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Social Factors Affect Quotative Choice

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Abstract

Quotations in spontaneous conversation are introduced by quotatives such as *say*, *be like*, *go* and *be all*. In recent years, the use of *say* in the colloquial English of some speakers has plummeted, but not vanished. We tested what listeners thought different quotation devices meant, whether they reliably interpreted devices to mean those things, and how they used devices in spontaneous speaking. We demonstrate that *say* is used when reporting the words of a speaker of high status or when retelling quotations to a listener of high status. We discuss how the devices used to introduce quotations reflect not only the relationship between the speaker and what is being reported, but also the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

Keywords: spontaneous speech; quotation devices; social context; accuracy; status.

1. Introduction

The verbs used to frame directly reported speech, called *quotation devices* or *quotatives*, have evolved over time, from *quoth* to *say* to *be like*, providing speakers with more flexible and effective ways of presenting utterances and internal speech (Barbieri, 2009; Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008; Marckwardt, 1967). Examples of this device use, taken from the current corpora, include “he said to me, ‘I think you should take the next left,’” and “she was like, ‘it’s not my turn to clean up.’” *Be like* is used by men and women, older and younger, and in a wide variety of Englishes (Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller, 2006; Cukor-Avila, 2002; Ferrara and Bell, 1995; Levey, 2003; Macaulay, 2001; Romaine and Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte and Hudson, 1999; Winter, 2002). Indeed, new quotatives, some with meanings similar to *be like*, are found in many languages (Foolen, 2008). It has been argued that *be like* “has replaced *said* as the quotative of choice among college students” (Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008:99). But is *say* truly vanishing, or is it becoming specialized?

Two widely-accepted proposals for the difference between *be like* and *say* is that *say* indicates a closer relationship between the upcoming quote and the original production being quoted than *be like* does, which stems from its association with the discourse marker *like* (Levey, 2003; Buchstaller, 2001; Romaine and Lange, 1991) and that *say* is used when the subsequent quotation is less emotional (Buchstaller, 2001). Both proposals treat the quoted speech as the primary force behind quotative choice. In these *quotation-centered proposals*, the quotative provides advance information to listeners about either how closely the quotation will adhere to the quoted source or how emotional the source was, or innumerable other relationships, such as vividness, aggressiveness, or humorousness.

Another view is that the quotation has less to do with the information quoted than it has to do with aspects of the social context. For example, a particular quotation device, or grammatical form of the device, may be favored in reporting the speech of speakers with particular social roles, such as between those with different levels of authority (Barbieri, 2005; Johnstone, 1987). Or, alternatively, a particular device may be favored when conversing with particular types of addressees (Barbieri, 2005). Two *social-context-centered proposals* are that *say* is used in reporting the speech of higher-status speakers and that *say* is used in speaking to higher-status addressees.

2. Accuracy of Reporting

The quotation-centered proposal that devices signal differences in source faithfulness has a long history that begins with the distinction between indirect and direct quotation (Coulmas, 1986; Suñer, 2000). Grammatically, direct quotation involves the use of a quotative verb (such as *say*, *go*, or *be like*) or no verb (*zero quotative*) followed by a quotation that is not modified to fit the surrounding speech in terms of person, tense, or deixis. In written text, direct quotation is signaled by the use of quotation marks. Indirect quotation, on the other hand, consists of a verb of speech (e.g. *say*, *ask*, *tell*) with an optional complementizer (*that*) and an embedded complement phrase, which is altered to fit the speech bounding it (Coulmas, 1986). In written text, indirect quotation is not marked from the surrounding words by quotation marks.

Conceptually, the difference between these two types of quotation is that indirect quotation presents speech from the perspective of the reporter, as in “He said that he had received a noise complaint,” whereas direct quotation presents speech from the perspective of the original speaker, as in “He said, ‘I’ve had a noise complaint.’” Though in the past it was assumed that direct quotation reported the exact words of the original discourse (e.g. Volosinov, 1971),

studies of real speech contradict this perception of faithfulness (Clark and Gerrig, 1990; Fludernik, 1993; Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008; Short et al., 2002; Tannen, 1989; Wade and Clark, 1993).

A related proposal is that quotative *be like* reduces a speaker's epistemic commitment to the reported event (Romaine and Lange, 1991). This aligns with the theory that *be like* is associated with speech that is vague or vacuous (Levey, 2003; Romaine and Lange, 1991), which connects *be like* to the discourse marker *like*, which is proposed to be a hedge (Buchstaller, 2001; but see Fox Tree, 2006, 2007 for contrasting views and for discussion of the use of *like* as a discourse marker versus quotation device). In support of this proposal, a study comparing direct and indirect quotations found that both types of speech contained significantly fewer verbatim words when they were hedged than when they were not (Wade and Clark, 1993). However, the actual relationship between quotative *be like* and accuracy remains unclear. In Wade and Clark's (1993) study, *be like* was only one of several lexical items, such as *sort of* and *whatever*, that were used to define hedges. More recently, a study investigating listener judgments of faithfulness of written quotations found lower ratings for quotations introduced with *be like*, but this was not replicated when the quotations were presented as spoken dialogue (Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008). The authors suggest that this discrepancy may be due to greater attention paid to *be like* when seeing in text form, because this device is normally heard rather than written. We interpret this as meaning that noticing *be like* may cause readers to tap into a folk hypothesis that *be like* indicates vagueness. In Experiment 4, we tested interpretations of faithfulness for the same quotations with and without *be like*.

3. Emotionality

Another well-documented distinction between direct and indirect quotation is that direct quotation allows for a more dramatic retelling (Blyth et al., 1990). When utterances were reported as direct quotation, stories were judged to be more vivid, memorable, and persuasive (Wade and Clark, 1993; Labov, 1972; Schiffrin, 1981; Tannen, 1982). Direct quotations also signalled a higher level of involvement: greater engagement, commitment, and stronger emotional connection (Chafe, 1982; Tannen, 1986, 1989).

The choice of quotative device used to introduce the quoted material is also thought to affect emotional responses. It has been suggested that *be like* is used to introduce quotations with more emotional content and that *say* is used to introduce quotations with less. In support of this quotation-centered proposal, quotative *be like* frequently introduced utterances or thoughts that displayed attitudes and emotions, where this function was determined by its co-occurrence with other emotionally charged or evaluative words and phrases. (Adolphs and Carter, 2003; Ferrara and Bell, 1995). In addition, *be like* and *go* introduced quotes with high levels of emotion, expressive interjections, thoughts, and non-lexical sounds (Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang, 1990). In contrast to *be like*'s use in conveying a speaker's evaluation of quoted material, *say* has been thought to focus more on the words themselves, when the words reported are more important than the speaker's own opinion (Buchstaller, 2001). Because these conclusions were based on corpus analyses, however, it is difficult to determine whether it was the device itself that was related to the level of emotionality, or if it was the quoted material as a whole that conveyed the emotional information. Experimentally evaluating the differential effects of *be like* and *say* on ratings of emotionality of the same quoted material would help in elucidating whether the effect resides in the quotation device or the quotation.

