

# LOCALIZED PATTERNS FOR GLOBAL VARIANTS: THE CASE OF QUOTATIVE SYSTEMS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN AND LATINO SPEAKERS

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**ABSTRACT:** This study explores quotative system norms within Latino communities and African American communities in two cities in North Carolina, Durham and Hickory, to identify how social and ethnic distribution intersects with regional distribution in such systems. Quotative frames were transcribed from sociolinguistic interviews conducted with 35 Latino and 27 African American participants between the ages of 9 and 21. The quotative verb form and the tense, person, and content of the quotation were analyzed as a basis for examining its distribution. Correlating Latino participants' length of residency in the United States to quotative usage provided insight into the possible effect of second-language acquisition on quotative systems. Quotative *be like* was found to be grammaticalized as a reporter of direct speech and thought in all communities and was favored in the first person for the Latino speech communities, mirroring prior studies of Anglo communities. Results indicate that Latino and African American quotative systems are aligning with other systems identified in the United States with respect to the types of verbal quotatives used and content constraints, though each group and region varies in the application of previously observed constraints.

**Q**UOTATIVE FRAMES CONSIST of the syntactic bracketing of directly reported speech or inner dialogue, as in *My brother say, "You so scaredy-cat, you should get out"* and *I was like, "No, no, no, no!"* An important part of narrative, quotative markers such as *say* and *be like*, in combination with directly reported speech, allow speakers to forefront dialogue by avoiding the syntactic complexity of subordination that occurs with indirect speech (Romaine and Lange 1991; Yule and Mathis 1992).<sup>1</sup> This increases narrative involvement as well as provides narrative-internal evaluation (Tannen 1989). Although this form of relating dialogue is among the oldest morphosyntactic narrative devices recorded for the English language (Visser 1966), the verbs used to frame

directly reported speech have varied in type and frequency over time and space, with new ones entering the stage as older verbs fall out of favor. Some of these shifts in quotative-verb preference have led to periods of stability within the quotative system, such as the shift from quotative *quoth* to quotative *say* as the preferred quotative in the English language system (Marckwardt 1967). Some variation seems to be more ephemeral, as with quotative *be all*, which appears to have peaked in the United States in the 1990s and now is rapidly declining in use (Rickford et al. 2007).

In the sociolinguistic literature over the past couple of decades, no other quotative marker has received the amount of attention ascribed to quotative *be like*. First noted in Butters (1980), this quotative marker has subsequently been the subject of pragmatic (Tannen 1989; Yule and Mathis 1992), historical and real-time (Romaine and Lange 1991; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, 2009), quantitative (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990; Sanchez and Charity 1999; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Singler 2001; Cukor-Avila 2002; D'Arcy 2004; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007), corpus-based (Singler 2001; Barbieri 2005, 2007; Fairon and Singler 2006; Buchstaller 2008), and perception-based analyses (Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Buchstaller 2006b). Interest in the feature is not unwarranted as it represents an easily identifiable example of a rapidly diffusing global variant of the English language (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Buchstaller 2006b, 2007), thus opening up possibilities to explore how local varieties interact with and distinguish themselves in terms of rapidly spreading linguistic features (Blommaert 2003).<sup>2</sup> Linked to movement associated with globalization, "geographic, social, and occupational" mobility encourages the spread of these forms (Chambers 2000, 286), but the manner in which they are adopted by local communities is not uniform.

Studies addressing global/local language change demonstrate that local speech communities establish their own norms of usage when acquiring global forms such as *be like* (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Macaulay 2001; Winter 2002; D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006b, 2007; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007). Such studies track the variation of both internal linguistic (type of verb, tense patterns, variation in the preferred subject of the verb) and external social constraints (gender, age, location) within bodies of data drawn from either regional or national data sets, and then compare these findings to similar studies in other nations. Less is known about intranational and intragroup variation, creating the illusion of homogeneous national norms (D'Arcy 2004).

Such studies speak to models about the interaction between the global flow of information and commerce and the establishment of local identity as explored by political geographers and social theorists such as Soja (1989)

and Castells (1989). Within these models, “spatial relations are seen to be no less complex and contradictory than historical processes, and space itself [is] refigured as inhabited and heterogeneous, as a moving cluster of points of intersection for manifold axes of power which cannot be reduced to a unified plane or organized into a single narrative” (Hebdige 1990, vi–vii). Political and social geographers assert that social and spatial structures interact with and mutually define each other, producing locally defined geographies that can be experienced in distinct ways by distinct social groups. Blommaert (2003, 613) argues that such sociogeographic interactions must influence linguistic variation and change: “When people move across physical as well as social space (and both are usually intertwined), their language practices undergo reevaluation at every step of the trajectory and the functions of their repertoire are redefined.” Similarly, as global linguistic resources move within and across communities, those within the communities will interact with and redefine these variants (Buchstaller 2008).

As new flows of information rapidly cross the globe, communities seek to reaffirm their local identities (Castells 1989). The impact of such an interaction has been shown to affect the distribution of linguistic variability, as shown in Hazen (2002), where cultural/spatial positioning showed a high correlation with the use of locally specific variants. The implications for the spread of global linguistic variants within this model cannot go unnoticed. However, while recent quotative studies identify local norms for global variants, few have explored what “local” means, given the fact that the majority draw their data from large regional or national data pools (D’Arcy 2004). Do such structures exist on the regional level, the metropolitan level, the community level, the group level, or even the idiolectal level?

Exploring how various social groups interact with and define local norms for global variants allows for a more thorough understanding of how such variants spread through society. Comparing various groups within the same community or similar groups across closely related communities should enhance an understanding of how local norms are established for global variants. In this context the quotative systems of two different minority groups in two different communities located in the Southern United States, a region with a tradition of incorporating place into identity, are compared. Because one of these speech communities is a newly emerging ethnolinguistic one composed of speakers with various levels of fluency, the process of acclimation to local norms can be observed in progress. It is particularly important to study emerging communities and the acquisition process when analyzing global variants, as the formation of such communities is connected to the processes of globalization that have been linked to the spread of such variants. Comparing a minority group with a long-established history in the

region with a community whose establishment has been both rapid and recent allows for an exploration of the dynamics of regional identity and its effect on the incorporation of global variants.

Although innovative quotatives have been offered up as proof of possible convergence between African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and White American Vernacular English (Butters 1989), there is little available data demonstrating how AAVE quotative systems compare to American English quotatives as a whole because only a handful of studies have considered ethnicity as a factor for analysis (Sanchez and Charity 1999; Singler 2001; Cukor-Avila 2002). Descriptions of variation for other ethnic minority groups, including groups with recent heritage languages other than English, are even more sparse (Cheshire et al. 2007; D'Arcy 2008; Hansen-Thomas 2008). The current picture of American English's participation in global quotative system change obscures the diversity of speech varieties found within the United States, thus limiting the understanding of how global changes move through complex societies with nuanced group identities.

This study will attempt to answer the following questions: Do varieties like AAVE and Latino English show consistent quotative constraints across communities, or are such systems community-specific? Are certain constraints more common or consistent across quotative systems found in disparate varieties of English? Are certain constraints more readily acquired by L2 learners? And, how do social and regional variation interact to establish local norms?

### THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Quotative *be like* has received much attention because it represents a rapidly spreading global variant and thus presents the researcher with the opportunity to analyze the interaction of local systems with global forces in order to better understand language change in a global society (Buchstaller 2008). The process of discourse markers (DM), such as *like*, assuming the function of introducing thought or speech is not an uncommon one, and it has been noted in French (Fleischman and Yaguello 2004), German (Golato 2000), and a host of other languages (Schourup 1982, 32–34).<sup>3</sup> The spread of the English DM function to include quotation has been particularly well-tracked in its expansion from U.S. varieties to other varieties of the English-speaking world (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Macaulay 2001; Winter 2002; D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006a, 2006b, 2008; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007).

These global studies of *be like* track internal and external linguistic constraints in order to identify whether or not diverse varieties establish similar constraint orders for the patterning of *be like*. As demonstrated in table 1,

TABLE 1  
International Constraints for Quotative *be like*

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Canada, 1995–96 (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999)
<i>Gender</i> : not significant
<i>Person</i> : +1st person
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue
St. John’s, Canada, 1999–2000 (D’Arcy 2004)
<i>Gender</i> : not applicable (all female study)
<i>Tense</i> : +present, +historical present
<i>Person</i> : not significant
<i>Content</i> : +speech
Canada, 2002–2004 (Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2007)
<i>Gender</i> : ages 30–39, 20–29, marginal significance; ages 17–19, +females
<i>Tense</i> : ages 30–39, 20–29, +present, +historical present; ages 17–19, +historical present
<i>Person</i> : ages 30–39, neutral; ages 20–29, 17–19, +1st person
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue; leveling effect in youngest group
Scotland, 1997 (Macaulay 2001)
<i>Gender</i> : +female
<i>Tense</i> : +past
<i>Person</i> : +3rd person
Australia, 1997–99 (Winter 2002)
<i>Tense</i> : +historical present
<i>Person</i> : +3rd person
Great Britain, 1995–96 (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999)
<i>Gender</i> : +female
<i>Person</i> : +1st person
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue
Derby, Newcastle, 1994–95 (Buchstaller 2008)
<i>Gender</i> : not significant
<i>Content</i> : +mimetic

while inner dialogue often favors *be like* along with first-person subjects and the present tense, there is variation among which constraints are found to contribute to the patterning of *be like* from nation to nation.

