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FROM VIKINGS TO VALLEY GIRLS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY
OF NON-NATIVE USE OF QUOTATIVE BE LIKE AND DISCOURSE
MARKERS LIKE AND JUST

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Introduction

In the last 30 years a new quotative marker, *be like*, which was initially associated with Californian Valley Girls, has rapidly spread across English speaking speech communities around the world, such as The United States (1), Canada (2), England (3), Scotland (4), Australia (5), and New Zealand (6).

- (1) *I'm like, 'I know this stuff, I got a 77 last time.'* (Ferrara and Bell 1995)
- (2) *And I'm like, 'Joe man, how's the truck?' and he's like 'Oh, Clarky man, I fucked my truck up.'* (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999)
- (3) *And there was like this bloke that jogged past the window and so we were like, 'Ooh a boy!'* (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999)
- (4) *Her ma's like, 'Go on, make me a coffee.'* (Macaulay 2005)
- (5) *Yesterday there was this kid's brother, he was like, 'Ah bugger it.'* (Winter 2002)
- (6) *He was like, 'Shane climb up here and help me.'* (Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009)

Its spread has been well-documented (Butters 1982; Tannen 1986; Blyth et al. 1990; Romaine and Lange 1991; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Macaulay 2001; Winter 2002; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009, etc.) with studies focusing on how and why this marker moves through grammatical and social space.

In tandem, a considerable number of studies (Underhill 1988; Miller and Weinert 1995; Erman 1997; Dailey O'Cain 2000; Andersen 2001; Cheshire et al. 2005; Macaulay 2005; Tagliamonte 2005 etc.) have been devoted to understanding the use and global spread of the discourse marker *like* (7) and more recently *just* (8), as they have also shown rapid expansion in English over the past few decades

- (7) *I'd see her like banging this ehmm calculator to get it on during the exam.* (Buchstaller 2006)
- (8) *So I can just go on the Internet, look up some cheats and then just play.* (Tagliamonte 2005)

Studies of *be like*, *like* and *just* have shown that these forms are highly rule-governed in native speech, with intricate patterns of use which are generally shared across the English speaking world. Why widely dispersed geographic and socially differentiated varieties of English should show such similar patterns of use has been subject to much debate (e.g. Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003; Milroy 2007; Buchstaller 2008). In this study, I would like to take this body of research further by exploring the use of these forms in non-native speech, as in (9).

- (9) *It was so funny when she mention it to us,
you know like, "I have something to tell you",
and we were just like "[sharp intake of breath] oh no, what's- what is it?"
We were like "are you having a baby or are you getting married or something?"*

*And then like, "We're buying a summer house"
and I was like, "Oh. That's fantastic!"*

To the best of my knowledge, little research has been devoted to the use of these forms by non-native speakers of English, despite the fact that they appear to be widely used. Moreover, such forms and their systematic patterning of use are not explicitly taught in schools. This raises a number of questions about use of *be like* and discourse markers *like* and *just*, the most fundamental being: do non-native speakers use them in the same way as native speakers? And, if not, how?

This dissertation attempts to answer these questions through a quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of *be like*, *like* and *just* in the speech of Danish non-native speakers of English. I will consider a range of linguistic and social constraints on use across a corpus of data and compare these to native speaker findings. I will also examine attitudinal effects on use of *be like* through questionnaire data in order to uncover correlations with actual language use. These findings may, in turn, uncover some of the similarities and differences in the global spread of features in a foreign language context.

The dissertation is structured in the following way: Chapter one will contextualise the use and importance of English in Danish society, as well as summarise the data and methods used in this study. Chapter two will provide a literature review of previous research and an analysis of *be like* in the present data. Chapter three will provide a literature review of previous research and an analysis of attitudinal factors in the use of *be like*. Chapters four and five will provide a literature review and an analysis of *like* and *just* in the present data. Chapter six will be a discussion of the findings and their implications, followed by the conclusion in Chapter seven.

