.6.3 reveals, *go* in the simple past is used with both types of subjects alike (contrary to Table

40 in Section 4.2.5) but it should be noted that, of all three tense forms, *go* shows the lowest rate with the simple past. Similarly, *say* occurs least often with the simple present in Table 41 (Section 4.2.5) and *say* in this tense form occurs more frequently with first- than third-person subjects in the cross-tabulation in Table 53 (Section 4.2.6.3), contrary to its general preference for third-person subjects (see Table 40 in Section 4.2.5). Considered the other way round, the traditional quotative occurs as frequently with the simple present as with the two other tense forms in first-person contexts, whereas the preferred tense forms in third-person contexts (and the general findings) are the HP and the simple past.

5.4 Correlations between independent social variables

Finally, let us turn to the correlations between social factors. Similar to the Jamaican data, the factor 'speaker sex' has almost no influence on the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'speaker age'. When findings for *say* and the zero quotative in Table A5.15 deviate from the patterns observed in Table 39 in Section 4.2.4, the deviations are either caused by the small size of the subcorpus of speakers aged 42 to 49 (3,671 words) or by the frequent user of the zero quotative aged 50+.[208]

Looking at the Irish data from the other perspective, however, there is a correlation between 'speaker sex' and 'age' in the use of *say*: Young women up to the age of 33 and men aged 34 and above account for the largest proportion of *say*. This means that the overall finding in Table 37 (Section 4.2.4), i.e. a slightly favoured use of *say* by men, is the result of different preferences in different age groups.[209] In addition, the use of the zero quotative by the two sexes varies across age groups. While the general finding from Table 37 (Section 4.2.4; higher rates with men) is supported in the first two age groups, the zero quotative accounts for a larger proportion of female than male speech among the oldest speakers even if we exclude the frequent female user in this age group.[210] The findings in Table A5.15 should, however, be treated with caution as with the Jamaican findings in Table 22 (Section 4.1.6.4) as information on speaker

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[208] Note that the corpus is skewed in favour of women, especially in the collection period 2002 to 2005.

[209] If we use 'collection period' as an additional factor, the same finding can be observed in the two collection periods in all but one case: In the period 1990 to 1994, male and female speakers in the second age group use *say* equally as often (note, however, that not all age groups can be considered due to the small size of the respective subcorpora and see also Footnote 208).

[210] If we use 'collection period' as an additional factor, the same finding can be observed in the two youngest age groups in the first collection period. Excluding the frequent female user of the zero quotative aged 50+, however, there is no noticeable difference between the two sexes in the oldest age group.

age is missing for a considerable number of Irish tokens (e.g. 37 tokens of *say* in private dialogues).

Table A5.15: Distribution of *say*, *go*, zero and *be like* across 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 49848)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	3350	1058	661	426		5892
Female	%	57	18	11	7		12
26-33	N	2555	1545	631	915		6939
Female	%	37	22	9	13		14
34-41	N	2872	538	0	0		4307
Female	%	67	13	0	0		9
42-49	N	2349	0	294	0		3817
Female	%	62	0	8	0		8
50+	N	6297	39	821	0		7549
Female	%	83	1	11	0		15
19-25	N	1312	328	516	328		2765
Male	%	47	12	19	12		6
26-33	N	680	2380	1020	340		5100
Male	%	13	47	20	7		10
34-41	N	1387	0	0	0		1665
Male	%	83	0	0	0		3
42-49	N	3774	0	0	0		3774
Male	%	100	0	0	0		8
50+	N	5259	0	175	0		5435
Male	%	97	0	3	0		11
nag	N	1483	200	281	401		2605
	%	57	8	11	15		5

Since the factor 'speaker sex' has almost no influence on the distribution of quotatives across the factor 'speaker age', it is not surprising that the factor 'gender groups' also does not have an important influence (see Table A5.16). Deviations from the patterns observed in Table 39 (Section 4.2.4) are either weak or caused by the small size of certain subcorpora. When we turn our focus to the influence of the factor 'speaker age' on the distribution of quotatives across 'gender groups', there are also no striking correlations apart from the following: *say* occurs equally as often with female-

only and mixed groups in the second age group; otherwise it shows the highest rate with mixed groups (as in Table 48 in Section 4.2.4 and in the Jamaican data for speakers aged 17-25).[211]