4. Status

Social-context-centered proposals have wide support. Quotations reflect not only the stance of the speaker towards the quoted material, but also the relationship between the speaker and the listener (Chafe, 1985; Warren, 2006). People engaged in conversation are also involved in spontaneous assessment of each other, and are sensitive to characteristics such as status and authority (e.g., Ambady, Hallahan, and Rosenthal, 1995; Bernieri and Gillis, 2001; Schmid Mast and Hall, 2004; Shariff and Tracy, 2009).

Status is taken to mean having authority or influence over another (Schmid Mast and Hall, 2004). Status is an important aspect of almost every social interaction, and the generation of judgments of this factor is so ingrained and habitual, they emerge even in artificial, laboratory conditions. For example, in a simulated job interview, participants assigned the role of interviewer exhibited more power-related behavior and reported feeling more dominant and more in control than those assigned the role of applicant (Deutsch, 1990). The non-verbal indicators of status and power include height (Wilson, 1968), age (Berger et al., 1972), formal attire (Kwon and Johnson, 1998), open body posture (Cashdan, 1998), and direct eye contact (Aguinis et al., 1998). Formality can be seen as a verbal component of status, highlighting the social distance between interlocutors (Creber and Giles, 1983). Formality can also be thought of as an aspect of setting, such as a job interview or a living room. Because status and formality frequently overlap, in this report we will collapse the two and refer to the factor as *status*.

The social context of status can arise from the status of the speaker, the status of the addressee, the formality of the situation, or other factors. In the case of a quotee status, speakers report speech in different ways depending on the authority of the speaker, indicating an assessment of the value of the utterance. For example, a study of conversations involving an

authority figure found that the words of the authority were grammatically marked to differentiate them from those of a non-authority. When retelling a past event, the speech of the person with authority was typically told in historic present tense, and was introduced using *say*. In contrast, the nonauthority speech was introduced with the past tense of the verb *say*, as in the following example (Johnstone, 1987:34):

(1) and then I said what's the problem here?

He says well ma'am . . . ah . . . you didn't stop for that stop sign back there

I said WHAT. . .

In this study, speakers used tense alternation in about half of the quotations that involved an authority figure. In all cases in which this shift was employed, the nonauthority speech was presented with the past tense verb, and the authority figure speech with either the verb in the historic present form or with no quotative device. Thus, this tense alternation allowed speakers to implicitly convey an assessment of the speaker, and moreover, an evaluation of the relationship between speaker and themselves, specifically in terms of status. Because speakers have had the device *be like* at their disposal for the last three decades, it is possible that the contrastive use of the traditional *say* versus the newer *be like* may function similarly to signal a difference in authority.

The effect of speaker addressee on quotative device use is suggested in a cross-register investigation of speech in a variety of contexts (Barbieri, 2005). The corpora consisted of Conversations (recorded speech from a wide range of participants, in a variety of situations, over the span of a week) and three corpora from academic environments: Service Encounters and Workplace Conversation (conversations between students and on-campus staff, and between coworkers), Study Groups, and Office Hours (one-on-one discussions between students and their

instructors). In comparison to the base-line rate of *say* and *be like* in the Conversations corpus, the ratio of *say* to *be like* in the Office Hours corpus was nearly twice that of Conversations (4.5 per 100,000 words to 2.52/100,000). The ratios of these devices in the other two corpora were much lower (1.0/100,000 in the Study corpus and .45/100,000 in the Service corpus). Although the researchers described the Office Hours corpus as similar to the Conversations corpus, it is possible that an imbalance of social power between interlocutors in the Office Hours corpus drove the higher rate of *say* production. In addition, because the topic of conversation was not controlled, it is also possible that some of the quoted speech in the Office Hours corpus involved the reporting of high status quotees, such as faculty.

In addition to speaker and addressee status, the context of the situation may contribute to the selection of one device over the other. In many existing corpora, it is difficult to distinguish the formality of the setting from the social differences between speakers and addressees. However, there is support for the idea that context may have its own influence. The quotative *be like* has been postulated to differ from its more traditional counterpart in its prevalence within colloquial speech, where its informality lends itself to younger speakers' narratives (Romaine and Lange, 1991). In addition, *say* is still the most commonly used device in written form, whereas *be like* is typically reserved for written accounts of casual language (Romaine and Lange, 1991), a contrast which may further reinforce the formality of *say* in speech.

Although these studies support the idea that social factors influence the selection of quotation devices, corpus analyses are unable to distinguish which part of the social interaction drives device choice. For example, it could be that *be like* was used to signal friendliness in the Service Encounters and Workplace Conversations, or that *say* was used to indicate that thought was being taken in preparing the quotations in the Office Hours corpus, rather than either having

to do with status or formality. In addition, the corpus analyses do not control for the topic under discussion. Differences in what was quoted may have driven differences in device choice, from the words used to the sentiments expressed to any number of other uncontrolled variables, such as the age or sex of the quotee.

5. Summary of Current work

Prior researchers suggested that *say* and *be like* were different (Jones and Schieffelin, 2009; Romaine and Lange, 1991; Wade and Clark, 1993). Because these studies were based on corpus analyses, or did not cleanly separate *say* from *be like*, many variables were not controlled. In a series of experiments, we tested the relationship between device selection and quotation-centered proposals (faithfulness, emotion) and device selection and social-context centered proposals (status).

We first conducted a corpus analysis to determine if there has been a change in device production in spontaneous speech, if the quotative *say* was still in use, and to investigate how these devices were used. We then assessed intuitions about quotation devices in a folk notions survey. The purpose of the survey was to confirm the existence of common quotation-centered and social-context-centered proposals in our test population.

Then we ran three tests of quotation-centered proposals and two tests of social-context-centered proposals. In the first quotation-centered experiment, participants guessed which device was used in quotations that had the original quotatives removed. This allowed us to determine if the contents of the quotation had an audible quality, such as level of excitement or humorousness, that predictably influenced the selection of one device over another. The second two experiments used a different task, and focused on the quotation-centered proposals of faithfulness and level of emotion. We compared how speakers rated quotations when the content of the quotations was

held constant, but the quotations were introduced by different devices. If *be like* and *say* affected interpretation of a quotation, then the manipulation should alter the ratings.

In the final two experiments, we tested the social-context-centered proposals. We manipulated quotee and addressee status while controlling for type of speech reported, situational context, and level of formality. Finally, we manipulated the audience of the retelling, asking participants to perform the retelling as a monologue, without any addressee present.