1. Data and Method

1.1. Contextualising the data

Denmark is a small Scandinavian nation of 5.5 million people. The Danish language is very similar to the languages of the other Scandinavian countries, making the languages of the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians almost mutually intelligible. Among the population of the rest of the world, however, hardly anyone speaks or understands these languages. As Denmark is a wealthy nation with strong ties within several international industries, and the capital, Copenhagen, is a very cosmopolitan city, the demand for excellent English skills is high for Danes, as no international communication is done

in their native language. While this is true of other nations with smaller languages too, it is nevertheless often noted that Scandinavians speak English to an impressively high standard for non-native speakers. This is important to the current study as it is a quantitative study, and therefore requires a lot of data, which proficient speakers such as Danes are able to provide.

1.1. Learning English in Denmark

While it is hard to say specifically why it is that the Scandinavians are generally found to speak English so well, there are certain factors in these societies that might influence this high level of competence. For a start, as the necessity for excellent English skills is so great, children are taught English in school before any other language, generally in fourth grade at the age of nine or ten. A review of schoolbooks demonstrates that the variety of English taught in schools is standard British English, and that there is no instruction in the spoken phenomena studied here. However, most children are exposed to English spoken by native speakers from an earlier age than this, as Danish society is infused with English in practically all areas. That is, Danish television shows a very high proportion of programmes in English, mainly from America, but also, to some extent, from Britain. Most importantly though, these programmes are not dubbed into the native language, as is common in many other larger European countries. Rather, they are subtitled allowing the viewers to hear English as spoken by native speakers of the language. Furthermore, the majority of music being played on the radio and on music television channels is in English, even music sung by Danish artists. Similarly, computer games potentially played by very young children are practically exclusively voiced in English. This provides exposure not only to the language, but to the varieties of English spoken around the world with their individual linguistic characteristics and pronunciations. And finally, as a small but wealthy nation, Danes travel frequently to destinations far from Denmark. This means they need to use their English skills to communicate while abroad, as it is the lingua franca of the world, but furthermore, it means that they potentially come into direct contact with native speakers of English which, as we know from decades of research into second language acquisition, is one of the main ways of improving one's foreign language competence.

1.2. The sample

Planning the interviews:

Growing up in Copenhagen and still having friends and family there, I was able to find speakers through the friend of a friend method (Milroy 1980), which allowed the subjects to feel safe with me, as well as instilling in them a feeling of obligation to help out their friend's friend. Each participant was made aware of my bilingualism; however, I did explicitly ask the participants to speak to me exclusively in English both before and during the interview to diminish the temptation to switch into

Danish. The speakers were told that they were participating in a project looking at Danes' use of English, and were offered more information on the study if they so wished. Importantly, I did not discuss the features I would be examining, as this would make them concentrate on their use of these features, providing a less true representation of their speech.

Participant details:

The data were collected in November and December 2010 and come from ten monolingual native Danish speakers, of which five are male and five are female. This even gender distribution permits a comparison between the speech of the two genders, which is important as the study of sociolinguistics has found that 'females show a greater sensitivity to socially evaluative linguistic features than do males' (Wolfram 1969:76). In other words, males and females have consistently been found to use certain linguistic features at very different rates. Therefore, it is important for this study to take this gender differentiation into account to be able to test how it is expressed by the speakers of this study.

All the speakers are aged between 23 and 26 years old, as previous research on *be like* and discourse markers *like* and *just* (Blyth et al. 1990; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Dailey O'Cain 2000; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Tagliamonte 2005; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009) has found that these forms are overwhelmingly used by young people. Furthermore, this age stratification allows the speakers to have been out of formal English education for five or more years, letting them develop their own variety of English independently of the standard RP English that is taught in Danish schools.

To further ensure that there is as high a level of comparability between the speakers, all participants selected have been raised since early childhood in the greater Copenhagen area.

While many other factors contribute to the formation and perception of socio-economic status, Chambers (2009: 6) notes that some of the most important sub-elements of this are education, occupation, income, and form of residence. Thus, to control the sample for speakers with similar socio-economic status, only university students currently in education were chosen to participate in this study. On the basis of this one factor, Chambers' remaining three factors become comparable too. That is to say, all the speakers have, at this point, a similar level of education, the same main occupation, they will all have a similar income during their time as a student, as the Danish government provides a monthly scholarship of a set amount to all students, and, as is the custom among students in the greater Copenhagen area, all of the speakers live away from home in flats.