Table A5.16: Distribution of *say, go,* zero and *be like* across 'speaker age' and 'gender groups' in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 56741)

		say	*go*	zero	*be like*		Total
19-25	N	3452	1134	869	628		6565
Female only	%	53	17	13	10		12
26-33	N	2676	1784	730	1013		7621
Female only	%	35	23	10	13		13
34-41	N	3562	712	0	0		5462
Female only	%	65	13	0	0		10
42-49	N	3472	0	579	0		6366
Female only	%	55	0	9	0		11
50+	N	6443	0	425	0		7355
Female only	%	88	0	6	0		13
19-25	N	541	1081	0	0		2162
Male only	%	25	50	0	0		4
19-25	N	2428	650	434	217		3990
Mixed	%	61	16	11	5		7
26-33	N	1704	1203	501	501		4710
Mixed	%	36	26	11	11		8
34-41	N	1208	0	0	0		1410
Mixed	%	86	0	0	0		2
42-49	N	1544	0	0	0		1544
Mixed	%	100	0	0	0		3
50+	N	5736	67	1012	0		6951
Mixed	%	83	1	15	0		12
nag	N	1483	200	281	401		2605
	%	57	9	11	15		5

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[211] If we exclude the frequent user of the zero quotative in the oldest age group, the rate of *say* in mixed groups becomes 94 per cent (vs. 88% with female-only groups), i.e. it then occurs most frequently with mixed groups. If we use 'collection period' as an additional factor, *say* used by speakers in the second age group occurs more frequently with female-only than mixed groups in the first collection period, but more frequently with mixed than female-only groups in the last collection period, while *say* is favoured with mixed groups in other age groups (note, however, that not all age groups can be considered due to the small size of the respective subcorpora).

Furthermore, the zero quotative accounts for very similar proportions of quotative use in female-only and mixed groups in the first and second age group, while it shows the highest rate with mixed groups among the oldest speakers.[212]

5.5 Multivariate analysis

In the following, I will present tables showing the results of multivariate analyses in which *existential it + be like* constructions are excluded from consideration in the factor groups 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' (as in Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009). All other factors are included as outlined in Section 4.2.7. Note that the tokens of the *existential it + be like* construction stem from the period between 2002 and 2005 and therefore their exclusion does not affect findings based on data collected in the period between 1990 and 1994. The following analyses are based on data either from the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in general (see Table A5.17) or from speakers in the first and second age group only in this collection period (see Table A5.18). As for the quotative *say,* the exclusion of the five *existential it + be like* constructions results in very minimal (i.e. negligible) differences to the findings presented in Section 4.2.7. Consequently, the tables below will focus on the quotatives *be like* and *go*.

When comparing the findings in Tables A5.17 and A5.18 with Tables 59 and 60 in Section 4.7.2.2, it is worth noting that *be like* is more clearly favoured with first-person subjects in both tables below. Besides, *be like* is infrequent in and disfavoured with internal dialogue contexts. This effect can also be observed in Table 60 but it is stronger below. With regard to *go*, the only important difference to Table 59 is that 'content of the quote' is a marginal factor group in Table A5.17. Thus in this respect, *be like* and *go* still have different profiles in the data from the last collection period, but in the case of *go* the factor weights are close to (or on) the median. Likewise, the 'content' effect of *go* is weaker in Table A5.18 than in Table 60 in Section 4.2.7.2.1.

In contrast to Tables 59 and 60, the factor 'content of the quote' is significant in the column on *be like* in Tables A5.17 and A5.18 as well as the factor 'grammatical person of the quotative' in Table A5.18. 'Content of the quote' shows the greatest range

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[212] If we exclude the frequent user of the zero quotative in the oldest age group, the rate becomes 2 per cent for mixed groups, i.e. the zero quotative then occurs most frequently with female-only groups in this age group (using 'collection period' as an additional factor is not possible due the small size of certain subcorpora and the infrequency of the zero quotative in some categories of the more fine-grained analysis). Further deviations from the patterns observed in Table 38 in Chapter 4.2.4 are negligible or due to small subcorpora.

in the two tables below but the number of internal dialogue contexts is the lowest of all factors included in the analysis.

Table A5.17: Factors constraining the use of *be like* and *go* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland*

	be like			*go*		
input S	.22 .004			.19 .007		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense						
Past	.54	19	209			
Present & HP	.43	12	109			
range	*11*					
Person						
First	[.57]	15	190	.40	10	190
Third	[.43]	9	199	.60	17	199
range				*20*		
Content						
Speech	.52	12	362	[.50]	13	362
Thought	.32	7	42	[.51]	12	42
range	*20*					
Sex						
Female				.49	12	415
Male				.66	27	26
range				*17*		
Gender groups						
Mixed	.40	10	98			
Female only	.53	13	343			
range	*13*					
Age						
19-25	.59	26	66	.44	18	66
26-33	.47	15	182	.52	21	182
range	*12*			*8*		
Total N			441			441