In this set of studies we found that *say* and *be like* occurred in similar environments, could not be told apart by the source faithfulness or emotionality ratings of subsequent quotations, were not accurately matched to the quotations which they preceded, and were used in retold and recalled stories in similar ways. However, when reporting the speech of a high status quotee, or when speaking to a high status addressee, reporters dramatically increased their use of *say*.

6. Experiment 1: Quotative Production in 2009

In Experiment 1, we compared whether speakers distinguished quotation devices when they retold their own story versus recalled another's story, and whether quotation devices reliably indicated how close the quotation was to the original source. Experiment 1 also allowed us to compare the use of quotation devices in 2009 to their use in earlier corpora by speakers retelling similar autobiographical narratives with a similar demographic profile (cf. Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008).

6.1 Methodology

Twenty University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC) undergraduates participated in exchange for course credit. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 25 ($M = 19.5$), 62% were female, and most were born and raised in California. Participants were grouped into pairs. The

tellers told a spontaneous, personal story to the recipients, either about “a large purchase” or “a memorable conversation.” Tellers then repeated their stories to one experimenter while the recipients repeated the tellers’ stories to another experimenter. Then participant pairs switched roles and new stories were told. This method resulted in three versions of the twenty stories: Tell (original telling), Retell (speaker’s retelling), and Recall (listener’s retelling).

A minimum of two raters identified every direct quotation device in the corpus and assessed which Retell and Recall quotations could reasonably be considered to be repetitions of the original utterances in the Tell versions of the stories. Accuracy was calculated as the percentage of words repeated divided by the total number of words in the original utterance.

6.2 Results and Discussion

The 20 sets of three story iterations contained 710 direct quotations. Examples of each of these devices used in the corpus can be found in Table 1. Each device appeared in various tenses. Non-*like* devices were often accompanied by *like*, e.g. “she’s *all*, ...” and “she’s *all like*,” All versions of non-*like* device were grouped and analyzed together, as has been done in other studies (e.g. Rickford et al., 2007). The *like* category contained only *like*. *Be like* was by far the most frequently used device, accounting for 82% of the verbs used. *Say* was used in 8% of the quotations, *be just like* in 5%, *tell* in 3%, and *go* in 2%. There were 6 zero quotatives (quotations with no device), 4 *asks*, 3 *be alls*, 1 *decided*, 1 *figured* and 1 *thought*.

Table 1

Examples of Device Use in the Retellings Corpus

Device	Example
<i>Be like</i>	I’m <i>like</i> , “Okay, whatever.”
<i>Be just/just like</i>	She would be <i>just like</i> , “We’ll take every other Thursday off.”

<i>Be all/all like</i>	I'm <i>all like</i> , "Yeah."
<i>Decide/decide like</i>	They <i>decided like</i> , "Alright let's take the ship through there, why not?"
<i>Figure/figure like</i>	I <i>figured like</i> , "Oh my mom is going to take my sister's side."
<i>Go/go like</i>	She'd <i>go</i> , "Yeah, we're fine or whatever blah blah blah."
<i>Say/say like</i>	I <i>said</i> , "Mom, mom, look, come look."
<i>Think/think like</i>	I'm <i>thinking like</i> , "I'm gonna investigate that company online."
<i>Tell/tell like</i>	But he called me and <i>told</i> me, "You can't go back to work."
<i>Zero quotative</i>	Her roommate would get all mad, "No one else can talk to my boyfriend."

A comparison of the distribution of the quotation devices in the 1980s and early 2000s (from Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008) is shown in Table 2. The overall distribution of devices in this new corpus is similar to the distribution observed in the early 2000s, with *be like* being the most popular device followed by *say*. The rate of *be just like* does appear to be climbing over a 20-year period.

Table 2

Direct Quotation Devices Used in the 1980s, 2000s, and 2009

	1980s	2000s	2009
<i>Be like</i>	4%	92%	82%
<i>Say/say like</i>	85%	7%	8%
<i>Be just/be just like</i>	>1%	1%	5%
<i>be all/be all like</i>	>1%	>1%	>1%

The pattern observed overall was similar across the Tell, Retell and Recall conditions, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Distribution of Devices Across Tell, Retell, and Recall Conditions

	Tell (N = 259)	Retell (N = 262)	Recall (N = 125)
<i>Be like</i>	81%	83%	81%
<i>Say</i>	7%	6%	7%
<i>Be just/be just like</i>	4%	5%	6%
Other	8%	6%	6%

As a test of the quotation-centered accuracy proposal, we compared production when speakers were retelling their own stories versus retelling other's stories. There were 133 original quotations in the Tell condition that were repeated in the Retell and Recall conditions, 61 out of 262 in Retell (23%) and 72 out of 125 in Recall (58%). The remaining quotations reported in the two Retell and Recall conditions were not found in the original.

One possibility is that speakers strive to be more accurate, and consequently use more *says*, when retelling other's stories. Of the repeated quotes, only five were verbatim replications of the original. All were four or fewer words long and all were introduced with *be like*. All were highly emotionally charged, consistent with studies linking emotional arousal to enhanced memory (e.g. Christianson and Loftus, 1987). Those reports that contained at least 80% of the original words in each quote were considered to be *highly accurate*. Only three quotations were

highly accurate, and again, all three were introduced with *be like*. None of the quotations introduced with *say* was highly accurate.

The 49 quotations using *say* were assessed for function, and the following was observed among the 49 *says*: (a) 13 introduced quotations of written text, such as notes and posters (no *be likes* introduced written text); (b) 4 referred to set phrases, such as “she said, ‘diamonds are a girl’s best friend’” (2 *be likes* and 2 *be just likes* were used in this way); and (c) 11 referred to someone older, such as an advisor, parent, or teacher. The remaining *says* were unsystematic.

In summary, fewer than a quarter of the original quotations appeared in the retelling of a story by the same speaker, compared with more than a half by the recipient. This supports the view that retellings are distinct from recalls (Marsh, 2007). Whereas Recalls relied heavily on memory and a more accurate recount of what was heard, Retellings were reconstructions, influenced by the purpose and social context of the speaker’s report. Because listeners were asked to recall as much of the speaker’s story as they could remember, device use in this case may be controlled by the purpose of the task rather than the relationship between the speaker and the story.

If *say* is being used for accurate reporting, then there should be a higher rate of *say* in recalled stories than retold stories. This was not the case. In addition, if *say* is being used for accurate reporting, then there should be a higher rate of verbatim quotations following *say* than following *be like*. In fact, the handful of highly similar repetitions followed *be like*, not *say*. This supports the argument that *be like* is not used with reports that are less accurate, and that *be like* does not signal approximation. On the other hand, there was evidence that *say* may be used in a special way: about a third of *says* in original tellings involved quoted writing or set phrases and about a quarter reported words spoken by a person of authority.