Finally, four of the ten speakers have lived in an English speaking country for a period of time between six months and a year since leaving high school, either for work experience or as foreign

exchange students. The other six speakers have not lived in an English speaking country, with the exception of Annette who lived in England from the age of one to two years old, but never learned any English in that period. This division between speakers who have and have not lived in an English speaking country is designed to test my hypothesis that speakers who have been immersed in a native English speech community will use these specific youth oriented native features of English to a greater degree than those who have not. Table 1. gives a more detailed account of the social information of each of the speakers. All speakers' names used in this study are pseudonyms.

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Home town	Abroad (✓) or not (✗)
Anders	Male	26	Student at University of Copenhagen	Østerbro	✗
Annette	Female	26	Student at University of Copenhagen	Farum	✗
Carla	Female	23	Student at University of Roskilde	Vedbæk	✗
Frederik	Male	26	Student at Copenhagen Business School	Virum	✗
Karsten	Male	24	Student at Copenhagen Business School	Melby	✗
Katinka	Female	25	Student at Copenhagen Business School	Brøndby Øster	✗
Marika	Female	25	Student at University of Roskilde	Søborg	✓ Lived 10 months in Australia
Samuel	Male	25	Student at Copenhagen Business School	Hørsholm	✓ Lived 3 months in Canada and 6 months in Australia
Silje	Female	24	Student at University of Roskilde	Østerbro	✓ Lived 6 months in Ireland
Søren	Male	24	Student at Copenhagen Business School	København K	✓ Lived 6 months in Canada and 6 months in the US

Table 1. An account of the social information of the speakers.

In accordance with ethics guidelines all speakers gave written consent before participating in this study, and were further debriefed after the interview (see appendix 1: *Participant information and consent pack*).

1.3. Data Collection

The data for this study were collected using the traditional sociolinguistic interview (Labov 1984). Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and an hour and 15 minutes, with the speaker and the interviewer engaged in casual conversation on several conversational modules (Labov 1984), such as reality TV, holiday experiences, and family relations. All of the interviews were recorded using a Marantz Professional Solid State Recorder (PM D660). The majority of the interviews were recorded in the speakers' own homes in an attempt to place the interviews within a comfortable environment for the speakers to minimize the effects of the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972), which finds that speakers become more conscious of their speech when they know they are being observed and therefore use more prestige variants, meaning that the data they provide are not an authentic representation of their speech patterns.

For *be like* I also included an analysis of attitudinal factors. These are discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

1.4. Processing the data

Once obtained, the data were transcribed using the software program Transcriber (Boudahmane et al. 2008). As the current analysis is exclusively morphosyntactic no phonetic transcription was carried out. Instead, the data were authentically represented with regards to grammatical constructions not sanctioned by prescriptive grammarians, such as lack of subject-verb agreement, lack of number agreement, unusual verb forms etc. (Tagliamonte 2006: 55), whilst still adhering to standard English spelling conventions. Elements of the transcription protocol used here, such as false starts, spellings of non-lexical items, word contractions and shortened forms, incomprehensible words, and code switching into Danish, can be seen in bold in the following extracts from the transcribed data (10).

- (10) Karsten: *It was, **er, kinda** like what I'm studying now, but not quite, but it was in Danish. **Er**, at first I thought that maybe studying in English would be a little bit harder and it- it takes a little more work preparing for an oral exam and writing an English report. But I thought that with an English degree it would give a bit more opportunities, it would be a bit more internationally recognised. And it turned out that it wasn't a problem at all speaking English, and sometimes writing reports is actually easier in English **cos** all the theories are in English anyway.*

Carla: *But in a lot of European countries a **kandidat** is- is really- you have to have it, or it's a very good thing you have it, so I don't- a masters would just be an extra thing*

for me [inc] journalism and just say on my CV that I have attended Columbia, I think that just opens so many doors.