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

Table A5.18: Factors constraining the use of *be like* and *go* in the collection period between 2002 and 2005 in private dialogues in ICE-Ireland (first and second age group only)*

	be like			go		
input	.23			.08		
S	.016			.000		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Tense						
Past	.51	29	119	.37	5	119
Present & HP	.47	25	44	.80	30	44
range	*4*			*43*		
Person						
First	.58	22	115	.39	15	115
Third	.41	15	100	.63	33	100
range	*17*			*24*		
Content						
Speech	.56	20	189	[.51]	23	189
Thought	.22	6	33	[.47]	15	33
range	*34*					
Gender groups						
Mixed	[.47]	18	56	[.51]	23	56
Female only	[.51]	18	192	[.50]	20	192
range						
Age						
19-25	.57	26	66	[.53]	18	66
26-33	.48	15	182	[.49]	21	182
range	*9*					
Total N			248			248

*FW = factor weight; S = significance; factor weights in square brackets are non-significant; shading within factor groups denotes favoured factor(s)

Appendix 6: Distributional analysis – ICE-Canada

Table A6.1: Distribution of *say* across 'speaker age' and 'speaker sex' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 26820)

		Female	Male
19-24	N	0	1229
	%	0	23
25-30	N	2088	1702
	%	61	78
31-40	N	2586	1120
	%	68	62
41-50	N	2408	735
	%	69	60
51+	N	2386	1348
	%	60	80

Table A6.2: Distribution of *say* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'grammatical person of the quotative' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2140)

		HP	Past	Present
First person	N	0	457	16
	%	0	60	50
Third person	N	98	702	147
	%	40	81	69

Table A6.3: Distribution of *say* across 'grammatical person' and 'speaker sex' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 5050)

		Female	Male
First person	N	884	252
	%	63	38
Third person	N	1360	851
	%	80	66

Table A6.4: Distribution of *say* across 'grammatical person of the quotative' and 'gender groups' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 9629)

		Female only	Male only	Mixed
First person	N	1522	230	463
	%	61	25	63
Third person	N	1957	995	952
	%	82	52	81

Table A6.5: Distribution of *say* across 'content of the quote' and 'grammatical person of the quote' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 2074)

		Direct speech	Internal dialogue
First person	N	425	33
	%	87	9
Third person	N	866	0
	%	80	0

Table A6.6: Distribution of *say* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker sex' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4625)

		Female	Male
Present		68	284
		25	69
HP	N	136	63
	%	44	29
Past	N	1837	599
	%	79	54

Table A6.7: Distribution of *say* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'gender groups' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 8997)

		Female only	Male only	Mixed
Present	N	217	306	136
	%	40	50	63
HP	N	109	153	82
	%	100	33	33
Past	N	3262	459	980
	%	79	32	80

Table A6.8: Distribution of *say* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'speaker age' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 12129)

		19-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51+
Present	N	335	76	220	196	0
	%	43	50	67	60	0
HP	N	112	303	0	65	0
	%	20	44	0	100	0
Past	N	335	984	1210	1635	1824
	%	19	81	81	83	71

Table A6.9: Distribution of *say* across 'tense of the quotative' and 'content of the quote' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 1944)

		HP	Past	Present
Direct speech	N	98	1110	16
	%	43	89	100
Internal dialogue	N	0	33	0
	%	0	10	0

Table A6.10: Distribution of *say* across 'content of the quote' and 'speaker sex' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 4508)

		Female	Male
Direct speech	N	2075	630
	%	84	61
Internal dialogue	N	34	32
	%	7	6

Table A6.11: Distribution of *say* across 'content of the quote' and 'gender groups' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 8985)

		Female only	Male only	Mixed
Direct speech	N	3262	536	1170
	%	79	37	90
Internal dialogue	N	109	0	27
	%	13	0	7

Table A6.12: Distribution of *say* across 'content of the quote' and 'speaker age' in the sample of private dialogues in ICE-Canada (normalised frequencies per million words; N = 11577)

		19-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51+
Direct speech	N	335	1590	1265	1700	1459
	%	21	81	85	84	100
Internal dialogue	N	0	0	110	0	0
	%	0	0	20	0	0

Thank you for taking a few minutes to fill out this anonymous questionnaire!

It is part of my PhD thesis project at the English Department of the University of Freiburg, Germany. In my thesis, I investigate how people introduce quotations in Jamaican English. This questionnaire is meant to capture your attitudes towards the use of such verbs.

Please answer the questions carefully.

A Example: (a) He *was like* "She's in Montego Bay".

(b) And I *was like* "Oh, that's nice".

1. When you hear this exchange, do you think that the **words in bold** (see example A given above) are used mostly by

young	OR	old speakers ?
men	OR	women ?
Jamaicans	OR	non-Jamaicans ?

2.   Could you please list the personal traits/specific features of a typical user of the construction in bold? (For example: 80-year-old German lady with a middle-class background and an average degree of education)

   ----

3.   Do you consider its use as

   good English   OR   bad English   ?

4.   Do you consider its use as indicative of

   casual   OR   formal speech   ?

   Patwa   OR   Standard English   ?

5.   Do you use it yourself?

   ----

6.   If you use it,

   □ are you more likely to use *I was like* "She's in Montego Bay" ?