7. Experiment 2: Survey of Quotative Use

We compared UCSC students' intuitions about the use of *be like* and *say* to researchers' hypotheses about their functions. Previous surveys measured opinions about others' uses (Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1990; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Dougherty and Strassel, 1998; Romaine and Lange, 1991). We measured speakers' judgments about their own uses. Respondents estimated their use of *say* and *be like*, reported what they thought the functions of these devices were, and estimated how acceptable each device was.

7.1 Methodology

One hundred and twenty-two UCSC undergraduates participated in exchange for course credit. The survey consisted of four questions asking for: (1) a rating of how often respondents used *be like* as a quotative, from 1 (all the time) to 5 (never), (2) a rating of how often they used *say* with the same scale, (3) a judgment of whether respondents thought there was a difference in meaning between *be like* and *say*, and (4) a judgment about participants' own feeling towards *be like* as a quotative device, regardless of whether or how they used it themselves. For the judgments, participants saw a list of options frequently associated with either *be like* or *say* and were asked to identify those they felt were true (see Table 4).

Table 4

Situations in which Either Be Like or Say is Acceptable

<i>Be Like</i>	<i>Say</i>
With same gender	With different gender
In a relaxed situation	In a serious or formal situation
When retelling is an approximation	When retelling is accurate

 When retelling a funny story

When retelling a serious story

When retelling an emotional story

When retelling a neutral story

For acceptability of *be like*, respondents were prompted with the following list: (1) *be like* is acceptable in every situation; (2) acceptable with certain qualifications: (ii) only in informal situations, (iii) only with peers, (iv) only when accuracy is not important; or (3) never acceptable, *say* is always better.

7.2 Results and Discussion

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 35 ($M = 20.2$), 57% were female, and nearly all were born and raised in California. For the use of *be like*, 7% of participants reported that they rarely used it, 23% reported *sometimes*, 47% reported *often*, and 22% reported *all the time*. For the use of *say*, 10% reported they rarely used it, 25% reported *sometimes*, 53% *often*, and 11% *all the time*. For comparison, actual use of *be like* by a similar population was 92% (Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008).

Most participants, 90%, believed that there was a difference between *say* and *be like*. The most popular difference was believed to be in situations where accuracy was important (33% of the total votes), which necessitates the use of *say*, whereas *be like* could be used when an approximation was acceptable. The next most popular, 27%, was in relaxed (*be like*) or formal (*say*) situations; 17% of the votes went to situations where the speaker was speaking to peers (*be like*) or adults (*say*); 16 % trying to be entertaining (*be like*) or serious (*say*); 6% when emotional (*be like*) or neutral (*say*); 2% with same gender (*be like*) or different (*say*).

While most participants thought *be like* was acceptable under some circumstances, those who answered an open-ended question about *be like* overwhelmingly held negative views. Of the

survey respondents, 5% believed *be like* was acceptable in every situation, 40% with friends, 30% when accuracy was not important, 18% in informal situations, and 7% never. However, 90% of the comments about *be like* (provided by 72% of the respondents) were unfavorable, such as *irritating*, *annoying*, and *ungrammatical*.

Participants greatly overestimated their use of *say* and underestimated their use of *be like* when compared to actual use in Experiment 1, and also use by similar populations in similar tasks (Barbieri, 2009; Fox Tree and Tomlinson, 2008). The top three pragmatic differences between the two devices were believed to be (1) when accuracy was important, (2) when formality was important, and (3) when speaking to someone older, in that order.

8. Experiment 3, 4, & 5: Tests of the Quotation-Centered Proposal

In three experiments we tested whether people could identify which quotation device was originally used by a speaker, whether different quotation devices implied different levels of source faithfulness, and whether different quotation devices implied different levels of emotionality. For each of these experiments, we used groups of UCSC undergraduate students who listened to edited quotations taken from corpora of spontaneous speech.

In Experiment 3, participants were presented with quotes whose original devices had been replaced by a 440 Hz, 800 ms tone. They attempted to determine which device had been used for each quotation they heard. *Be like* was overwhelmingly chosen for all quotations, suggesting that this quotative may be an adequate device for all purposes. Participants were also given a post-experimental questionnaire, with one question asking whether they felt they had enough information about the quoted speech to be able to perform the task. All participants answered that they felt they did have enough context on which to make their decisions, and so were confident in their responses. Despite their confidence, listeners did not accurately identify

which quotation device occurred where. In particular, the inability to identify *say* as the quotative originally produced suggests that listeners were not attaching *say* to less emotional or more veridical-sounding quotations.

In Experiments 4 and 5, the quotations were heard either with the original device or with a different device spliced in. That is, quotations were heard either with *say* (unedited) or with *be like* spliced in where the *say* was (edited), or they were heard either with *be just like* (unedited) or with *be like* spliced in (edited). Some original *be likes* were also tested. For each condition two groups rated either the faithfulness or the level of emotionality. Ratings went from *not very faithful* (1) to *very faithful* (7) or from *not very emotional* (1) to *very emotional* (7).

For faithfulness ratings, in the unedited quotations, *say* was judged to be the most faithful, then *be like*, then *be just like*, $F(2,42) = 3.78, p = .03$. Pairwise comparisons revealed a difference between *says* and *be just likes* ($p = .05$) but not between *says* and *be likes* ($p = .23$). See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

Table 5

Mean (SD) Ratings of Source Faithfulness (1=Not Very, 7=Very)

	Unedited	Heard as <i>Be Like</i>
<i>Be like</i>	4.21 (.76)	---
<i>Be just like</i>	3.96 (.78)	4.05 (1.04)
<i>Say</i>	4.52 (.87)	4.79 (.87)

For the edited quotations, quotations that originally contained *say* but were heard as *be like* were rated as the most faithful. Quotations that originally contained *be just like* but were heard as *be like* were rated as the least faithful. Quotations that originally contained *say* were rated similarly with and without editing, $t(21) = -1.11, p = .28$. Quotations that originally contained *be just like* were also rated similarly with and without editing, $t(21) = .33, p = .76$. This demonstrates that it is the quotations, not the quotation devices, which drove the differences in ratings of faithfulness. This accords with the evidence from Experiments 1 and 3 that *say* is not signaling veridicality.

In Experiment 5, for ratings of emotionality, *be like* quotations were rated as the most emotional, followed by *be just like*, followed by *say*, $F(2, 28) = 11.48, p < .001$. There were pairwise differences between *say* and *be like* ($p = .002$) and also between *say* and *be just like* ($p = .05$), but not between *be likes* and *be just likes* ($p = .12$). As was found in the previous experiment, quotations that originally contained *say* were rated similarly with and without editing, $t(14) = -.03, p = .98$. Quotations that originally contained *be just like* were also rated similarly with and without editing, $t(14) = .73, p = .48$. See Table 6 for means and standard deviations.