At the national level, British English, Scottish English, Canadian English, and Australian English demonstrate very different norms of use for quotative *be like*, indicating that global features cannot simply be assumed, but are socially, pragmatically, and structurally interpreted at the local level.

Such observations led Buchstaller (2008, 18) to conclude, “The extent and outcome of globalization—far from being a unitary process—are dependent on locally specific forces and developments.” For example, Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007) note that gender significantly affects the distribution of quotative *be like* for the youngest participants in their study, but not for the oldest group. They suggest that this shift in distribution may be due to a growing association between females and the use of *be like*, causing young males

to avoid the construction. This association may be weaker in parts of Great Britain, explaining the lack of significance gender has on the distribution of the quotative in Buchstaller's (2008) study.<sup>4</sup> While these two varieties contain the same quotative form, the form does not remain stagnant within each community: "global developments tend to go hand in hand with increasing localization, *viz.*, local reappropriation" (Buchstaller 2008, 18).

Still, there exists a distinct split between studies of global phenomena from corpus-based data sets and those of primarily community-based investigations, leading Buchstaller (2008, 20) to comment, "There is still a dearth of detailed micro-linguistic analyses that demonstrate the links between local linguistic mechanisms and global forces." The kind of analysis that would inform such a link should focus on the impact various social and local identities may have on the distribution of a global form. Furthermore, such a study should define LOCAL by comparing similar communities at the regional level.

However, as the broad focus of quotative variation studies is on the globalization of *be like*, the study of localization has been defined on a national level, ignoring regional and, with the exception of class, gender, and age, most social distinctions. With a few exceptions (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990; Sanchez and Charity 1999; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Cukor-Avila 2002), most studies of quotatives in American English have been corpus-based, using large amounts of data from speakers not restricted to one speech community, or even to one region (e.g., Ferrara and Bell 1995; Singler 2001; Barbieri 2005, 2007; Buchstaller 2008).<sup>5</sup> These samples are often taken as representative of all American English speakers. Naturally, localization must be considerably more refined than national boundaries, as has often been the case of quotatives.

While the findings from these studies have been more consistent than the findings reported in analyses outside of the United States, there is still some variation among results. As demonstrated in table 2, gender has been highly variable across quotative studies in American English. Results for internal constraints have been more consistent, with the present tense, first-person singular subjects, and inner dialogue generally favoring *be like*, although expansion into third person and speech has been noted.

Despite Butters's (1980) original claim that both African American and white American speakers use *be like* based on the observation of North Carolina speakers, only four of the studies in table 2 account for the ethnicity of their participants (Ferrara and Bell 1995; Sanchez and Charity 1999; Singler 2001; Cukor-Avila 2002).<sup>6</sup> Ferrara and Bell (1995) examine quotatives in 405 African American, white, and Latino speakers from Texas, though they do not analyze differences in constraint rankings across ethnicity. Singler's (2001) corpus-based study finds African American speakers of a wide age

TABLE 2  
American Constraints for Quotative *be like*

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New York (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990)
<i>Gender</i> : +male
<i>Tense</i> : +present
<i>Person</i> : +1st person, +3rd-person singular
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue, +speech
Washington, D.C. (Romaine and Lange 1991)
<i>Gender</i> : +female
<i>Tense</i> : +present
<i>Person</i> : +1st singular
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue
Texas, 1990, 1992, 1994 (Ferrara and Bell 1995)
<i>Gender</i> : 1990, +female; 1994, not significant
<i>Person</i> : 1990, +1st-person singular; 1994, +1st person, +3rd person
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue, +speech
Philadelphia, 1998–99 (Sanchez and Charity 1999)
<i>Gender</i> : +male
<i>Person</i> : +1st person, +3rd person
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue
Michigan, 1995 (Dailey-O’Cain 2000)
<i>Gender</i> : not significant
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue
New York (mostly), 1995–99 (Singler 2001)
<i>Gender</i> : +female dyads; –mixed dyads
<i>Tense</i> : +present
<i>Person</i> : +1st singular
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue, +ambiguous, +speech
Texas, 1995–99 (Cukor-Avila 2002)
<i>Person</i> : not significant
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue
United States, 1995–96, 1998–99 (Barbieri 2005)
<i>Tense</i> : +present
<i>Person</i> : 43% of tokens in 3rd person
<i>Content</i> : +inner dialogue for 1st person, +speech in 3rd person
United States (Barbieri 2007)
<i>Gender</i> : ages 16–26, +female; ages 27–40, +male

range to disfavor *be like*, though the quotative is used with a high frequency (67%) among the 9–15 age group. Neither Ferrara and Bell (1995) nor Singler (2001) addresses the specific constraints that might distinguish African Americans’ use of *be like* from white Americans’ use.

Only two major studies have specifically focused on the quotatives of AAVE speakers (Sanchez and Charity 1999; Cukor-Avila 2002). Both studies have centered on a particular local speech community, unlike the corpus-based studies. Sanchez and Charity (1999) analyze data from 14 African



American speakers from West Philadelphia.<sup>7</sup> Their findings differ markedly from previous studies with regard to frequency of *be like*, as well as gender and grammatical subject favoring (see table 2). Cukor-Avila's (2002) study is an extension of Sanchez and Charity (1999).<sup>8</sup> For her participants, *be like* patterns similarly to what was found by Sanchez and Charity (1999), suggesting that constraints may differ between social and ethnic groups. Analyses of the quotatives used by Latino speakers are rare, although Bayley and Santa Ana (2004), Fought (2003, 107–9), and Hansen-Thomas (2008) offer evidence that use of quotative *be like* is vibrant in the Latino communities they studied. Hansen-Thomas (2008) is the first study to focus specifically on Chicano English quotatives and identifies the frequent use of innovative quotatives such as *be like*, *all*, and *go* in the speech of six teenage girls in Texas.

The lack of information about the ethnicity of speakers for other studies of American English quotatives obscures information regarding how local norms are established within communities. The findings of Sanchez and Charity (1999) in particular suggest that the constraints of quotative use among African American speakers have not fully been accounted for in corpus-based studies. This study will provide a thorough description of what quotatives Latino and African American adolescents in North Carolina use and how they use them. This description will provide the opportunity to explore the effect of length of residency on quotative usage, as well as the chance to identify whether patterns are consistent over two different cities in the same state. Thus, both ethnic and regional variation will be explored, elucidating the understanding of how community norms are established for global variants while providing information regarding how such variants become adapted for use within various social and regional spheres.

## METHODS

The current study examines the speech of 62 participants between the ages of 9 and 21. Fourteen of these individuals were interviewed in Hickory, North Carolina, at an after-school program hosted by El Centro Latino, a Latino community outreach organization. An additional 13 African American participants were interviewed by a community field-worker at the participants' homes. The other 35 children were interviewed during school hours in the Durham Public Schools by members of the North Carolina Language and Life Project. Many of the children were interviewed in pairs to reduce the formality of the setting, and similar questions were asked in each interview to ensure comparability. Following these procedures, 39 interviews for a total of 27.5 hours of speech were analyzed.



The communities in which the field sites are located represent different historical regional identities within North Carolina (see figure 1). Hickory, a small town with an economy traditionally based on furniture and textile manufacturing, is located an hour and a half north of Charlotte, North Carolina, in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. Although the town is officially located in the western Piedmont, speech varieties in Hickory demonstrate a closer alignment to Appalachian English norms than to Piedmont norms (Erik Thomas, pers. comm., 2007). Durham is a mid-sized city (population ca. 200,000) in the eastern Piedmont, 45 minutes west of Raleigh, North Carolina, with an economy that has shifted from textile and tobacco manufacturing to research and technology. While both these communities share similarities in that they both demonstrate Southern vowel patterns as well as Southern lexical and morphosyntactic features, differences do emerge. For example, while Durham dialects historically tend to be largely nonrhotic, the Hickory region is clearly rhotic, as is common in Appalachian varieties. Also, while /ai/ glide weakening is generally constrained to prevoiced consonants or open syllable environments in Durham, it also occurs before prevoiceless consonants in Hickory.

The social and historical differences that contributed to regional speech differences are still reflected in the general demographics of the region. As shown in figure 2, Hickory is less than a quarter of the size of Durham and is overwhelmingly majority Anglo, while Durham has an almost even divide between Anglo and African American citizens.