Karsten: *Did he say gold- did they say golddigger, or did he use a Danish equiv-?*

Interviewer: *No, is there a Danish word?*

Karsten: *Erm, I don't know, I was just curious. **Guldgraver?** (laughs)*

The final corpus of transcribed text contains over 13 hours of speech.

Next, the concordance program AntConc (Anthony 2011) was employed to extract each token of the studied variables from the data, as well as to find their frequencies and collocates. That is, during the transcription process, quotation marks were put around the quotes uttered by the speakers to make their extraction from the data simpler, as a search for this symbol in AntConc would provide a full list of each occurrence of a quote within the data. Similarly, all tokens of discourse markers *like* were transcribed as 'lyke' to allow a search in AntConc to yield only occurrences of discourse markers *like*, as opposed to any other types of *like* found in the data. Additionally, this program allowed me to see a set number of words preceding and following each variable to help me code the data for the linguistic factor groups under study, such as grammatical person and number, tense and temporal marker, placement in the clause, and so on.

Finally the coded data were analysed using the variable rule analysis program, GoldVarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte and Smith 2005), which will be describe in further detail in section 2.5.

The next four chapters will deal with the individual analysis of each of the features under study.

2. Quotative be like

A quotative marker, quotative verb, or simply quotative, is the grammatical form used to introduce direct speech or direct thought. Traditionally, speakers of English had the choice of three main quotative verbs when narrating a story involving direct speech or thought: *say*, *go* or *think*, as in (11), (12) and (13) respectively.

(11) *Mostly younger girls, they say, 'Wow, he's only 18 and he already has his own car and he's just pouring champagne out [into the sink]'.*

(12) *Every time I still have to go, 'Argh', bite my teeth together and sort of get it over with.*

(13) 'Cos it were like four stops in the wrong zone I thought, 'What the hell'.

Say and *go* represent direct speech, with *say*, in particular, being considered as close an approximation of what was actually uttered as one can expect from reported dialogue in narratives. *Think*, on the other hand, is the verb used to convey the speaker's inner monologue. Yet none of these three forms can represent both speech and thought. However, in the 1980s the emergence in the United States of a new quotative complementizer, quotative *be like*, as in (14) caught the attention of scholars (Butters 1982 and Tannen 1986) as a quotative verb capable, most notably, of conveying inner monologue while also being able to represent direct speech.

(14) *And we talk about it at work, 'cos everyone is like, 'Did you see Amalies Verden last night?'*

Since its discovery, a vast amount of research has been devoted to this widely spread linguistic feature (see Blyth et al. 1990; Romaine and Lange 1991; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Macaulay 2001; Winter 2002; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009, etc.) which has come to dominate the quotative systems of numerous English speaking countries around the world from North America to the United Kingdom and Australasia. Before looking at these studies in more detail, I shall first situate the synchronic use within the history of English in order to establish whence this form may have arisen.

2.1. Historical precursors

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (henceforth referred to as the OED), the prototypical verb of reported speech, *to say*, was first recorded in its quotative use in 1386 in *The Prioress's Prologue* by Geoffrey Chaucer in the sentence '*He sayde, 'My lady Prioressse''*.

The quotative verb most typically associated with inner monologue, *to think*, has similarly ancient roots, as it was first recorded by the OED in the Old English text *The Blickling Homilies* from around the year 1150 in the sentence '*Swiþe eaþe þæt mæg beon þæt sume men þencan oþþe cweþan, 'hu mæg ic secan þæt gastlice leoht?''*.

A number of other verbs of quotation function in a very similar way to the two above-mentioned verbs. Examples of other such verbs of reported speech are *to utter*, *to cry*, *to shout*, *to mention* and so forth, while other examples of verbs of reported thought are *to wonder*, *to ponder*, *to believe*, *to suspect* and so on. While these are all common English words, they are found to a far lesser degree overall as quotative verbs than *to say* or *to think*.