Table 6

Mean (SD) Ratings of Emotionality (1=Not Very, 7=Very)

	Unedited	Heard as <i>Be Like</i>
<i>Be like</i>	4.21 (.87)	---
<i>Be just like</i>	3.93 (.86)	3.89 (.77)
<i>Say</i>	3.52 (.76)	3.12 (.82)

Here again, the effect was driven by the quotation, not the quotation devices. To spell out the difference between speakers and listeners more precisely, although it is possible that quoting something emotional may cause a speaker to be more likely to select one quotation device (e.g. *be just like*) over another (e.g. *say*), the words quoted will be more important to a listener than the device selected to introduce the quote in making emotionality judgments.

Taken as a whole, Experiments 3, 4, and 5 indicate that quotation-centered proposals, based on faithfulness, emotionality, or some other perceptual quality of the quotation, are not able to fully explain the choice between *say* and *be like*.

9. Experiment 6: Status of Quotee and Addressee

Given that we failed to find support for the hypothesis that device use is driven by linguistic factors such as emotionality or faithfulness, in Experiments 6 and 7, we shifted from testing quotation-centered proposals to testing social-context-centered proposals. Quotative production was compared when speakers quoted the speech of (1) quotees with high or low status to (2) addressees with high or low status.

9.1 Methodology

One hundred and twenty-two UCSC undergraduates participated in exchange for course credit. Two audio clips were identified which involved famous people retelling personal stories. The stories were chosen to be comparable in their relaxed and humorous style. The high status clip was an interview of President Barack Obama by Ellen DeGeneres on *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*. The low status clip was an interview of Jimmy Fallon, a comedian and late-night show host, on *The View*. The clips were edited for length and content. The Obama clip was 3.21 minutes long and contained approximately 578 words. The Fallon clip was 3.04 minutes long

and contained approximately 498 words. There were no quotative *says* or *be likes* in either clip (see Appendix for transcripts of the videos used).

The experiment employed a between-subjects design with four conditions: (1) High status Quotee, High status Addressee; (2) High status Quotee, Low status Addressee; (3) Low Status Quotee, High status Addressee; (4) Low status Quotee, Low status Addressee. As president, Obama was considered the higher status speaker. While Fallon is a well-known television personality, the story he retells is about an awkward visit to the White House, and is narrated in a comedic, self-deprecating style.

In the High Status Addressee condition, the addressee was presented as the experimenter. The High Status Addressee dressed formally, held a clipboard, maintained an open-body posture, and produced minimal verbal responses while listening to the retelling. In Low Status Addressee condition, the addressee was a research assistant posing as a fellow participant. The Low Status Addressee dressed informally and was allowed to laugh and provide minimal responses.

Participants first saw a screen shot from the clip they were to hear and then listened to the audio clip. Participants were told that they would either listen to Obama or Fallon speaking, to bring attention to the fact that there were different speakers. They were also told that they would retell the story either to the experimenter or to another participant (a confederate), to bring attention to the fact that there were different listeners. Participants were asked “to report as much of the actual spoken dialogue as possible, rather than give the gist of the clip.” Their responses were recorded in an audio recorder. The retellings were then transcribed and coded for type of quotation (direct/indirect), device used (*be like*, *say*, other), and tense of the device used (*be like* or *was like*, *say* or *said*). After their retellings, participants completed a post-experimental

questionnaire measuring how comfortable they felt with their addressees and how similar they felt to their addressees.

9.2 Results and Discussion

For the accuracy of the direct quotations, a minimum of two raters identified every *say* and *be like* direct quotation in the corpus and assessed how similar each was to the original source. For each participant, the rate of *say* production was calculated as a percentage of the total of numbers of *says* and *be likes*; that is, $say/(say + be\ like)$. In the analysis of the percentage of indirect quotations compared to direct, a minimum of two raters further identified every indirect quotation in the corpus.

Participants did feel less comfortable with the high status addressee, 3.75 ($SD = 1.12$) to 2.36 ($SD = 1.02$), $t(121) = 9.56, p < .001$ (1 = very comfortable, 5 = very uncomfortable). They also felt more different from the high status addressee, 4.31 ($SD = .62$) to 3.52 ($SD = 1.35$), $t(121) = 6.32, p < .001$ (1 = not at all different, 5 = very different).

Direct quotations were used in 85 of the 122 retellings (70%), with the remainder using only indirect quotations. Among those retellings that had at least one direct quote, there was no difference in the tense of the devices used in each of the four conditions, $F(3, 77) = .48, p = .67$. In addition, there was no difference in the tense of the devices used within the four conditions, depending on the quotee as in Example 1, $F(3, 77) = .78, p = .51$. Thus, in our retellings speakers did not appear to modify device tense to signal to the listener any difference in authority between them and the quotee.

Unlike device tense, there was a difference in *say* production among those retellings that had at least one direct quote. The highest rate of *say* was found in the High Status Quotee, High Status Addressee condition ($M = 74\%, SD = 36\%$). The next highest was for the Low Status

Quotee, High Status Addressee condition ($M = 53\%$, $SD = 42\%$), followed closely by the High Status Quotee, Low Status Addressee condition ($M = 46\%$, $SD = 43\%$). The lowest rate of *say* was found in the Low Status Quotee, Low Status Addressee condition ($M = 9\%$, $SD = 17\%$). More *says* were used with High Status Quotees, $F(1, 81) = 13.7$, $p < .001$, and more *says* were also used with High Status Addressees, $F(1,78) = 21.1$, $p < .001$. There was no interaction, $F(1, 81) = 1.1$, $p = .31$ (see Figure 1).

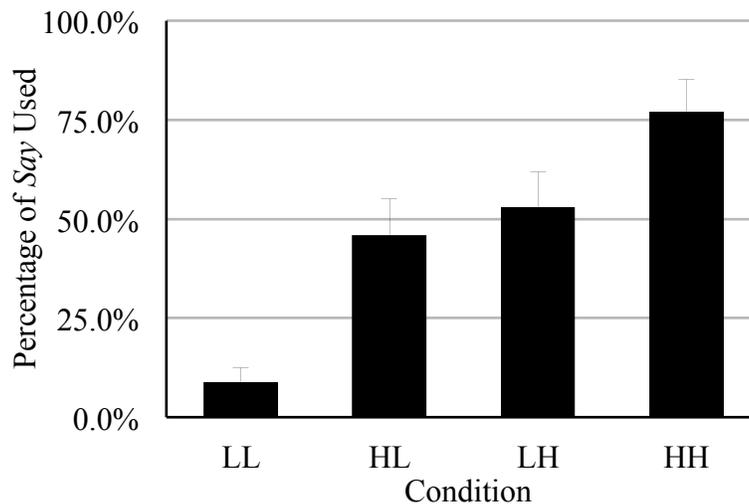


Figure 1. Bar chart of the percentage of said used in the four conditions. Fallon clip retold to Confederate (LL), Obama clip retold to Confederate (HL), Fallon clip retold to Experimenter (LH), and Obama clip retold to Experimenter (HH).