Both communities have experienced the recent and dramatic demographic shift observed in much of the Southeastern United States. Immigra-

FIGURE 1  
Field Sites for the North Carolina Quotative Study

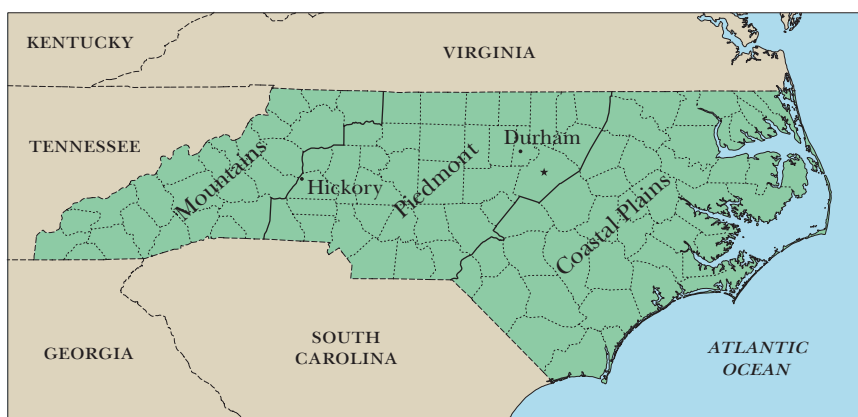
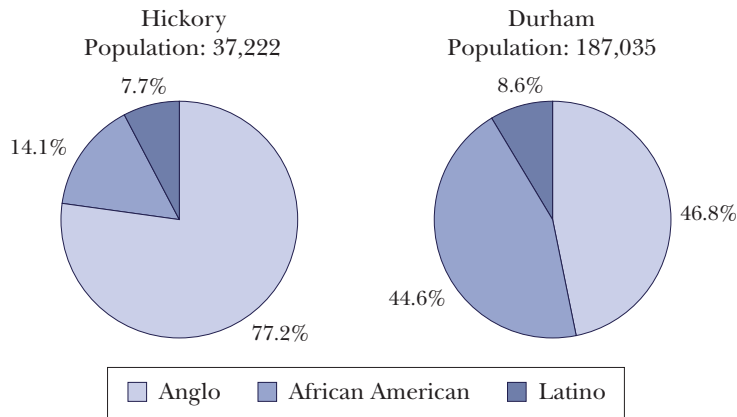


FIGURE 2  
Population by Ethnicity for Hickory and Durham  
(U.S. Census 2000)



tion of Latino populations to North Carolina started around 1990, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>9</sup> Thus, both Latino communities in this study are young and represent extensions of the same migration patterns. As evidence of this, only two of the Latino children in the study were born in the town where they were interviewed. Further, the percentage of Latino citizens is comparable in both locations, at 8.6% for Durham and 7.7% for Hickory (see figure 2).

Two outliers were removed from the current study, as preliminary analyses have demonstrated that frequent quotative users skew general trends for each social category (skewing effect identified in Kohn and Askin 2008). One of these outliers, a 15-year-old female Latina from Hickory, used 92 tokens, 90 of which were quotative *be like*, in under 50 minutes. Another participant, a 13-year-old African American female from Durham, had 67 quotatives, 16.4% of which were framed with *be like*. All other participants had 37 tokens or fewer. With the removal of these speakers, 618 examples of directly quoted speech remained.

Past studies have examined the quotative verbs *say*, *be like*, and *go* at a minimum, with some additionally including *think* or zero-marked quotatives. Other quotative verbs are usually classified as “other.” Rather than focusing on these previously identified types, we examine those quotatives that are most frequently used by the speakers in our data set. The most common quotatives to surface were *be like*, *say*, zero-marked quotative, verb + *like*, bare *like*, and *tell*. Examples of these quotatives are outlined in table 3. While quotative *go* is a major aspect of other quotative studies (e.g., Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang

TABLE 3  
Examples of Quotatives from Durham and Hickory Speakers

Quotative	Example
<i>be like</i>	I was like, “La la la la la,” playing around.
<i>say</i>	They said, “I wanna meet her.”
Zero	“I’m gonna die. Oh God!” [describing what participant would say if she saw La Llorona, a character from a traditional Mexican ghost story]
<i>tell</i>	And Mrs. B. tell her, “Yummy, come here.”
<i>like</i>	Like, “Naw, that’s boring.”
Verb + <i>like</i>	She was saying like, “Why are you all here?”

1990; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Singler 2001; Barbieri 2005; Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2007; Buchstaller 2008, Hansen-Thomas 2008), here it is classified in the category “other.” There are only three tokens, corroborating its low frequency in other studies of quotatives in AAVE (Sanchez and Charity 1999; Cukor-Avila 2002), although it runs counter to findings in Hansen-Thomas (2008) for Chicano English where 35% of the quotatives used by Latina students in her study were framed with *go*. Other quotatives included in the “other” category are *repeat*, *ask*, *yell*, and *think*; all are represented by fewer than five tokens.

*Be like* tokens include those with the traditional AAVE features copula absence (1) and invariant *be* (2). These features have been found to occur in the speech of both AAVE and Latino English speakers in North Carolina (Dunstan 2008).

1. My sister Ø just like, “What’d she say? What’d she say?”
2. She be like, “Stop, I cannot breathe.”

Zero-marked quotatives are not framed by syntactic bracketing but often signaled through performative cues, or through a clear change in speaker, as in (3).

3. That’s when they come at the table and said, “My name is Mary Agnes.” Ø  
“Mary who?”

The second quotation is a request for the repeating of information from the first quotation, indicating an exchange involving multiple speakers.

Bare *like* is use of *like* without the copula or repeating the subject. As with zero-marked quotative, there is usually a clear change of speaker, which we find in the third line in (4).

4. I cussed him out  
 He said, "What you say?"  
 Like, "You heard me."

Verb + *like* tokens include use of *like* with any verb other than *be*; those found in the data are *say like*, *mean like*, *talk like*, *laugh like*, *get like*, *think like*, *go like*, and *struggle like*.<sup>10</sup>

Quotative verb types are examined for correlations with a number of social and linguistic factors. Social factors include field site, sex, and, for the Latino speakers, length of residency (LOR) in the United States. LOR was divided into 2–3 years, 4–8 years, and over 8 years, based on observations regarding second language educational support where the first group tends to participate in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, the third group generally has no involvement with ESL support, and the second group generally has transitioned from ESL to a regular classroom environment.

The linguistic factors analyzed are listed in table 4. Tense marking is divided into past, present, future, and other. Zero and bare *like* frames, which have no overt verb, are coded as "other," as were conditional tokens and invariant *be* tokens. "Other" tense tokens thus refer to tokens that do not contain tense information due to the lack of a finite main verb.

5. a. Then, "No, I was doing my homework,"  
 b. They be telling, "Naw, I used to bang this "  
 c. He'd be like, "What?"

Following Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007), time reference, divided into past, present, and future, is used in addition to verb tense. Time reference accounts for bare *like* and zero tokens, on which tense is not marked. Historical present is coded as past time reference, but present tense. Analysis of the two separate factor groups can thus provide a more in-depth look into the role of historical present in quotative systems than can examining either tense or time reference alone.

Person and number of the grammatical subject are tabulated as first-person singular, first-person plural, second person, third-person singular, and third-person plural. The subject was taken from context for zero and for bare *like*. For instance, the subject of the bare *like* token in (4) is categorized as first-person singular, as found in the example's first line, in which the subject is explicit.

Content of the quotation is classified as speech, thought, ambiguous, or mimetic. Although *be like* is considered to have originated as an introducer of thought, it has since extended to introduce speech (Ferrara and Bell 1995). Romaine and Lange (1991) point out that use of *be like* does not commit the

TABLE 4  
Linguistic Factor Groups for Quotative Analysis

Factor	Examples
Tense	
Present	We're just like, "Hey, I need to go to class."
Past	My mom was like, "Calm down."
Future	I'll be like, "Leave my Pippi Longstockings alone!"
Other	He'd be like, "What?"
Time Reference	
Present	People joke around, always saying, "The world's about to end, the world's about to end."
Past	They're like, "You wanna be in my gang?" I was like, "No."
Future	They gonna come and say like, "What you bang?"
Subject	
1st-person sing.	I was like, "No, but look, she's wearing a white dress."
1st-person pl.	And we say, "yeah."
3rd-person sing.	She said, "Whatchya doing?"
3rd-person pl.	They be telling, "Naw, I used to bang this."
No subject	And say, "What'd you do with it?"
AAVE Features	
Copula absence	He like, "Man, let me see your locker."
Invariant <i>be</i>	They be like, "You go first," and all that.
No feature	I was like, "Um, well, OK."
Content	
Speech	My friend was telling me, "Tell him yes! Tell him yes!"
Thought	I was like, "What is her name?"
Ambiguous	She's like, "What?"
Mimetic	He grabbed the cake and was like, "Boom!"

speaker to the claim that the person actually uttered the quotation. Context, however, is not always helpful in distinguishing whether statements were actually spoken or not, as in (6), in which a female Durham speaker is talking about boys with sagging pants.

6. They walk with their legs apart like that, and it's like, "What in the world?"

Such quotations are categorized as ambiguous. However, this is not merely a throw-away category, but rather has a discursive function involving face (Brown and Levinson 1987). The ambiguity of *be like* allows speakers to favorably position themselves with respect to face-threatening quotations. We see this in (6), in which, if the quotative had been overheard by the boys, it would have constituted a face-threatening expression that promotes the face of the speaker by showing the speaker's ability to elevate herself above groups

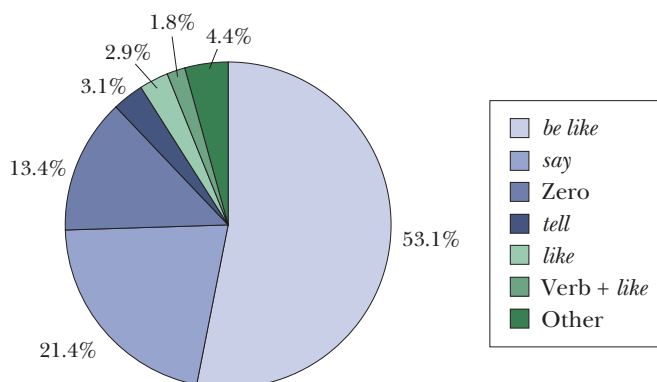
associated with sagging pants. As noted by Goffman (1967), an audience is necessary for the speaker's face to be elevated in such an exchange, but it also runs the risk of retaliatory facework by the interlocutor. The ambiguity of *be like* allows such exchanges to be relayed directly to an audience while bypassing the face-threatening act, as information regarding the status of the quotation does not have to be relayed to convey the quotation in dialogue form. *Be like* is thus useful as a quotative in part because of its lack of specification for speech or thought, though most quotative studies have not treated ambiguity as a category in its own right.