   □ are you more likely to use *he was like / she was like* "She's in Montego Bay" ?

   □ or do you use both more or less equally ?

B Example: (a) She *went* "Come on, let's go there".

(b) And I *went* "I'm not into it".

1. When you hear this exchange, do you think that the **words in bold** (see example B given above) are used mostly by

young	OR	old speakers	?
men	OR	women	?
Jamaicans	OR	non-Jamaicans	?

2. Could you please list the personal traits/specific features of a typical user of this verb? (For example: 80-year-old German lady with a middle-class background and an average degree of education)

----

3. Do you consider its use as

good English   OR   bad English   ?

4. Do you consider its use as indicative of

casual   OR   formal speech   ?

Patwa   OR   Standard English   ?

5. Do you use it yourself?

----

6. If you use it,

□ are you more likely to use *I went* "Come on, let's go there" ?

□ are you more likely to use *he went / she went* "Come on, let's go there" ?

□ or do you use both more or less equally ?

Please turn to the next page.

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C Example: (a) I *said* "What's your favourite movie?"

(b) And he *said* "James Bond".

1.   When you hear this exchange, do you think that the **words in bold** (see example C given above) are used mostly by

young	OR	old speakers	?
men	OR	women	?
Jamaicans	OR	non-Jamaicans	?

2.   Could you please list the personal traits/specific features of a typical user of this verb? (For example: 80-year-old German lady with a middle-class background and an average degree of education)

----

3.   Do you consider its use as

good English	OR	bad English	?

4.   Do you consider its use as indicative of

casual	OR	formal speech	?
Patwa	OR	Standard English	?

5.   Do you use it yourself?

----

6.   If you use it,

□ are you more likely to use *I said* "What's your favourite movie?" ?

□ are you more likely to use *he said / she said* "What's your favourite movie?" ?

□ or do you use both more or less equally ?

Please turn to the next page.

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D Example: (a) ***Him say*** "What happened to you?"

                   (b) And ***me say*** "It's the starting point of pink-eye".

1.   When you hear this exchange, do you think that the **words in bold** (see example D given above) are used mostly by

young	OR	old speakers ?
men	OR	women ?
Jamaicans	OR	non-Jamaicans ?

2.   Could you please list the personal traits/specific features of a typical user of this verb? (For example: 80-year-old German lady with a middle-class background and an average degree of education)

       ----

3.   Do you consider its use as

good English	OR	bad English	?

4.   Do you consider its use as indicative of

casual	OR	formal speech ?	
Patwa	OR	Standard English	?

5.   Do you use it yourself?

       ----

6.   If you use it,

       □ are you more likely to use ***me say*** "What happened to you?" ?

       □ are you more likely to use ***him say / she say*** "What happened to you?" ?

       □ or do you use both more or less equally ?

Information on you - just for the purpose of evaluation:

1. Your gender: male   female

2. Your age: 0-19,   20-35,   36-60,   60+

3. Your nationality: Jamaican   other

AGAIN, thanks a lot for filling out this questionnaire!

Note: All data you have provided in this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential and used for scientific purposes only.
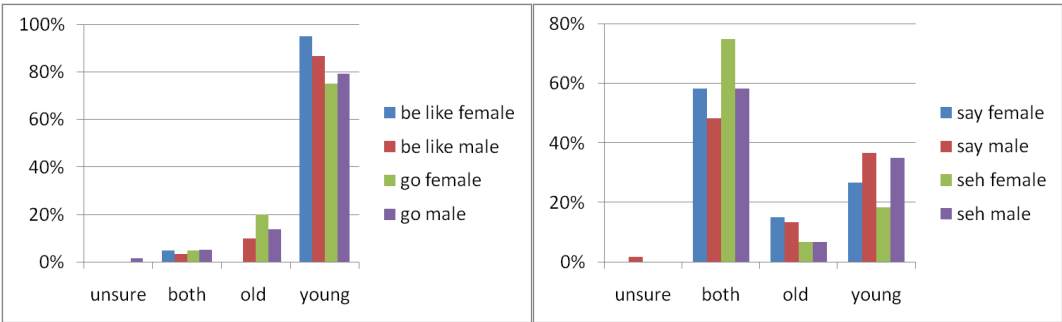
Figure 1: Question 1a * 'informant sex' (*be like* and *go*)