In this set of 85 retellings, the length of quotations ranged from 1 word to 134 words with a mean of 14.7 words ($SD = 1.2$). Unsurprisingly, the longer the quotation, the less accurate it was, $r(239) = -.18$, $p = .006$. The accuracy of reproduction for *say* and *be like* quotations ranged from 4.5% to 100%, with an overall mean accuracy of 54% ($SD = 2.3\%$). The highest mean accuracy was for the High Status Quotee quotations introduced with *be like* and reported to the High Status Addressee (66%, $SD = 2.2\%$). The lowest mean accuracy was for the Low Status

Quotee quotations introduced with *be like* and reported to the Low Status Addressee (48.1%, $SD = 2.5\%$). *Be like* did not differ from *say*, $F(1, 97) = .60, p = .44$. There was no main effect of quotee status, $F(1, 97) = 1.13, p = .29$, and no main effect of addressee status, $F(1, 97) = .38, p = .54$. There was, however, an interaction between addressee and device type, $F(1, 97) = 10.33, p = .002$. This interaction can be explained by the fact that in each condition, the most common quotative was the least accurate. Thus, accuracy is related to rate of device use, not the specific type of device used.

Finally, we compared indirect quotations to direct quotations across conditions in all 122 retellings. If participants attempt to produce more accurate and less entertaining retellings for high-status addressees, or of high-status quotees, the rate of indirect to direct quotation may follow a similar pattern to the rate of *says* versus *be likes*. But the rates were no different for the addressee, $F(3, 77) = 1.31, p = .26$, or the quotee, $F(3, 77) = .04, p = .85$, and there was no interaction, $F(3, 77) = 1.14, p = .15$.

In summary, results support the hypothesis that speakers choose *say* in situations where status is a factor. A high status quotee doubled the rate of *says* from 31% to 60%. A high status addressee also doubled the rate of *says* from 28% to 64%. Both a high status quotee and a high status addressee increased the rate of *say* eight fold, from 9% to 74% in comparison to low status quotees and addressees. The rate of *says* with low status quotees and low status addressees was similar to the rate of *says* found in the 2000's corpus reported in Fox Tree and Tomlinson (2008), and also to the corpus analysis presented here in Experiment 1. But the overall rate of *say* in this experiment was higher than estimated in the survey, Experiment 2: 11% of the survey responders reported that they used the quotative *say* "all the time," but 26% of the participants in Experiment 6 used only *say*. Participants did in fact also underestimate their use of *like*, with

only 22% reporting using this device “all the time” whereas 32% used only *like* in the same experiment.

There are at least three reasons why reporters might use more *says* with high status quotees. One is to show deference to a high status speaker, with *be like* showing a less positive or even negative evaluation of a low status speaker, in a manner similar to that documented in newspaper quotations (Floyd, 2000). Another is to show the social distance between the high status quotee and themselves, using *say* as a way to mark the speech of the quotee as very different from their own. Conversely, *be like* could be used to signal a perception of similarity, or closeness, to a low status quotee, in terms of speaking style and behavior (Levey, 2003).

According to the questionnaire, participants did feel more similar to the low status addressee than to the high status addressee. As a third explanation, participants have matched their style of retelling to the one they believed the quotee would use. For example, they may have believed that even in a relaxed situation, President Obama would not use *be like*, so they did not use it when reporting his speech. Similarly, they may have believed that comedian Jimmy Fallon would prefer *be like* over *say*. Speakers do shift speaking style in different situations, aligning to the style of other social groups (Giles et al., 1991).

A fourth possibility is that participants chose *say* to signal accuracy, or at least an attempt at accuracy, when recalling a high status quotee’s words and when reporting to a high status addressee. This possibility would contradict the results of Experiment 3, where ratings of faithfulness were not related to quotation device, and of Experiment 1, where the use of *say* was not predictive of the accuracy of retold and recalled quotations, as well as Experiment 6, where direct comparisons of the reported quotes to the original (with instructions “to report as much of

the actual spoken dialogue as possible”) failed to show any relationship between the selection of *say* and accuracy, or the reverse, selection of *be like* and approximation.

With respect to direct versus indirect quotations, the similarity in the rate of indirect quotation across status conditions suggests that the choice of direct versus indirect quotation is independent from the choice of *be like* versus *say*.

In Experiment 7, we evaluated the devices chosen by speakers in reporting the speech of high and low status speakers in a monologue with no direct addressees. If device differences only manifest in the presence of an addressee, then rates of *be like* and *say* will be similar across quotee status. On the other hand, if status affects selection even in monologues, rates will differ by quotee status. Without instruction, all participants imagined a particular addressee as they produced their monologues. As a supplemental test, we tested the role of the status of the imagined addressees on device selection.

10. Experiment 7: Status of Imagined Addressees

Quotative production was compared when speakers retold the speech of quotees with high or low status to no direct addressee.

10.1 Methodology

Thirty UCSC undergraduates participated in exchange for course credit. The same two audio clips from Experiment 6 were used. Participants were seated alone in a booth. As in Experiment 6, participants first saw a screen shot from the clip they were to hear and then listened to each of the audio clips. After each clip, participants were instructed to retell the clip into a microphone, and were asked “to report as much of the actual spoken dialogue as possible, rather than give the gist of the clip.” Their responses were recorded in an audio recorder. After their retellings, participants completed a post-experimental questionnaire asking whether they

had imagined an addressee or not, and if so, whether they imagined speaking to an experimenter, friend, or someone else.

As in the previous experiment, the rate of *say* production was calculated as a percentage of the total of numbers of *says* and *be likes*.

10.2 Results and Discussion

Of the 30 monologues, 23 contained direct quotation. The 7 that did not contain any direct quotations were not analyzed further. The post-experimental questionnaire revealed that all 23 of those who used direct quotation had imagined retelling the clips to an actual speaker. Nine additionally reported they imagined speaking to an experimenter and 3 imagined they were speaking to a friend. Eleven speakers reported no imagined listener. There was no difference in length (word count) between the monologue retellings compared to those in the dialogue conditions of Experiment 6, $t(18) = 1.47, p = .16$.