Goldvarb X has been used for analysis of most of the above factor groups. Singler (2001) explains the problems in using variable rule analysis for quotatives. He argues that because *say* and *be like* have different functions they cannot be considered variants of the same variable. In particular, *say* cannot be used to introduce thought or ambiguous quotations in the way that *be like* can. While Singler (2001) argues that *say* is ungrammatical when framing thought or mimetic quotations, our data do contain seven examples of such forms, five of those produced by African American participants in Hickory, although the Latinos in Hickory and the African Americans in Durham never use *say* in this way. Taking both the nature of our data and Singler's observations into consideration, we have removed content of the quotation as a factor group for Goldvarb analysis. We have tried to follow Singler's (2001, 265) example of using statistical analysis of quotatives with caution; that is, keeping in mind the "unequal [content] domains of the quotatives," while embracing his idea that Goldvarb can still help reveal trends in quotative data sets.

## RESULTS

This section begins with a description of the distribution of quotative markers within the dataset as a whole, and within the ethnic and community groups individually, followed by an analysis of who incorporates AAVE features into their quotative system, and what kinds of quotations the various markers introduce for each group. Goldvarb analyses for quotative *be like* are compared across ethnicity, and a combined Goldvarb run explores the constraints that influence the distribution of zero-marked quotatives within the data. Finally, the intersecting effects of tense and time reference are explored. This allows for comparisons across field sites, ethnic groups, and other social categories to determine which constraints are shared, whether these constraints are determined regionally, locally, or specific to social group, and, for the Latino participants, what constraints emerge early in the acquisition process.

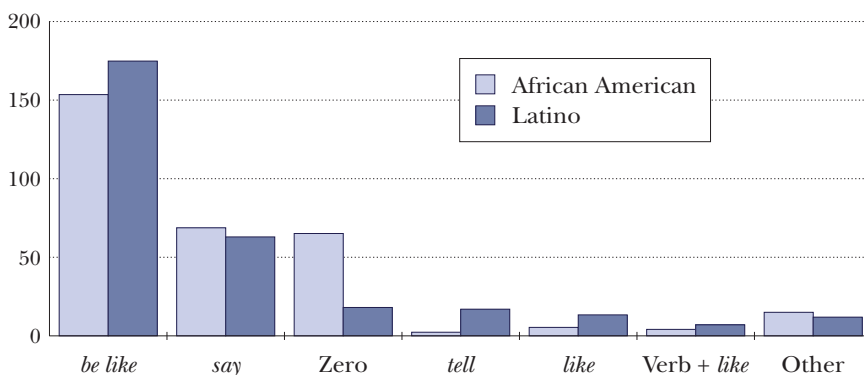
FIGURE 3  
Combined Quotative Frequency for North Carolina Participants



DISTRIBUTION OF QUOTATIVE MARKERS ACROSS ETHNICITY AND LOCATION. As shown in figure 3, *be like* appears vibrant in the data set, comprising 53.1% of all quotative cases, although this still falls short of such studies as Sanchez and Charity (1999), who report that 67% of their quotatives for this age group are *be like*, and Rickford et al. (2007), who report a 69% frequency within data from 2005. The second largest quotative category is *say*, which comprises 21.4% of the data, followed by zero, *tell*, bare *like*, verb + *like*, and other, the sum of which comprises 25.6% of the data.

The overall difference in distribution of quotative markers across ethnicities is not significant ( $p = 0.97$ ;  $t = 0.0366$ ;  $s = 58.4$ ;  $df = 12$  in an unpaired  $t$ -test), with both groups showing an overwhelming preference for *be like* as

FIGURE 4  
Quotatives by Ethnicity

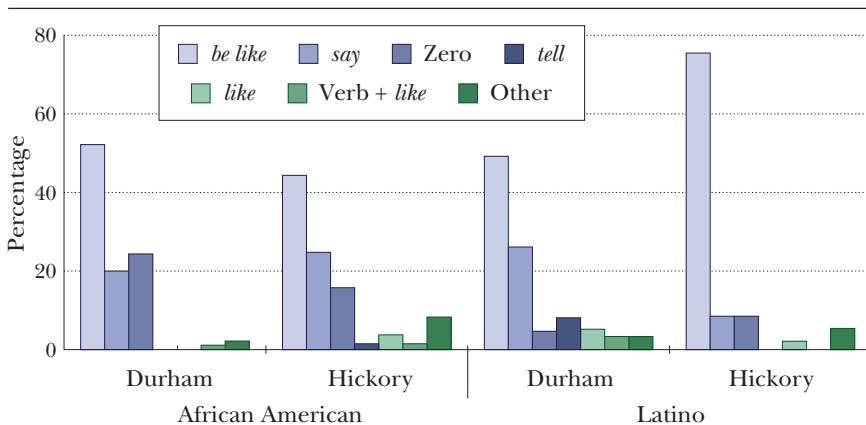




a quotative marker, followed by *say* and zero quotative. Looking at figure 4, it is apparent that the order of preference varies across ethnic groups for *tell*, *like*, and verb + *like*, although the small number of tokens in each of these categories precludes definitive conclusions regarding the preferred ordering of these quotatives. However, the African American speakers in this study are significantly more likely to leave direct quotations unframed ( $p < 0.001$ ;  $\chi^2 = 128$ ). Similarly, Latinos, with 17 tokens of *tell*, appear to employ this quotative marker more frequently than African Americans, who show only 2 tokens of *tell*. While there are similarities in the distribution of *be like* across ethnicity, other quotative forms show distinct patterns within the two ethnic groups.

Initial information demonstrated in figure 5 indicates that the Latino speakers in Durham use the widest range of quotatives, while the Latino speakers in Hickory have the highest percentage of *be like* at 76% of the total tokens. The African American speakers' lead in the use of zero quotatives is apparent across field sites, although to a lesser extent in Hickory than in Durham. When looking at the two most frequent quotative categories, *say* and *be like*, the usage of Latino speakers in Hickory appears as an outlier, while the usage of African American speakers from both field sites patterns with the Latino speakers in Durham. Though the Hickory Latino participants rarely use *say* to frame quotatives, at least 20% of the quotatives from the other groups employ this quotative marker. These initial observations indicate some differences with regard to ethnicity and field site in the distribution of the quotative markers employed by each group.

FIGURE 5  
Quotative Distribution by Ethnicity and Field Site



AAVE FORMS AND QUOTATIVE MARKERS. Although infrequent, the pairing of invariant *be* with quotative *be like* occurs across ethnicities and field sites (see figure 6). However, copula absence does not occur among Latinos at the Hickory field site. Such distributions not only indicate social interpretation of quotative forms by their incorporation into social dialects, but also give evidence for the further grammaticalization of quotative *be like*.

CONTENT OF QUOTATIVES. Following U.S. and Canadian findings (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Sanchez and Charity 1999; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Singler 2001; Cukor-Avila 2002; Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2007), *say* and *tell*, with a few exceptions, frame directly quoted speech, while zero-marked quotatives and *be like* accept a wider range of quotative content, including thought and ambiguous tokens (see figure 7). Figure 8 demonstrates that even speakers with minimal exposure to English (LOR 2–3 years) follow the same pattern. This indicates that the use of *be like* is firmly established to frame directly quoted speech as well as to frame thought within the communities under analysis, while semantic constraints restrict the functions of *say* and *tell*. Tokens of *say* which frame internal dialogue appear mostly restricted to the speech of the African American participants in Hickory, indicating that such semantic constraints are not categorical and can be subject to local reinterpretation. The *like*-derived forms of verb + *like* and bare *like* appear to demonstrate the pragmatic flexibility of *be like* in that they can occur in multiple categories of content, indicating a close relationship between frames in which *like* occurs.<sup>11</sup>