The quotative verb *to go* was first recorded by the OED to be used in this sense in 1836 in *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* by Charles Dickens in the sentence ‘*He was roused by a loud shouting of the post-boy on the leader. ‘Yo-yo-yo-yo-yoe,’ went the first boy. ‘Yo-yo-yo-yoe!’ went the second*’. However, there is evidence that the use of quotative *go* goes further back still, as seen in the nursery rhyme *Pop Goes the Weasel* which is thought to have originated in the 1700s.

Finally, the OED’s entry on quotative *be like* describes its meaning and function in the following statement

‘Often used to convey the speaker’s response to something, or to introduce segments of an ongoing conversation between two or more speakers. Sometimes also used to introduce a gesture or facial expression evocative of the speaker’s feelings’ (2010: *to be like*).

Here it is claimed that the first time the use of *be like* was recorded was in 1982 with Frank Zappa’s stereotype reinforcing hit song *Valley Girl* in which he sings ‘*She’s like Oh My God*’.

2.2. Synchronic findings

As far as I am aware, little research has been devoted to the use of *be like* by non-native speakers of English. Ferrara and Bell do note that ‘some foreign students resident in the United States also employ *be + like* as a quotative’ (1995: 277), and Müller has found that while German speakers of English do use it, they do so to a significantly lesser degree than the American native English speakers she compared them to (2005: 226). Yet, unlike the present study, these merely comment on whether *be like* is found in non-native speech or not, rather than conducting quantitative analyses of the constraints of *be like* as used by foreign speakers to provide frequencies of use.

Previous research has shown that a number of factors constrain the occurrence of the quotative *be like*. The constraints examined here are all well substantiated in the literature and pertain specifically to the present study. They are external social factors, such as age and gender, as well as internal linguistic factors, such as content of quote, grammatical person, tense, and mimetic re-enactment. However, it should be noted that they are not necessarily influential to an even degree on the use of *be like* from one speech community to the next, as this account of the previous findings will show.

Age:

Quotative *be like* has unanimously been found to be a feature of young people’s speech. And while it has been said to be found most frequently in the speech of teenagers and university students (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Dailey-O’Cain 2000; Buchstaller and D’Arcy 2009), it has also been

found in the speech of people aged as young as 10 (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004) and as old as 38 (Blyth et al. 1990).

Gender:

Ferrara and Bell (1995) argue that *be like* is going through the process of grammaticalization. They therefore claim that women will use higher rates at the start of the change, but as the change progresses there will be no gender difference. That is, males and females will use *be like* at the same rate. This fits in with Labov's gender paradox (1990), which states that while women use more prestige language than men do, they also use more innovative and non-standard features than men when these are below the level of consciousness, which *be like* generally is. However, actual findings have been mixed and therefore do not always confirm Ferrara and Bell's (1995) claim. For instance, aside from Ferrara and Bell, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) (English results), Macaulay (2001), Singler (2001), and Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004, 2007) also found higher rates among females, while Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) (Canadian results) and Buchstaller (2008) find even rates of *be like* between the genders. However, entirely different from the grammaticalization claim are the findings of Blyth et al. (1990), Dailey-O'Cain (2000), and Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), as they found *be like* to be favoured by males.

Content of quote:

Initially *be like* was reported as being specifically a marker of internal dialogue (Butters 1982; Tannen 1986), as in (15).

- (15) *I went to Columbia University and see what it was like and I was just like, 'Wow this is fantastic.'*

This was supported by the findings of early studies showing this to be the strongest constraint on the quotative (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999). However, recently results suggest that *be like* is increasingly being used for direct speech, as in (16), while nevertheless still maintaining a slightly higher occurrence of internal dialogue (Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, 2007).

- (16) *They're still like, 'You're from Brøndby? Really?'*

This suggests a levelling of this effect in concordance with the process of grammaticalization predicted by Ferrara and Bell (1995).