Figure 2: Question 1a * 'informant sex' (*say* and *seh*)
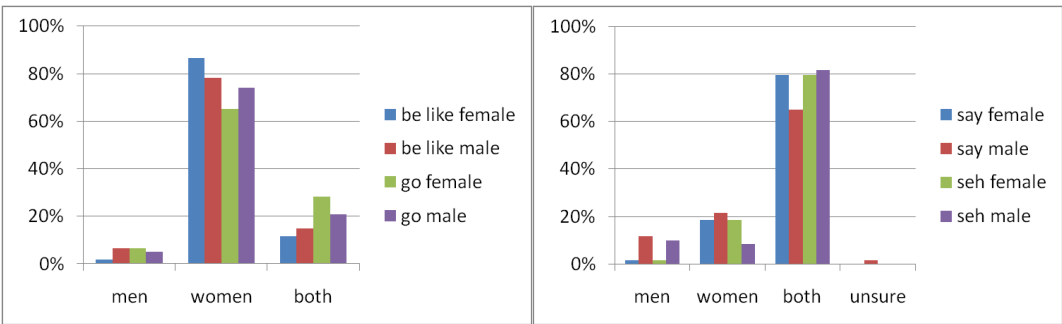
Figure 3: Question 1b * 'informant sex' (*be like* and *go*)

Figure 4: Question 1b * 'informant sex' (*say* and *seh*)
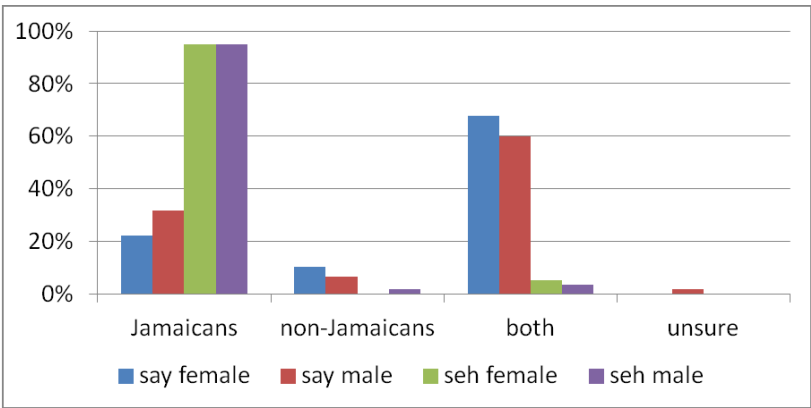
Figure 5: Question 1c * 'informant sex' (*say* and *seh*)
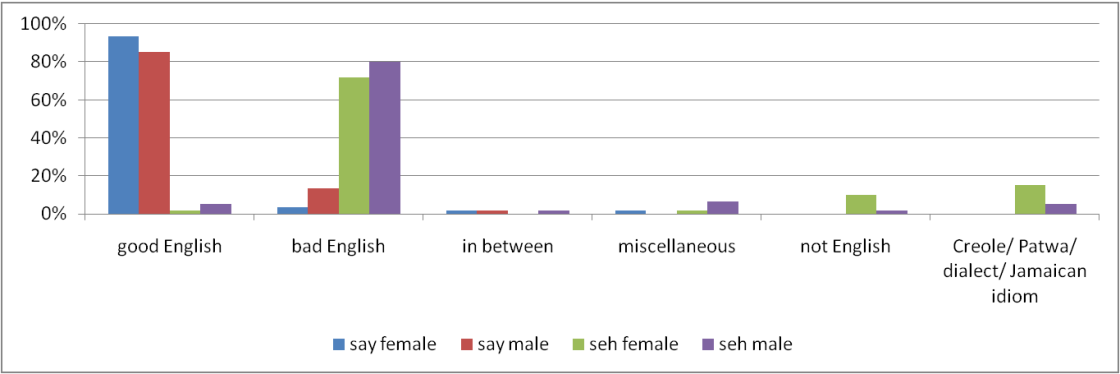
Figure 6: Question 3 * 'informant sex' (*say* and *seh*)
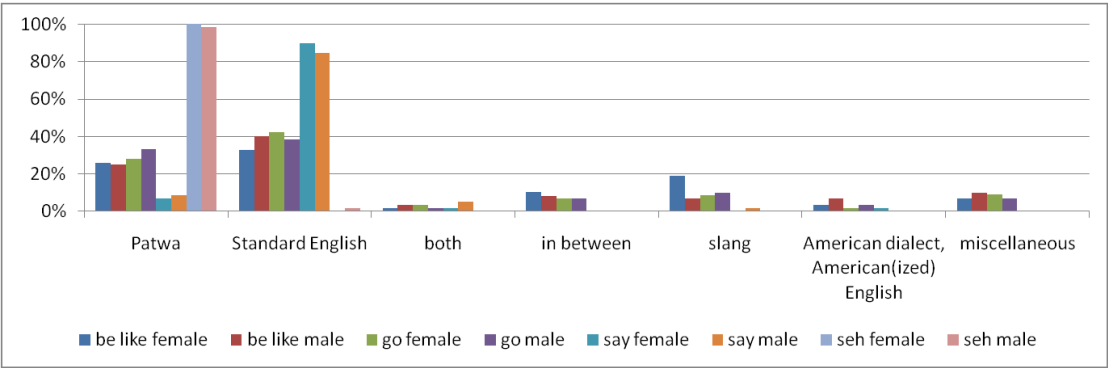
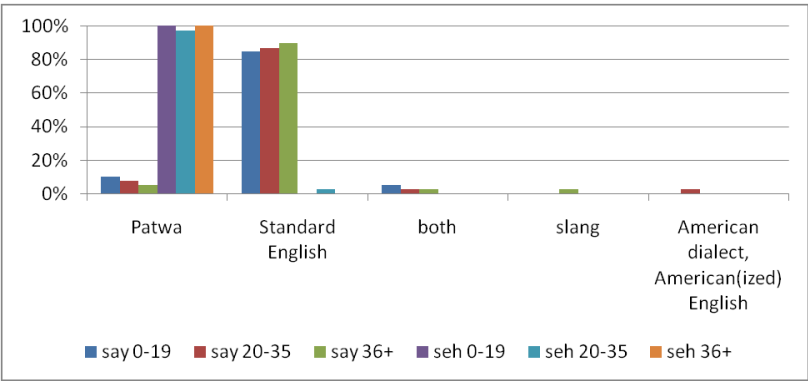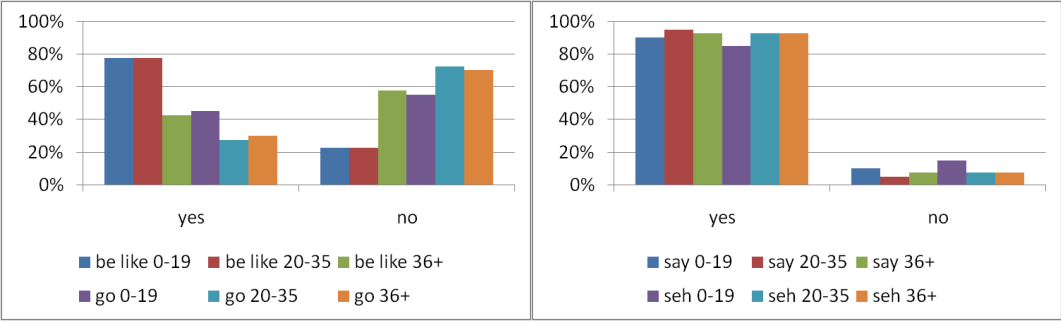Figure 7: Question 4 * 'informant sex' (*be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh*)