FIGURE 6  
AAVE Features with *be like*

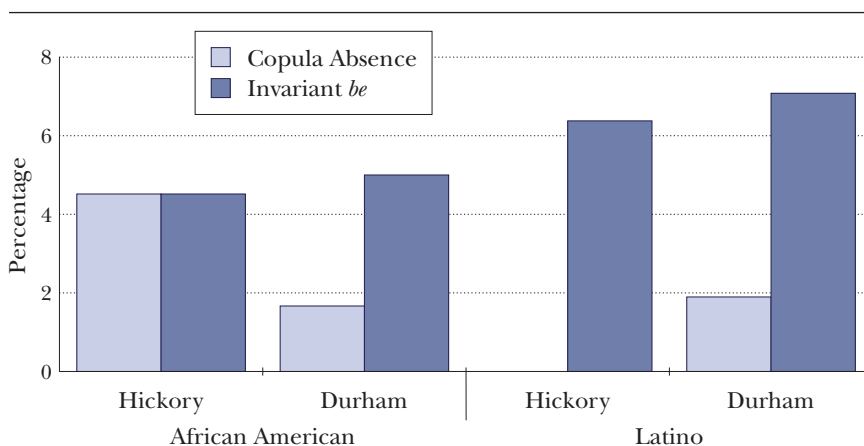


FIGURE 7  
Content of Quotatives

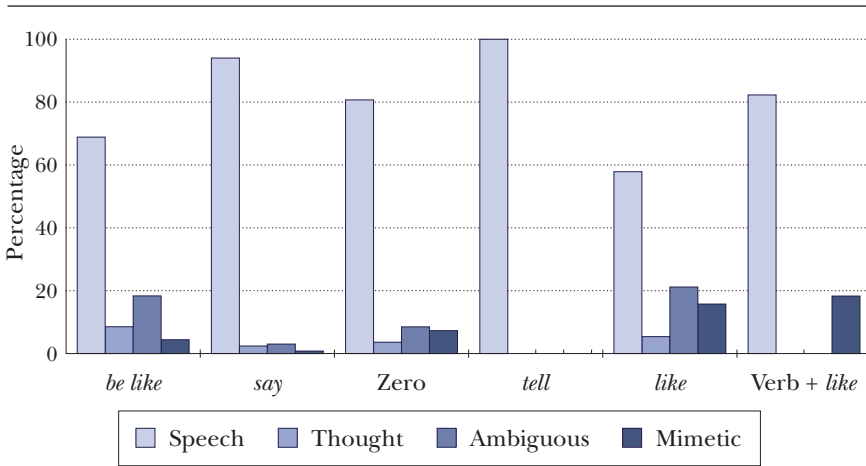
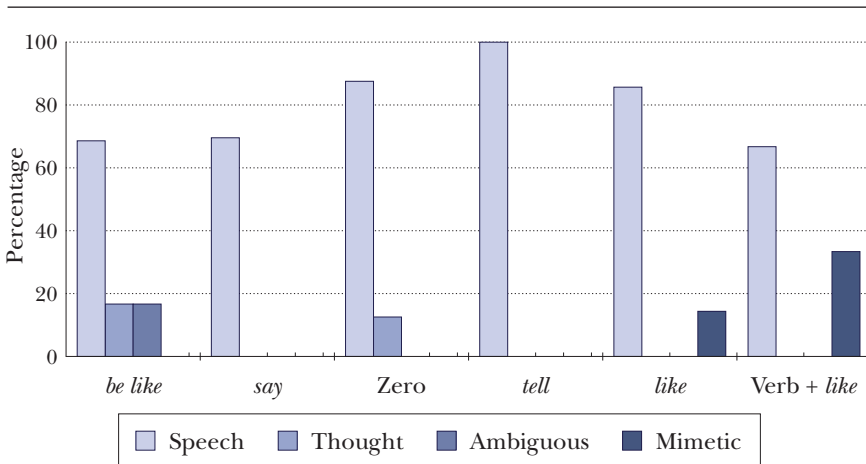


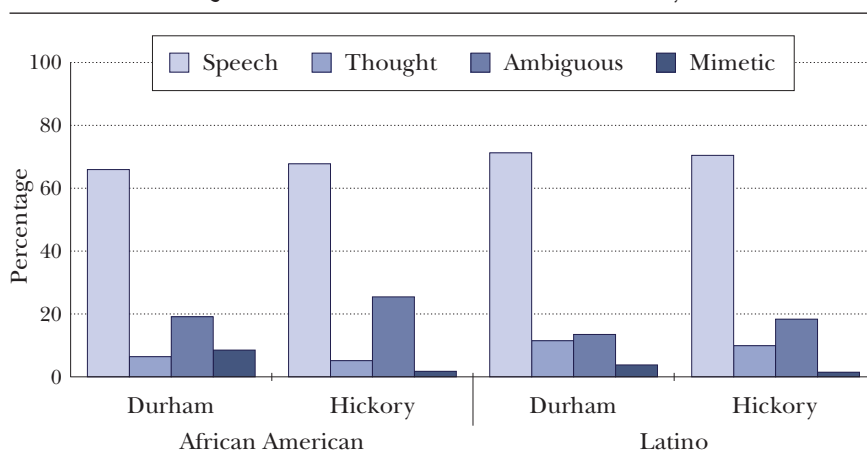
FIGURE 8  
Content of Quotatives for LOR Group 1 (2–3 Years)



In figure 9, looking only at *be like*, quotative content across ethnicity ( $p = 0.111$ ;  $\chi^2 = 6.01$ ;  $df = 3$ ) and location ( $p = 0.159$ ;  $\chi^2 = 5.18$ ;  $df = 3$ ) is not significant, demonstrating stable functional constraints across these social categories.

GOLDVARB ANALYSES. A subsequent Goldvarb analysis is used to explore the relative effect of gender, field site, LOR (when applicable), grammatical

FIGURE 9  
Quotative Content of *be like* across Community



subject, time reference, and habituality on quotative *be like*, *say*, and *zero*. Data from the two ethnic groups included in the study have been run both together and separately (see tables 5 and 6).<sup>12</sup> Tense is not included as a factor group within initial runs, as *zero* and bare *like* are not marked for tense.

*Goldvarb: Be like Run for Latino Speakers.* As noted in table 5, both LOR and gender influence the distribution of quotative *be like* for the Latino participants, with females and those who have lived in the United States between 4 and 8 years demonstrating a strong lead. Following previous studies, first-person subjects appear to favor the use of *be like*, possibly due to its connection with the expression of quoted thought. Past-time reference also favors the use of *be like*. These trends are fairly consistent with previous analyses of American English *be like* constraints.

*Goldvarb: Be like Run for African American Speakers.* The use of *be like* quotatives by the African American participants in this study demonstrates no gender constraints and shows a more equal favoring effect between third-person plural grammatical subjects and first-person subjects, which contradicts general trends found in the American English corpus-based studies. Time-reference constraints across ethnic groups remain consistent, however, with past time reference showing a favoring effect, while conditional and present time reference tokens disfavor the use of *be like*.

*Goldvarb: Zero-Marked Quotative Run.* A Goldvarb run exploring the constraints of zero quotatives confirms initial cursory analyses; there appears to be a significant difference between the two ethnic groups in the frequency of

TABLE 5  
Goldvarb Results for *be like* for Latino and African American Participants

	<i>Latino</i> <sup>a</sup>		<i>African American</i>	
Input	0.593		0.470	
Total $\chi^2$	53.2249		16.2433	
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.1571		0.9024	
Log likelihood	-162.592		-196.077	
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	0.651	109/178 (61.2%)		
Male	0.291	65/125 (52.0%)		
<b>LOR</b>				
2-3 years	0.159	30/90 (33.3%)		
4-8 years	0.751	105/140 (75.0%)		
> 9 years	0.483	39/73 (53.4%)		
<b>Subject</b>				
1st-person sing.	0.652	85/118 (72.0%)	0.624	51/86 (59.3%)
1st-person pl.	0.436	4/10 (40.0%)	0.512	5/10 (50.0%)
2nd person			0.667	8/15 (53.3%)
3rd-person sing.	0.436	62/119 (52.1%)	0.380	64/154 (41.6%)
3rd-person pl.	0.326	23/56 (41.1%)	0.607	25/48 (52.1%)
<b>Time Reference</b>				
Past	0.541	126/208 (60.6%)	0.618	97/174 (55.7%)
Present	0.483	46/84 (54.8%)	0.451	48/108 (44.4%)
Conditional	0.071	2/11 (18.2%)	0.036	1/21 (4.8%)
Future			0.657	7/10 (70.0%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, habituality.

- a. One token of future and one token of second person were removed from the analysis, resulting in 303 tokens.

zero-marked quotatives, with African American speakers favoring this form and Latino speakers disfavoring it. Third-person singular subjects favor the use of zero-marked quotatives, possibly due to their frequent occurrence in strings of dialogue where an individual is responding to the comment of another present within the conversation. This pattern of use would also explain the disfavoring effect of quotatives that are habitual in nature on zero quotatives. Past time reference also disfavors zero quotatives.

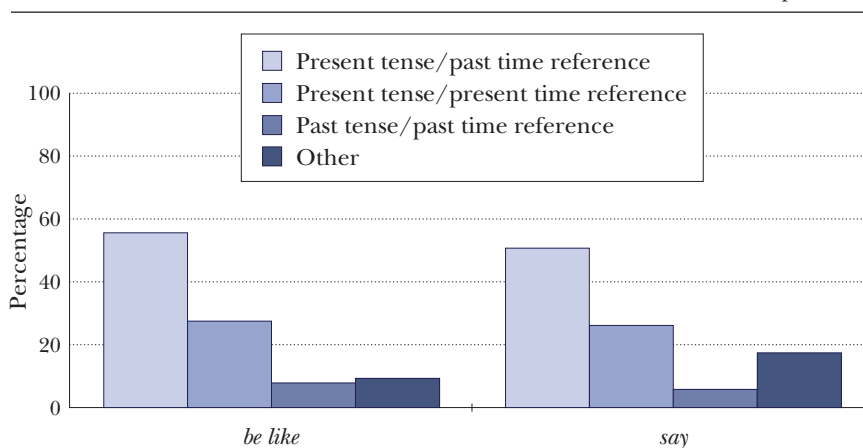
TENSE AND TIME REFERENCE. Since the first studies of quotative *be like*, tense has been found to contribute significantly to patterning of the quotative

TABLE 6  
Goldvarb Results for Zero-Marked Quotatives

Input	0.100		
Total $\chi^2$	46.5465		
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.0344		
Log likelihood	-211.741		
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	
Ethnicity			
African American	0.657	65/313	(20.8%)
Latino	0.344	18/305	(5.9%)
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.366	14/205	(6.8%)
1st-person pl.	0.374	2/20	(10.0%)
2nd person	0.346	2/16	(12.5%)
3rd-person sing.	0.635	54/273	(19.8%)
3rd-person pl.	0.449	11/104	(10.6%)
Time Reference			
Past	0.359	42/382	(11.0%)
Present	0.732	34/193	(17.6%)
Conditional	0.705	7/32	(21.9%)
Habituality			
Yes	0.324	31/243	(12.8%)
No	0.617	15/375	(4.0%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, subject, time reference, habituality; eleven future time reference tokens removed.