More *says* were used in the reporting of high status quotees over low status quotees, 96% to 78%, $F(1, 21) = 8.60, p = .008$. Although only a handful of participants imagined speaking to a friend, a post-hoc analysis of addressee status approached significance, 93% to 81%, $F(1, 21) = 3.51, p = .08$. There was no interaction, $F(1, 21) = 2.36, p = .14$. The mean rate for the Obama clip retold to the imagined experimenter was 98% ($SD = 5.6%$) compared to 93.3% ($SD = 11.5%$) for the imagined friend. For the Fallon clip, the rate was 88.3% ($SD = 35.3%$) for the imagined experimenter retelling, and 68.0% for the imagined friend ($SD = 28.9%$).

Results provide further evidence in support of the importance of status in device selection. Similar patterns were found in monologue retellings as in retellings that had a direct addressee. Even without instruction as to whom to imagine as an addressee, participants who happened to imagine a higher-status addressee tended to use a higher proportion of *says*. Reporting the speech

of a high-status speaker also resulted in a higher proportion of *says*. Although there was a difference in the rate of *says* when the Fallon clip was retold to an imagined experimenter versus an imagined friend, the rates for both were much higher than expected given the results of the low-status speaker and addressee condition of Experiment 6 (68% to 9%). This high rate, however, can be attributed to the unusual nature of the experiment, with participants instructed to retell the clips into a microphone without an addressee. In a post-experimental questionnaire, participants' opinions of the experiment were assessed. In response to the question "on a scale of 1-5, with 5 being very comfortable, how comfortable did you feel retelling the story?" the average response was 2.1, indicating that participants generally were not very comfortable, and were likely more conscious of being part of a formal experiment, which was likely reflected in their language.

11. General Discussion

We found that participants strongly believed there was a difference between the use of *say* and *be like*, with their top proposal a quotation-centered one. In addition, participants believed they had enough information to correctly determine which quotation device would be used with each quotation. Testing, however, demonstrated that this was not the case. In an experiment where participants attempted to select the device that had been excised from a sample, the general context in which the quote occurred was insufficient. Participants lacked information regarding the relationship between the original speaker, the words uttered, and the addressees. The difference between the choice of *say* versus *be like* was only revealed with direct manipulation of two social-context-centered proposals for quotation device use. The relationships among the speaker, the quotee, and the addressee affected device selection more than emotionality or source faithfulness.

These series of experiments may not be the final word on *say* and *be like*. As was alluded to in section 4, the formality of the situation may be a contributing factor independent of status. In Experiments 6 and 7, formality was controlled for by selecting videos that were both humorous and casual and by having all retellings occur in the same laboratory setting. Future researchers could explore formality by modifying the situation, such as by instructing participants to imagine they are retelling the story at a formal event, or, conversely, at a friend's house. Another limitation of the study is the focus of speakers on one particular age group and location. Future researchers could test whether the results generalize to other communities.

12. Conclusion

We found that the rate of the use of the quotative devices *be like* and *say* has remained stable for at least the last decade among Northern Californian college students. In particular, we found that *say* is not vanishing but has evolved to have specialized functions. In a series of studies we teased apart quotation-centered proposals, testing for differences in emotionality and faithfulness, and social-context-centered proposals, testing for the influence of quotee and addressee status. We show that *say* and *be like* occur in similar environments, cannot be told apart by the source faithfulness or emotionality ratings of subsequent quotations, are not accurately matched to the quotations which they precede, and are used in retold and recalled stories in similar ways. However, when reporting the speech of a high status quotee, or when speaking to a high status addressee, reporters dramatically increased their use of *say*.

Although there may be other factors that affect the choice of one quotation device over another, in the current study we found that the difference between the choice of *say* versus *be like* was best explained by social-context-centered proposals. The use of *say*, in contrast to *be*

like, provided speakers with a means to signal relationship status among the quotee, speaker, and addressee.

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Appendix**Transcription notation**

Meaning	Notation
Short pause	. (space, period, space)
Long pause	- (space, hyphen, space)
End of tone unit	,
Non-speech sounds	< >
Cut-offs, corrections, stuttering	- (hyphen, no space)
Overlapped speech	* (** used for multiple overlaps to clarify)
Asked with question intonation	?
Said with excitement	!

Transcript of Barack Obama on the Ellen DeGeneres show. ED = Ellen DeGeneres, BO = Barack Obama, MJ = Makita Johnson.

ED: now, you said, uh, I have a hard job, and I do and one of the hardest jobs, I'll tell you

BO: is dial*ing*

ED: *is* dialing while I'm talking because it's really hard, so don't ever put yourself in that situation <audience laughs> or at least . just- have somebody do it for you or

BO: you're doing good

ED: well, I've made it through I- you know, but . now we're calling Makita Johnson from Richmond Virginia

BO: this is really exciting

ED: I know, she has no idea <phone ringing>

BO: I hope she's *there*

MJ: *hello?*

ED: hey, is this Makita?

MJ: yes this is her

ED: hi Makita, this is Ellen DeGeneres, how you doing?

MJ: oh my god

ED: hey, wait, oh, it gets even better, hold on

MJ: o.k.

ED: introduce yourself

BO: hi, hi Makita, this is Barack

MJ: hi, *oh!*

BO: *O*bama, how are you?

MJ: wait, no!

BO: yes!

MJ: no!

BO: yes! yes!

MJ: oh my god <laughs>

BO: Makita, I- uh- I hear you- you had a question for me uh we wanted to- to call up and and answer it personally

MJ: oh <laughter> I <laughter> um

BO: this is, this is, this is good

ED: what's *yer-*

MJ: *<gasping, untranscribable>*

ED: what's your question?

MJ: <gasp/sigh> my question is - I know being a senator is a very time consuming job

BO: *yes*

MJ: *and be*cause it's so con- time-consuming you don't get much time for your family . and as president how will you divide your time for your family and time for running our country?

BO: well I uh i- it's a wonderful question and and I know you know uh my wife Michelle is just uh terrific - and and you know my kids are of course spectacular

ED: yes

BO: yes uh Malia and Sasha, and it's the hardest thing about running for president is being away from the family so much - but i- yeah one of the things Michelle and I talked about before we even started to run was, uh, how do we make sure that . our girls are- are good . and what we try to do is create a - uh - a real . protective . uh situation for them, we didn't move from Chicago, we- uh- they're there, going to the same school, uh with the same friends, and and really try to be as normal as possible, and . uh the nice thing about, if I'm president, I hear that they give you uh public housing *<audience laughter>*

BO: *there's this*

ED: **a big house**

BO: **so** - yeah, yeah so the- there's uh we'll all be under the same roof and and hopefully - I can do my- my job - an- and s- tuck them in every night - and and read to them and . and uh - you know do all the things that Dads do, but

MJ: that's great

BO: but one thing Michele's absolutely clear about is if if I can't uh if I can't do a good job as father then you know uh i- it's pretty hard to talk about families and and how I can uh do a good job for the country as well

MJ: mkay

BO: alright?