Grammatical Person:

Consistently found to be a reliable constraint is the grammatical person, as *be like* is seen to favour first person subjects, as seen in (15), over third person subjects (e.g. Blyth et al. 1990; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller and D'Arcy

2009), as seen in (16). This is, as Buchstaller (2006) points out, ‘presumably due to its association with the reporting speakers’ own mental or emotional states’ (2006: 152), as internal dialogue can clearly only truly be expressed in the first person. However, it should be said that this is not a universal result, as Macaulay’s (2001) study finds the opposite to be true, as his adolescent Glaswegian speakers use *be like* more frequently with third person subjects than with first person subjects. Furthermore, similar results emerge from Winter’s (2002) study of Australian English, in which she finds that her subjects use *be like* more with third person subjects than they do with first person subjects.

Tense and temporal reference in the quotative frame:

Be like has since its early days of study been associated with present tense, as seen in (16), as it has been found to favour this tense over past tense, as seen in (15). Recently though, Singler (2001) found that this was due to *be like*’s use in conjunction with historical present, as seen in (17).

(17) *Karl is like, ‘Why can’t I do this and this and that?’*

This narrative device allows the speaker to narrate in the present tense an event that has already occurred. Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) point out its wide functional range by illustrating that historical present’s functions have been said to include adding vivacity and immediacy to the narrative (Wolfson 1981, 1982), demarcating authority (Johnstone 1987) and structuring the discourse (Schiffrin 1981). Singler (2001) found that although *be like* was seen to occur mainly in the present tense it was in fact ‘almost always’ historical present (272-273). Winter (2002) similarly found *be like* to occur most frequently in historical present, and Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007) furthermore found tense and temporal reference to be the strongest constraint on *be like* in their Canadian data set, where it occurred more with historical present than it did with either present or past tense.

Mimetic re-enactment:

Reported dialogue can be coded as either purely linguistic quotes where the lexical content is produced in the speaker’s natural voice, as in (14), or it can be seen as expressing mimetic content, which can include using a different voice as well as sound effects, such as non-lexical items, humming, whistling, clapping, etc., or gestural effects (Buchstaller and D’Arcy 2009) as in (18).

(18) *When I came home I was like, ‘Yeah baby! I’ve really done it!’*

Earlier studies, such as Romaine and Lange (1991) and Singler (2001), argue that *be like* occurs most frequently as a marker of expressive quotes. Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) looking at varieties of English from three discontinuous geographical settings find that in all three varieties *be like* occurs more frequently than not with mimetic re-enactment. While they are conscious of the fact that their American data was collected between 1988 and 1992, they maintain that mimesis in *be like*’s

variation of origin is one of the strongest constraints on the quotative. This can similarly be compared to findings by Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) looking at non-lexical items, a subcategory of mimetic re-enactment, which also suggest that mimesis has remained a very strong constraint approximately a decade later.

Thus six main findings emerge from the literature:

1. Younger speakers use *be like* more than older speakers.
2. Females generally use *be like* more than males, yet some studies have yielded mixed results.
3. *Be like* is favoured for internal dialogue over direct speech.
4. *Be like* tends to favour first person subjects, although some studies show it favouring third person subjects.
5. *Be like* is used with historical present more than with past or present tense.
6. *Be like* occurs more frequently with mimesis than without.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that while *be like* has been studied specifically in its English form, it does have a rather similar functional equivalent in the Danish language, namely the Danish quotative marker *bare sådan noget* meaning 'just something like' alongside the verb *at være* meaning 'to be'. This illustrates the global tendency toward the use of quotatives functionally similar to *be like* (Rathje 2011).

I now test these previous findings on constraints on the current non-native data.

2.3. Analysis of data from the present study

Quotative marker:

In this section of the study the dependent variable is the choice of quotative marker, and therefore, in accordance with the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972), all instances of quotative markers were extracted from the data. The eight most frequently occurring quotatives, *be like* as in (19), *say* as in (20), *zero quotative* as in (21), *zero quotative with discourse marker like* as in (22), *be* as in (23), *just* as in (24), and *just like* as in (25) were coded. All other quotative markers such as *go*, *shout*, *holler*, *whisper*, *cry*, *think*, *wonder*, *decide* and so on, were coded as 'other', as seen in (26).