FIGURE 10  
Interaction of Tense and Time Reference for African American Participants

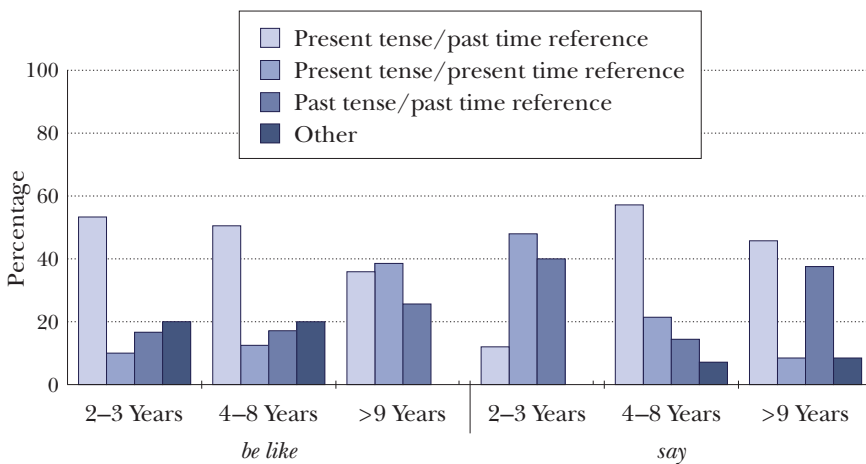


NOTE: See appendix A for the Goldvarb runs that explore tense and time reference;  $p = 0.924$ ;  $\chi^2 = 0.154$  in a contingency table.

(Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990), a trait that was tied to *be like*'s correlation with the historical present in narrative, as both *be like* and the historical present function to make narratives more "immediate" and "vivid" (Romaine and Lange 1991; Yule and Mathis 1992). As illustrated in figure 10, however, *be like* and *say* occur at about the same rate with each tense/time reference interaction.

In contrast, differences occur across LOR groups for the use of present-tense markings for *say* and *be like* within the speech of the Latino participants, as shown in figure 11. Specifically, *say* appears more frequently in the present tense among participants with short LORs, while the reverse pattern is shown for *be like*. Because *be* is an irregular verb with a high frequency, those learning the language would tend to mark the past tense more consistently with this verb due to its saliency (Doughty 1991). Because the historical present is a sophisticated discursive strategy whose function may be difficult to observe for a nonnative speaker, it may emerge late within those still acquiring English (Wolfson 1982). This would lead to more frequent past-tense marking for quotative *be like*. Such a hypothesis would also support the dramatic rise in the use of the present tense for those with the longest LORs, as they have spent the majority of their lives speaking English and thus would be more likely to incorporate the historical present into their speech in a native-like fashion. The high number of present-tense tokens for *say* among the short-

FIGURE 11  
Interaction of Tense and Time Reference for Latino Participants



NOTE: Difference in tense/time reference is significant in a contingency table at  $p = 0.018$  and  $\chi^2 = 11.9$  for *be like* and  $p = 0.004$  and  $\chi^2 = 15.7$  for *say*.

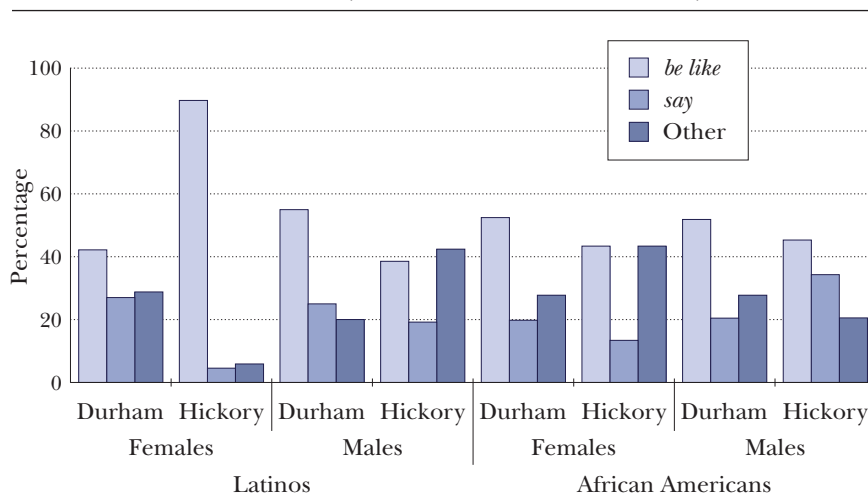


est LOR group (1–3 years) likely reflects tense unmarking, rather than use of the historical present.

Another interesting observation is the increased use of *be like* and past tense marking for *be* in the middle LOR group (4–8 years). This could represent a transitional period toward more native-like English, as these speakers may be keenly aware of the need to mark tense, but not yet familiar with the historical present. As these participants are likely to have experienced inclusion in ESL classrooms, as well as yearly proficiency testing, their sensitivity toward standard norms may be elevated.

INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER, FIELD SITE, AND ETHNICITY. When analyzing the distribution of quotatives across ethnic, gender, and field site categories, as in figure 12, an unusual pattern emerges. Except the female speakers in Hickory, no groups show a significant difference in the distribution of *be like*, *say*, and all other quotatives. The Latina female speakers in Hickory differ significantly from all other groups, while the African American female speakers in Hickory differ significantly from all groups except for the Latina female speakers and African American male speakers in Durham.<sup>13</sup> The way these females differ from each other demonstrates an interesting contrast in that the Latina female speakers in Hickory favor *be like*, while the African American female speakers show increased diversity of quotatives, including highly specific verbs such as *ask*, *think*, *cry*, and *talk about*. The implications of these patterns will be discussed further in the upcoming sections.

FIGURE 12  
Quotative Use by Field Site, Gender, and Ethnicity



## DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was threefold: to identify whether different norms emerge when analyzing quotatives across different local community contexts; to identify how English language learners might acquire global variants; and to define the sociolinguistic parameters of “locality/localness” when discussing a global variant.

If we summarize our findings for *be like* as we did for other such studies in tables 1 and 2, the importance of exploring the effect of ethnic identity within quotative studies becomes apparent (see table 7). The quotative usage of both the Latino and African American participants differs from usages found in previous corpus studies, in that tense does not affect the distribution of quotative *be like* to a statistically significant degree. While the constraining effect of tense becomes more apparent with Latino speakers who have had increased levels of exposure to English and thus appear to engage in the use of the historical present more frequently than peers with less exposure to English, the historical present does not affect the distribution of tense for African American speakers, even though this narrative device is present in their speech. This may explain why tense has not previously been mentioned in studies of quotative usage by African American speakers (Sanchez and Charity 1999; Cukor-Avila 2002).

These two ethnic groups also vary in how the grammatical subject and gender constraints affect the distribution of quotative *be like*. Notably, these are two constraints that have demonstrated local variation among the international studies and, to a lesser extent, the American English studies (see tables 1 and 2). Quotative use by the African American participants in this study mirrors that found in Sanchez and Charity (1999), in that there are multiple favoring effects for grammatical subjects and *be like*, while the Latino participants demonstrate the more widely reported trend of a favoring effect for the first person grammatical subject (Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang 1990;

TABLE 7  
Latino and African American Constraints for Quotative *be like*

	<i>Durham</i> 2006–2007	<i>Durham</i> 2008	<i>Hickory</i> 2006–2007	<i>Hickory</i> 2008
	Latino	African American	Latino	African American
Ethnicity	Latino	African American	Latino	African American
Gender	+female	neutral	+female	neutral
Tense	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Time reference	+past	+past +future	+past	+past +future
Person	+1st sing.	–3rd sing.	+1st sing.	–3rd sing.
Content	all contents	all contents	all contents	all contents

Romaine and Lange 1991; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Singler 2001; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007). Moreover, while gender appears to constrain the distribution of *be like* for the Latino participants in this study, there is no such effect for the quotatives used by the African American participants.

Although Ferrara and Bell (1995) note that English language learners quickly acquire the use of *be like*, the pattern in which they do so has been left unexplored. This study demonstrates that L2 speakers do indeed quickly acquire quotative *be like*, along with recognition of its pragmatic function to frame both thought and speech. Those with brief exposures to English may show higher proportions of quotative *say*, along with those who have the longest exposure to English. A correlation between shorter LORs and quotative *say* would be expected as it is generally considered the traditional default quotative within American English (Tannen 1989). The correlation between longer LORs and the use of quotative *say* is a little more difficult to explain without going back to the data. When looking at speakers who fall within the longest LOR group (over 9 years), one speaker stands out. Jesus is a 13-year-old male from Durham who moved to the United States when he was two years old. Jesus demonstrates an idiosyncratic quotative system in that he overwhelmingly prefers quotative *say*, which represents 18 of his 31 tokens. This accounts for a full 75% of quotative *say* tokens among Latinos who have lived in the United States for over nine years. Although Jesus speaks limited Spanish, he speaks proudly of his heritage, code-switches frequently, and surrounds himself with Latino peers. There is a possibility that Jesus uses quotative *say* to index his ethnic identity by sharing a speech pattern associated with those still transitioning from Spanish to English.