Figure 8: Question 4 * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

Figure 9: Question 5 * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

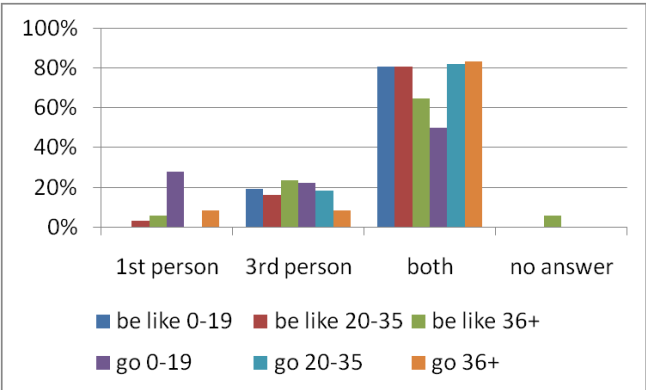Figure 10: Question 5 * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

Figure 11: Question 6 * 'informant age' (*be like* and *go*)

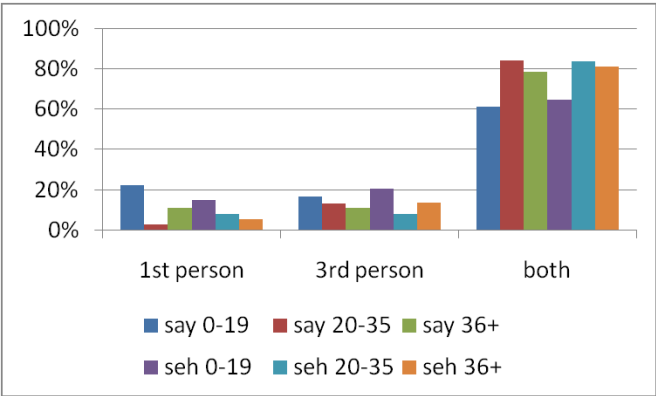Figure 12: Question 6 * 'informant age' (*say* and *seh*)

Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Verwendung von redeeinleitenden verbalen Ausdrücken (fortan *quotatives*) im jamaikanischen Englisch und zieht Vergleiche zu deren Verwendung im irischen und kanadischen Englisch auf der Basis paralleler Korpora. Besonderes Augenmerk liegt bei dieser Untersuchung auf der Verwendung der *new quotatives* wie beispielsweise *be like*, das in den achtziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts zum ersten Mal im amerikanischen Englisch beobachtet wurde und seitdem auch Eingang in das *quotative*-System vieler weiterer Varietäten des Englischen fand. Obwohl letzterem *quotative* in der Literatur viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde, beschränken sich die Forschungsergebnisse bis heute hauptsächlich auf das amerikanische, kanadische, englische, schottische, australische und neuseeländische Englisch. Das bedeutet, dass es einen deutlichen Mangel an Erkenntnissen zu seiner Verwendung in Varietäten des Englischen gibt, die in postkolonialen Gesellschaften als Zweitsprache fungieren. Das jamaikanische Englisch, ein Grenzfall zwischen Englisch als Muttersprache (ENL) und Englisch als Zweitsprache (ESL) bietet sich dabei zur Untersuchung an. Ausgangspunkt der vorliegenden Arbeit war nicht nur eine Forschungslücke im Bereich der *quotatives* hinsichtlich des jamaikanischen Englisch sondern auch eine Lücke im Bereich des jamaikanischen Englisch zu Diskurscharakteristika im Allgemeinen.

Der methodische Rahmen dieser Dissertation ist von integrativer Natur: Er verbindet Vorgehensweisen in der Korpuslinguistik und der variationistischen Sozio-linguistik. Darüber hinaus bietet die Arbeit eine qualitative Analyse ausgewählter längerer Textpassagen der jamaikanischen Daten sowie Ergebnisse einer auf Fragebögen basierenden Umfrage bezüglich der Spracheinstellungen jamaikanischer Sprecher zu ausgewählten *quotatives* (*be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh*).

Die Arbeit ist in sieben Kapitel gegliedert. Im einleitenden Kapitel wird die historische Entwicklung der Sprachsituation in Jamaika skizziert. Im Rahmen dessen wird unter anderem auf die sprachliche Variabilität in Jamaika hingewiesen, die von DeCamp (1971) als sprachliches Kontinuum zwischen dem jamaikanischen Kreol und Standardenglisch erklärt wird. Außerdem bietet das erste Kapitel einen kurzen Abriss bisheriger Studien zum jamaikanischen Englisch. Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit terminologischen Aspekten und liefert einen Forschungsüberblick zu diversen *quotatives* in unterschiedlichen Varietäten des Englischen. Diesem schließt sich in

Kapitel drei eine Beschreibung des verwendeten Datenmaterials und der Methodik an. Als Datengrundlage der Dissertation dienen die gesprochenen Texte der jamaikanischen, irischen und kanadischen Komponente des *International Corpus of English* (ICE).[213] Es wird in Kapitel drei insbesondere darauf hingewiesen, dass diese Korpora nach einheitlichen Prinzipien erstellt und das Datenmaterial in nahezu den gleichen Zeiträumen gesammelt wurde. Darüber hinaus bietet dieses Kapitel die Ergebnisse einer erstmaligen Korpuszählung zu unterschiedlichen Faktoren wie Sammelzeitraum und Geschlecht der Sprecher und erklärt die Vorgehensweisen zur Extraktion aller *quotatives* im Datenmaterial und deren Kodierung nach unterschiedlichen linguistischen und sozialen Gesichtspunkten. Zu den berücksichtigten Faktoren zählen: Register, Sammelzeitraum, Geschlecht und Alter der Sprecher, Art der Gesprächsrunde (rein männlich/weiblich, gemischt), Subjekt und Zeitform des *quotative* sowie Inhalt des Zitats.

Im Zentrum der Untersuchung in Kapitel vier stehen eine genaue Beschreibung des *quotative*-Systems im jamaikanischen Englisch und ein Vergleich der Ergebnisse der distributionalen und multivariaten Analyse mit den Ergebnissen der Analysen der beiden anderen untersuchten Korpora unter Einbeziehung von Forschungsergebnissen früherer Studien. Die Analyse der gesprochen Texte von ICE-Jamaica führte beispielsweise zu dem Ergebnis, dass im Korpus nur ein *new quotative* (*be like*) vertreten ist. Dieses wird am häufigsten von jungen Sprechern in rein weiblichen (privaten) Gesprächsrunden mit einem Subjekt der ersten Person verwendet, wobei es am häufigsten die Wiedergabe von Gedanken einleitet. Eine bevorzugte Verwendung von *be like* mit Subjekten der ersten Person und zur Wiedergabe von Gedanken wurde auch in den beiden anderen Korpora festgestellt. Die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit bestätigen somit die Hypothese in der Literatur (z.B. Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009), dass die Faktoren „Subjekt" und „Inhalt" in einem frühen Stadium der Verwendung von *be like* in allen Varietäten des Englischen auf die gleiche Weise wirken. Im Vergleich der jamaikanischen und irischen privaten Dialoge im jüngsten Sammelzeitraum konnten jedoch auch Indizien dafür gefunden werden, dass der Grammatikalisierungsprozess im Irischen weiter vorangeschritten ist als im jamaikanischen Englisch. Als Indizien hierfür