- (19) We were like, 'Are you having a baby or are you getting married or something?'
- (20) Normally we say, 'Sit down, we have the police waiting for you' and normally they stop there.
- (21) He will call you two times more that day cos Ø, 'Oh I just forgot to say' and so on.

- (22) *When people actually – when it was their turn, like, ‘Number ten!’, they’re just like, ‘YEAH! It’s my turn!’*
- (23) *I was watching *The West Wing* and she was always, ‘Oh it’s so boring’ while actually she’d never seen it.*
- (24) *When a Turkish guy or an Italian guy was overhearing us we just, ‘Bla bla bla’ in Danish.*
- (25) *So there were some things like in the city which just like, ‘Argh, that’s really annoying!’*
- (26) *Every time I still have to go, ‘Argh’ and bite my teeth together and sort of get it over with, but then afterwards it’s fine.*

The category *anomalous* constituted only a handful of quotatives that did not fit into any of the other categories outlined above and were found to be specifically characteristic of non-native speech, or sometimes even non-English speech, as evidenced by (27).

- (27) *But yeah sådan, ‘Ok well you can work in every service company’ (Sådan being Danish for like that).*

It is here worth mentioning that quotative *all* (Buchstaller et al 2010), another much studied and arguably similar quotative marker to *be like*, as seen in (28), did not occur at all in the present data despite functional similarities, such as quotative *all* being found to have developed in tandem with *be like* and often occurring with ‘stereotyped’ speech.

- (28) *I’m all, ‘Dude , you’re not helping your cause!’ (Buchstaller et al 2010)*

Conjunction with discourse marker within quotative frame:

In addition to the linguistic factors mentioned in section 2.2., I have coded the data for discourse markers occurring within the quotative frame. I am not aware of any other study that has looked at the conjunction of discourse markers with quotatives so there will be no results of previous studies against which to compare those of the present study. This factor has nevertheless been taken into account, as it will provide information not only on the way Danes use quotative markers, but also on the way they use discourse markers. As the study specifically looks at *like* and *just*, it is only these two discourse markers that have been taken into consideration in cases where they occur immediately before, after, or within the quotative marker. Therefore, the data was coded for any occurrence of *like* or *just* within the one quotative frame, as in (29), (30), (31) and (32). Cases with no discourse markers have been coded for as well, as seen in (33).

- (29) *Everybody says like, ‘Go to Edinburgh.’*

- (30) *It was way too formal for a 25-year-old, it was just like, 'Cool down, you're only 25 not 40!'*
- (31) *It's like Sidney Lee you know. He is also this kind of person where you just like think, 'Is [he being] serious?'*
- (32) *[The YouTube video] is so funny! He's a really fat kid and then he's sådan, 'You've always been- been teasing me! I'm a ginger, a ginger!'*
- (33) *He was asking me, 'Hey, so you want some ice cream?'*

2.4. Circumscribing the variable context

Initial analysis showed that a number of contexts needed to be excluded, as detailed below.

Existential *it*-clefts (Macaulay 1991: 79) as in (34) do not vary with other quotative markers, as demonstrated in (35). These contexts were thus excluded from the analysis. However, referential 'it', as in (36) was included, as it can vary with other quotative markers (e.g. Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), as seen in (37).

- (34) *Normally it's like 'Yes this is my bed.'*
- (35) **Normally it says 'Yes this is my bed.'*
- (36) *If you touch it it goes '[makes static noises]*
- (37) *It said 'no disk, retry.'*

I now turn to the results of the current non-native study of *be like*.

2.5. Results

After these exclusions, a total of 484 tokens of quoted speech or thought were extracted from the data. These have been found to fall under five main categories: *be like*, *zero* quotative, *say*, *be*, and 'other', with an example of each shown between (38) and (42).