LOR is also found to significantly affect tense/time reference interaction, which we use to identify the use of the historical present; those with the longest LORs demonstrate decreased past-tense marking with quotative *be like*. Quotative *say*, on the other hand, demonstrates increased past-tense marking by those with longer LORs, possibly indicating that the form undergoes tense unmarking among those with short LORs. Thus, while general pragmatic constraints emerge early within L2 speakers, more subtle patterns that interact with the language learning process determine the ordering of other constraints such as tense marking. The close tie between quotative *be like* and the historical present found in previous studies appears less salient within this study, where use of quotative *say* is just as likely for African American speakers and more likely for Latino speakers to pair with this narrative device.

Additional factors that may not be found in other analyses have emerged from this local, community-based study. For instance, corpus-based studies

may have obscured the use of zero-marked quotatives by African American youth and the use of certain verbs with *like* by urban African American and Latino youth. In previous studies (Ferrara and Bell 1995; Singler 2001; Barbieri 2005; Hansen-Thomas 2008), *go* is more often cited as a common quotative than is zero, whereas *go* was very rare in the current data set. Other studies that focus on African American speakers (Sanchez and Charity 1999; Cukor-Avila 2002), however, do mention zero-marked quotatives as an important part of their data sets, as is corroborated by our findings.

Even though this level of analysis identifies variation within groups that had previously been obscured through the aggregation of large groups of data, more subtle patterns of regional influence may still reside within the larger groups as portrayed in table 7. The contrasting patterns found within the females of Hickory provide a case in point. The importance of gender as a constraint appears to be even more locally defined than previously discussed (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999), in that field sites within the same region and ethnic groups within the same community may differ in how the constraint affects the distribution of the quotative. But why would such a difference emerge? In their study of quotatives used by African American speakers in Philadelphia, Sanchez and Charity (1999) identified a male lead in the use of *be like*. This may indicate that the form lacks the typical association with females found in white American communities. As Durham has a high percentage of African Americans, the Latinos in this community may be aligning with this norm. However, in Hickory, where the Latinos are exposed more frequently to White American Vernacular English, they may align more with the gender constraints associated with this sector of society. The more diverse use of quotatives produced by the African American female speakers in this community may indicate the use of quotatives to index ethnic identity. Follow-up research on quotative norms among white teenagers in both communities is necessary to confirm such a hypothesis.

## CONCLUSIONS

Regional and ethnic differences in the distribution of quotatives in this study mirror previous global findings in that (1) gender differences appear to be locally determined, (2) lower frequency quotatives, such as zero-marked quotatives, are also subject to social variation, and (3) pragmatic uses of quotative *say* and *be like* are constrained by the semantic implications of the frames themselves. Even as the use of *be like* to frame speech becomes more frequent, it remains a much more likely candidate to frame thought than quotative *say*, even among those still acquiring English.

Several findings from this study demonstrate the need to explore local variation more closely. Differences in ethnic distribution of quotative frames indicate that the use of such frames is not uniform across the nation or even within an overarching community site, but that it is subject to variation determined by group identity. In this regard, it may be much like other frequently studied diagnostic variables. The implications of such variation can affect the structuring of the entire system. For example, the interaction of zero quotatives with patterning of grammatical subject for *be like* for the African American community is evident in that zero-marked quotatives generally occur with third-person singular subjects, while *be like* is favored by all other grammatical subjects. This differs from the Latino participants in this study, who used zero quotatives infrequently and thus demonstrated no interactional effect between *be like* and zero quotatives for grammatical subject.

This study demonstrates that global variants such as *be like* appear to develop differently once introduced into a community. Blommaert (2003, 612) theorizes that spatial differences cause irregularities in the transmission of global variants: "Inequality, not uniformity, organizes the flows and the particular nature of such flows across the 'globe'. Consequently, whenever sociolinguistic items travel, they travel across structurally different spaces, and will consequently be picked up differently in different places." There is little doubt that structural differences, such as differences in access to telecommunications technology or transportation, exist intranationally as well as internationally; and such differences likely contribute to patterns of linguistic change.<sup>14</sup>

Because local, ethnic, and gender differences were identified within this study, we are able to conclude that global variants move through spaces that interact with social and local identity, so that quotatives are not just locally negotiated from a global variant, but may also be socially negotiated to reflect different levels of identity within the speaker, as sociospatial structures interact to determine the landscape of any given community. We can assert that the same location may be experienced differently by minority and majority populations due to the continued existence of de facto segregation in which minority populations may be more likely to be placed in certain school districts or neighborhoods than those who live in majority communities. Specifically referring to the population under study, differences in nationality, immigration status, and legal documentation affect population mobility and access to government services. Even as variants such as quotatives remain governed by important structural linguistic constraints, studying ethnic minority populations demonstrates how structurally different spaces affect the acquisition of global variants, as such groups often experience space in a vastly different manner than majority populations (Soja 1989).

## APPENDIX A

## Goldvarb Results Including Tense and Combined Goldvarb Results

A1. Goldvarb Results for *be like* Including Tense for Latino Participants,  
Including "Other" Tense

Input	0.598		
Total $\chi^2$	137.0036		
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.37		
Log likelihood	-158.425		
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	
Gender			
Female	0.657	109/178	(61.2%)
Male	0.284	65/125	(52.0%)
LOR			
2-3 years	0.162	30/90	(33.3%)
4-8 years	0.755	105/140	(75.0%)
> 9 years	0.468	39/73	(53.4%)
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.641	85/118	(72.0%)
1st-person pl.	0.439	4/10	(40.0%)
3rd-person sing.	0.450	62/119	(52.1%)
3rd-person pl.	0.320	23/56	(41.1%)
Time Reference			
Past	0.529	126/208	(60.6%)
Present	0.510	46/84	(54.8%)
Conditional	0.076	2/11	(18.2%)
Tense			
Past	0.623	84/121	(69.4%)
Present	0.446	64/119	(53.8%)
Future	0.555	2/5	(40.0%)
Other	0.349	24/58	(41.4%)
Habituality			
Yes	0.549	62/114	(54.4%)
No	0.470	112/189	(59.3%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, tense, habituality.

NOTE: One token of future time reference and one token of second-person subject removed.

A2. Goldvarb Results for *be like* Including Tense for Latino Participants, Excluding “Other” Tense

Input	0.662	
Total $\chi^2$	105.3090	
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.7849	
Log likelihood	-117.304	
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>
Gender		
Female	0.599	97/149 (65.1%)
Male	0.349	53/96 (55.2%)
Field Site		
Female	0.717	64/76 (84.2%)
Male	0.397	86/169 (50.9%)
LOR		
2-3 years	0.212	24/68 (35.3%)
4-8 years	0.732	87/108 (80.6%)
> 9 years	0.431	39/69 (56.5%)
Subject		
1st-person sing.	0.781	77/97 (79.4%)
1st-person pl.	0.481	4/9 (44.4%)
3rd-person sing.	0.411	51/94 (54.3%)
3rd-person pl.	0.223	18/45 (40.0%)
Time Reference		
Past	0.555	116/179 (64.8%)
Present	0.395	33/60 (55.0%)
Conditional	0.089	1/6 (16.7%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, tense, habituality.

NOTE: Fifty-eight tokens of “other tense,” one token of future time reference, and one token of second-person subject removed.

A3. Goldvarb Results for *say* for Latino Participants

Input	0.151	
Total $\chi^2$	26.9427	
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.2830	
Log likelihood	-129.205	
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>
Field Site		
Durham	0.608	55/210 (26.2%)
Hickory	0.270	8/93 (8.6%)



LOR			
2–3 years	0.542	25/90	(27.8%)
4–8 years	0.357	14/140	(10.0%)
> 9 years	0.715	24/73	(32.9%)
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.272	10/118	(8.5%)
1st-person pl.	0.683	4/10	(40.0%)
3rd-person sing.	0.640	32/119	(26.9%)
3rd-person pl.	0.672	17/56	(30.4%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, habitual-ity.

A4. Goldvarb Results for *say* Including Tense for Latino Participants,  
Including “Other” Tense

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Input	0.115		
Total $\chi^2$	83.8679		
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.6128		
Log likelihood	–118.409		
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	
Field Site			
Durham	0.640	55/210	(26.2%)
Hickory	0.213	8/93	(8.6%)
LOR			
2–3 years	0.515	25/90	(27.8%)
4–8 years	0.397	14/140	(10.0%)
> 9 years	0.468	24/73	(32.9%)
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.295	10/118	(8.5%)
1st-person pl.	0.630	4/10	(40.0%)
3rd-person sing.	0.623	32/119	(26.9%)
3rd-person pl.	0.665	17/56	(30.4%)
Tense			
Past	0.552	22/121	(18.2%)
Present	0.728	40/119	(33.6%)
Future	0.668	2/5	(40.0%)
Other	0.078	0/58	(0.0%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, tense, ha-bituality.

NOTE: One token of future time reference and one token of second-person subject removed; one *say* dummy token.

A5. Goldvarb Results for *say* Including Tense for Latino Participants,  
Excluding “Other” Tense

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Input	0.194		
Total $\chi^2$	27.8365		
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.3255		
Log likelihood	-113.993		
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	
Field Site			
Hickory	0.254	8/76	(10.5%)
Durham	0.619	56/169	(33.1%)
LOR			
2–3 years	0.564	25/68	(36.8%)
4–8 years	0.351	14/108	(13.0%)
> 9 years	0.670	24/69	(34.8%)
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.263	10/97	(10.3%)
1st-person pl.	0.653	4/9	(44.4%)
3rd-person sing.	0.646	34/94	(36.2%)
3rd-person pl.	0.698	17/45	(37.8%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, tense, habituality.