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[213] Nach einem allgemeinen, registerübergreifenden Überblick wird die Untersuchung der *quotatives* in ICE-Jamaica und ICE-Ireland auf die privaten Dialoge beschränkt. In ICE-Canada wurde ausschließlich eine Auswahl von 30 privaten Dialogen untersucht.

dienen die bevorzugte Wiedergabe von (ursprünglich geäußerter) Rede in den gesprochenen Texten jüngerer Iren (vgl. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004, 2007) und die Verwendung von *it + be like*-Konstruktionen. Letztere wurden sowohl in den irischen als auch in den kanadischen Daten verwendet, jedoch nicht im jamaikanischen Korpus. Weiterhin bietet die Arbeit Evidenz für die These der lokalen Reorganisation des Faktors „Zeitform" sowie sozialer Faktoren. Eine Besonderheit im jamaikanischen Englisch ist, dass sich im Korpus einige Belege für die Verwendung von *be like* ohne Kopula finden, die auf Substrateinfluss zurückzuführen sind. Eine weitere besondere Eigenschaft ist, dass *be like* im jamaikanischen Englisch im Unterschied zu anderen Varietäten in Konkurrenz zu einem *quotative* aus dem kreolischen Substrat steht. Der soziale Wert dieses lokalen *quotative seh* ist, dass es als ein Zeichen der Antiförmlichkeit in einem sonst ausschließlich englischen Kontext verwendet werden kann. In diesem Zusammenhang wird in der Arbeit auch darauf hingewiesen, dass mit der Verwendung von *be like* eine Modernisierung des Kreolkontinuums zwischen mehr kreolischen (mesolektal – anti-formell/informell) und mehr standardenglischen (akrolektal – formell) Sprachverwendungen einhergeht, da mit *be like* der Akrolekt auch auf einer zweiten, informellen Ebene verwendet werden kann.

Im fünften Kapitel werden die Ergebnisse der auf Fragebögen basierenden Umfrage besprochen und mit den Ergebnissen der distributionalen Analyse sowie früherer Umfragestudien in anderen englischsprachigen Ländern (USA, Kanada und England) verglichen. Die Ergebnisse meiner Umfrage bestätigen die Ergebnisse der distributionalen Analyse und liefern beispielsweise weitere Belege dafür, dass *quotative go* eine offensichtlich unbedeutende Rolle im *quotative*-System des jamaikanischen Englisch spielt. Desweiteren zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass Spracheinstellungen zu *be like* im Varietätenvergleich einerseits Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen (informelle Gespräche, junge Sprecher) und andererseits ein lokales Eigenleben führen (z.B. bei Assoziationen hinsichtlich Geschlecht und sozialer Klasse der Sprecher).

Das sechste Kapitel diskutiert die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit aus dem Blickwinkel der Grammatikalisierung, der Globalisierung von umgangssprachlichen Ressourcen und der möglichen Rolle von Englisch als Zweitsprache (ESL) als eine Barriere in der Verbreitung von umgangssprachlichen Innovationen. Es wird in diesem Kapitel unter anderem ein Szenario für die Entwicklung von *be like* skizziert und eine Forderung nach Studien zu *quotatives* in ESL-Varietäten gestellt.

Zum Abschluss fasst das siebte Kapitel die wichtigsten Ergebnisse zusammen, bietet einen Ausblick auf mögliche weiterführende Forschungsansätze und weist auf das Potential eines integrativen Forschungsansatzes in der *quotative*-Forschung hin, in dem sowohl Methoden der Korpuslinguistik als auch der variationistischen Soziolinguistik Anwendung finden.

This dissertation is a study of quotatives – innovative, traditional and local – in Jamaican English and draws comparisons with the use of quotatives in Irish English and Canadian English on the basis of parallel corpora of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE).

Special attention is paid to the use of the new quotative *be like*, which emerged in US English only little more than thirty years ago but has spread extremely rapidly into other varieties since then. Although this is noted in the literature, little is known about its use in postcolonial varieties in which the majority of the population does not speak English as a mother tongue. The dissertation aims to close this research gap by studying the Jamaican quotative system.

Combining methods used in corpus linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics, the study shows which linguistic and social factors constrain the use of the most frequent quotatives in the private dialogues of ICE-Jamaica, ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada. In addition, it offers a qualitative analysis of selected longer extracts from the Jamaican data and examines the social meaning of *be like*, *go*, *say* and *seh* in Jamaica on the basis of a survey. Quotative use is discussed in the light of grammaticalisation and the globalisation of vernacular linguistic resources. In particular, the study addresses the question whether second-language varieties of English are as open to the spread of the new quotatives as natively spoken ones.

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