MJ: ahah alright <giggling> yeah

BO: Makita, thank *you so much*!

ED: *thank you Makita*!

MJ: <giggling> you're welcome ha ha

ED: *bye*

BO: *I appreciate it*

MJ: bye

ED: that's a good question

BO: that was good

ED: um - now, speaking of that you've been married for fifteen *years is that right*

BO: *fifteen years* . I- yeah

ED: and and you seem like a wonderful romantic cou*ple*

BO: *I'm a* very romantic guy

ED: yeah what's **the most**

BO: **yes**

ED: romantic thing you've ever done?

BO: um

ED: with her

BO: well <audience laughter>

ED: not someone else who's you know

BO: now I I will I will tell you Mich- the the way I met Michelle uh she's younger than me but she had gone straight through school and through law school and I had um I had worked before I went to law school so the way I met was she was a first year associate of the law firm and I was a summer associate so she was my advisor - and so she would not date me because she took this . position very seriously uh and I kept on begging and pleading which is . usually how you get . dates . um <audience laughter> so uh but finally um . uh after a firm picnic - I - offered to buy her ice cream, and we went to Baskin-Robbins, and we sat out on the curb and - uh ate ice cream cones and then I kissed her and that's when I- I figured I- you know that's when I sealed the deal . I- I- *thought*

ED: *yeah*

BO: yeah so the- uh- I- I think - that moment buying her ice cream was probably - uh - that *is*

ED: *that* did it

BO: yeah that was it

ED: alright . thank you so much . we we uh we're going to come back and were going to uh read your emails I appreciate you're being here *uh*

BO: *this* this was wonderful, and I hope I can get a chance to be back

ED: alright well I hope so too . good luck to you *and we*

BO: *thank you*

ED: we think you're terrific and **uh**

BO: **and** I did- I do hope I've started a trend with with the presidential candidate dancing

ED: uh, well now they have to

BO: I want to see them bust a *move out here*

ED: *yeah* - **alright**

BO: **absolutely**

ED: and we'll have this on tape to taunt them

Transcript of Jimmy Fallon on The View. BW= Barbara Walters, WG = Whoopi Goldberg, JB= Joy Behar, EH= Elisabeth Hasselbeck, JF = Fimmy Fallon.

BW: well you went to the White House recently - was that like home?

JF: that was not like home, no that was not <laughter> really nerve racking . it was uh I was uh - I was honored - I was practicing t- you know cause when- I don't know how you address the president and the first lady . I think you say - uh . what I what I found out when I googled it, I think you say . uh Mr. President and Madame First Lady

BW: *really*?

JF: *is that right*?

WG: why were you hon**ored**?

JB : **how about** Mrs. Obama, you can't say *that*?

BW: *Mrs* **Obama**

JF: **I don't** *I don't know if you can*

BW: *you were honored?*

JF: no I wasn't honored at all, no <laughing>

BW: oh

JF: *it was a good idea it was a good idea though and I should be*

BW: *but what- why uh why were* why were you there?

JF: I was there to MC uh a 4th of July thing that the USO put together for the troops

BW: oh that's nice

JF: it was really fun it was me and Michelle Branch and the Foo Fighters . so I'm nervous *I'm freaking out*

BW: *Did they know* who you were, the president and first lady?

JF: yeah I think so, I made a joke once about Michelle Obama at a Time 100 event

Everyone but JF: yeah you did – yeah . <incoherent> we were there you were really *funny*

JF: *thank you*

BW: yeah we were part of it **<laughter>**

JF: **that's right** . I mean that's a good joke that's a *good joke* *yes* for you uh but if she saw my eyes, I made a joke because I- there's a new comic book coming out uh where Michelle Obama is a is a super hero, and its true

JB: mhm

JF: in the comic book she fights her arch enemy . sleeves

Everyone: *<laugh>*

JF: *and so uh* and she looked at me she looked at me she was like <gestures a fighting pose> like that and she was **really cute yeah**

EH: **she was right there**

JF she was so nice and uh and so I went and I'm nervous and I'm wearing a suit and it's a barbecue on the 4th of July and I'm the only guy wearing a suit

Everyone: <laugh>

JF: and and I go in to meet the president, I'm in the green room on my way into the blue room, you know these rooms?

BW: *<laugh>*

JF: *yes* **you've been to it, Barbara you've been there, you've been there**

BW: **in between the pink room and the red room**

JF: yeah so I go in, he goes uh he goes Ji- Jimmy? Jimmy come here Jimmy and I wa- walk in there's a blurry iPhone photo

Everyone: *<laugh>*

JF: *this is me*, this is me, he- the president's wearing a **short sleeve shirt**

EH: **you're not that near** I don't believe you *<laughter>*

JF: *yeah this president's* wearing a shirt, it's so blurry, it could be anyone right? yeah . the president's wearing a short sleeve shirt, I walk in and they both start laughing at me . and she goes you must be hot you look hot

Everyone: <laugh>

JF: and he goes, duh didn't you get the memo? it's a barbecue

Everyone: <laugh>

JF: I go I'm meeting you! I mean I'm dressing up, I'm I'm I'm honored, uh this is, and I'm freaking out, I'm stuttering because I practiced Mr. President, uh Madame First lady, I'm like I'm like Luca Brassi practicing all day long outside like trying to practice it, and I'm freaking out and stuttering and sweating at this point, I got taken my picture, and then he goes uh wh- why don't you take off your jacket and roll up your sleeves or something? like it was it was really concerning them that I was like wearing- and then I- and then somebody ushered me out . and I'm late leaving waving, I go bu- Mr. President Madame First Lady

Everyone: <laugh>

WG: you got it in

JF: yeah I got it in at the end yeah - take care

Everyone: <laugh>

JF: s- <untranscribable> so then I ended up uh I ended up just going down, I had the best time, it was really fun, it was like I couldn't believe I was there at the White house in the south lawn

BW: that's so nice

JF: it was fun, and then I also I got on Sascha and Malia's swing set 'cause that was there - I figured why not - so I saw that was just amazing but the White House is just amazing

Someone: So you took full advantage of the

JF: facilities could be the only time you were going to be there I'm going to go hit the swing set - I'm going to go, yeah

BW: did you take your wife?

JF: my wife didn't come, no, it was the 4th of July so she was with her family in - uh - New Hampshire . that's my wife there, yeah

BW: really pretty - yeah

JF: Nancy's great . she's awesome

BW: how long have you been married to her?

JF: uh oh gosh - we've been dating I think - for five years - I think - married like a year and a half

BW: oh - congratulations

JF: it's been fun . yeah, she's so good . she's a producer - so she . knows the business - so it's kinda fun. it's like - I can work these hours and she understands