NOTE: Fifty-eight tokens of “other tense,” one token of future time reference, and one token of second-person subject removed.

A6. Goldvarb Results for *be like* Including Tense for African American Participants,  
Including “Other” Tense

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Input	0.470		
Total $\chi^2$	40.5743		
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.0677		
Log likelihood	-185.909		
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.585	51/86	(59.3%)
1st-person pl.	0.579	5/10	(50.0%)
2nd person	0.792	8/15	(53.3%)
3rd-person sing.	0.378	64/154	(41.6%)
3rd-person pl.	0.607	25/48	(52.1%)
Time Reference			
Past	0.613	97/174	(55.7%)
Present	0.456	48/108	(44.4%)
Conditional	0.050	1/21	(4.8%)
Future	0.687	7/10	(70.0%)

Tense			
Past	0.570	85/147	(57.8%)
Present	0.565	57/114	(50.0%)
Future	0.616	4/6	(66.7%)
Other	0.171	8/47	(17.0%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, subject, time reference, tense, habituality.

A7. Goldvarb Results for *be like* Including Tense for African American Participants, Excluding "Other" Tense

Input		0.539	
Total $\chi^2$		12.5869	
$\chi^2$ /cell		0.7404	
Log likelihood		-168.736	
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>		<i>N</i>
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.600	51/80	(63.8%)
1st-person pl.	0.663	5/7	(71.4%)
2nd person	0.631	4/9	(44.4%)
3rd-person sing.	0.393	63/132	(47.7%)
3rd-person pl.	0.598	22/38	(57.9%)
Time Reference			
Past	0.607	97/156	(62.2%)
Present	0.421	43/90	(47.8%)
Conditional	0.048	1/13	(7.7%)
Future	0.493	4/7	(57.1%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, subject, time reference, tense, habituality.

NOTE: Forty-seven "other" tokens removed.

A8. Goldvarb Results for *say* Including Tense for African American Participants

Input		0.184	
Total $\chi^2$		25.9838	
$\chi^2$ /cell		1.1297	
Log likelihood		-148.947	
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>		<i>N</i>
Gender			
Female	0.430	33/283	(11.7%)
Male	0.602	36/127	(28.3%)

Time Reference			
Past	0.392	39/174	(22.4%)
Present	0.604	20/108	(18.5%)
Conditional	0.828	12/21	(57.1%)
Future	0.437	1/10	(10.0%)
Tense			
Past	0.710	42/147	(28.6%)
Present	0.442	25/114	(21.9%)
Future	0.346	1/6	(16.7%)
Other	0.104	2/47	(4.3%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, subject, time reference, tense, habituality.

Ag. Joint Goldvarb Results for *be like*

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Input	0.526		
Total $\chi^2$	56.5842		
$\chi^2$ /cell	1.8253		
Log likelihood	-394.888		
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>	
Field Site			
Hickory	0.574	130/227	(57.3%)
Durham	0.457	198/391	(50.6%)
Subject			
1st-person sing.	0.630	136/205	(66.3%)
1st-person pl.	0.410	9/20	(45.0%)
2nd person	0.621	9/16	(56.3%)
3rd-person sing.	0.417	126/273	(46.2%)
3rd-person pl.	0.458	48/104	(46.2%)
Time Reference			
Past	0.574	223/382	(58.4%)
Present	0.459	95/193	(49.2%)
Conditional	0.584	7/11	(63.6%)
Future	0.063	3/32	(9.4%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, habituality.

A10. Joint Goldvarb Results for *say*

Input	0.203	
Total $\chi^2$	7.6864	
$\chi^2$ /cell	0.7686	
Log likelihood	-310.231	
<i>Factor Group</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>N</i>
Gender		
Female	0.454	66/365 (18.1%)
Male	0.566	66/253 (26.1%)
Subject		
1st-person sing.	0.363	26/205 (12.7%)
1st-person pl.	0.638	7/20 (35.0%)
2nd person	0.560	4/16 (25.0%)
3rd-person sing.	0.567	69/273 (25.3%)
3rd-person pl.	0.554	26/104 (25.0%)

FACTORS RUN: field site, ethnicity, gender, LOR, subject, time reference, habitual-ity.

NOTE: When tenseless tokens were taken out of the African American Goldvarb run for *say*, only time reference was found to be significant with the past and conditional favoring and the future and present disfavoring.

APPENDIX B  
Contingency Table

Hickory Latina Females × Durham Latino Males	$\chi^2 = 23$	$p < .001$
Hickory Latina Females × Hickory Latino Males	$\chi^2 = 27$	$p < .001$
Hickory Latina Females × Durham African American Females	$\chi^2 = 27.2$	$p < .001$
Hickory Latina Females × Durham African American Males	$\chi^2 = 21.9$	$p < .001$
Hickory Latina Females × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 31.9$	$p < .001$
Hickory Latina Females × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 32.1$	$p < .001$
Durham Latina Females × Hickory Latina Females	$\chi^2 = 37$	$p < .001$
Durham Latina Females × Durham Latino Males	$\chi^2 = 3$	$p = .223$
Durham Latina Females × Hickory Latino Males	$\chi^2 = 1.88$	$p = .391$
Durham Latina Females × Durham African American Females	$\chi^2 = 2.16$	$p = .339$
Durham Latina Females × Hickory African American Females	$\chi^2 = 5.71$	$p = .058$
Durham Latina Females × Durham African American Males	$\chi^2 = 1.12$	$p = .570$
Durham Latina Females × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 1.96$	$p = .375$
Durham Latino Males × Hickory Latino Males	$\chi^2 = 5.56$	$p = .062$
Durham Latino Males × Durham African American Females	$\chi^2 = 2.13$	$p = .345$
Durham Latino Males × Hickory African American Females	$\chi^2 = 10.6$	$p = .005$

Durham Latino Males × Durham African American Males	$\chi^2 = 1.32$	$p = .517$
Durham Latino Males × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 2.05$	$p = .359$
Hickory Latino Males × Durham African American Females	$\chi^2 = 2.13$	$p = .345$
Hickory Latino Males × Hickory African American Females	$\chi^2 = 10.6$	$p = .005$
Hickory Latino Males × Durham African American Males	$\chi^2 = 1.32$	$p = .517$
Hickory Latino Males × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 2.05$	$p = .359$
Durham African American Females × Hickory African American Females	$\chi^2 = 10.6$	$p = .005$
Durham African American Females × Durham African American Males	$\chi^2 = 1.32$	$p = .517$
Durham African American Females × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 2.05$	$p = .359$
Hickory African American Females × Durham African American Males	$\chi^2 = 3.19$	$p = .203$
Hickory African American Females × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 11.4$	$p = .003$
Durham African American Males × Hickory African American Males	$\chi^2 = 3.08$	$p = .214$

NOTES

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1. See Romaine and Lange (1991) for a discussion of reporting speech and thought in discourse.
2. Chambers (2000, 285) refers to these sweeping changes as indicative of “Global English,” which he defines as a “supra-national standard used by upper-middle class people everywhere.”
3. Fleischman and Yaguello (2004, 134–37) noted that *genre*, a discourse marker in Parisian French, is now observed to frame quoted thought, “interpretive quotation,” quoted attitude, and “ironic quotation.” Poplack (1989) found that *comme* may function similarly in Canadian French, possibly as a calque, while Golato (2000) finds that *und ich so* highlights quoted climax information in narratives. Not all such DM/quotatives are recent innovations, however, as demonstrated by Schourup’s (1982) summary of literature identifying similar phenomena observed in Hittite, Tok Pisin, Buang, Sanskrit, and Lahu.
4. Buchstaller (2006b) found that the majority of her British participants answered “I don’t know” when asked about their gender perceptions of written quotatives framed with *be like*.

5. Romaine and Lange (1991) also examine a wide range of speakers as well as media sources, though all are from Washington, D.C.
6. Of the large-scale studies listed in table 2, Ferrara and Bell (1995) and Singler (2001) are the only studies that mention the ethnicity of their participants.
7. Sanchez and Charity's (1999) participants cover ages 9–70, but the majority are between 16 and 22.
8. Cukor-Avila (2002) investigates 14 female speakers in a rural community in Texas with a wide age range, 20–95.
9. Between 1994 and 2004, 38.2% of Latino immigrants came from abroad, 40.2% from another U.S. jurisdiction, and 21.6% were born in North Carolina (Kasarda and Johnson 2006), although the majority of this last group was too young to participate in this study.
10. Verb + *like* has been described in the literature (Macaulay 2001; Singler 2001; Buchstaller 2008) and observed in Latino English (Bayley and Santa Ana 2004), though several of the verbs that co-occur with *like* in this data set have not previously been cited.
11. Singler (2001) describes forms such as *like* and verb + *like* as transitional forms leading to increased adoption of quotative *be like*.
12. Combined Goldvarb runs and runs including tense are included in the appendix.
13. Hickory Latina females pattern significantly differently from all other groups at  $p < 0.001$  in a  $3 \times 2$  contingency table analysis; Hickory African American females pattern significantly different from Durham and Hickory Latino males and Durham African American females at  $p = 0.005$  and from Hickory African American males at  $p = 0.003$ . Hickory African American females were not found to pattern significantly differently from Durham Latina females and Durham African American males. The difference between all other groups does not reach statistical significance at the  $p = 0.05$  level. Please see appendix B for individual runs and  $\chi^2$  results for each contingency table.
14. See Britain (1991, 2000, 2002) for a discussion of the impact of space on linguistic change, including how differently experienced space may lead to different patterns of change for disparate social groups.

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