- (38) *I went up to Columbia University and see what it was like and I was just like "Wow this is fantastic."*
- (39) *I have my little camera, [so] it's just, you have all your memories there. Of course you can remember it all, Ø 'Great trip', but if you have pictures, Ø 'Oh fuck that was good.'*

- (40) *And the mother said, 'Do you know who your family is? Cos we get sea sick by- just by watching the ocean.'*
- (41) *And I was "Eh? But we agreed on giving her both our surnames.'*
- (42) *And it's also because you're just like thinking 'You could have so much better.'*

The distribution of the quotatives in the data is shown in Table 2.

Quotatives	%	N
<i>Be like</i>	15.1	73
<i>Zero</i>	51.2	248
<i>Say</i>	14.0	68
<i>Be</i>	4.2	20
Other	15.5	75
Total	100.0	484

Table 2. Distribution of the different quotatives in the data

Two very important findings emerge from this initial overall distribution of quotative verbs. In contrast to the findings from most recent studies of native English speakers (e.g. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, 2007), *be like* is not the most frequently used quotative among the Danish speakers of this study. In fact, at 15.1% use, *be like* is rather rare in these data compared to the high rates for native speech. Second, there are very high rates of the *zero* marker. This finding will be expanded on later in the discussion in chapter six. I now investigate in more detail these uses in order to shed more light on them.

Individual speaker:

While the overall results suggest that *zero* quotative is the most frequently used quotative for all the speakers, a closer look at the results for each individual speaker shows that this is not a universal trend, as some of the speakers do in fact use *be like* more frequently than any other quotative. Nevertheless, it is important to note that *zero* quotative is in fact very common in the speech of all of the speakers demonstrating that these results are fundamentally different from those of native speakers. Figure 1. is tabulated according to percentage of overall quotative use and shows the distribution of use of *be like*, *zero*, *say*, *other* and *be* for each individual speaker. It is ranked from left to right according to the speakers' use of *be like*. The results show that one speaker, Katinka, with a

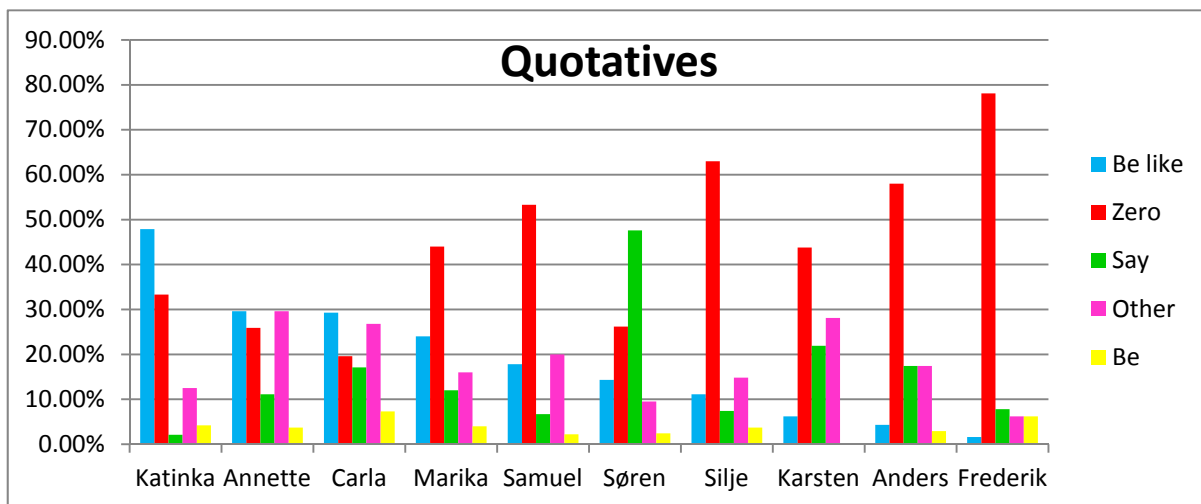


Fig. 1. Distribution of quotatives according to individual speaker

frequency of 47.9%, uses *be like* more than any other individual speaker, and that she and two other speakers, Annette and Carla, use *be like* more than any other category of quotatives, with their frequencies at 29.6% and 29.3% respectively. However, six of the seven other speakers are found to prefer the *zero* quotative over all other quotative forms. One speaker in particular, Frederik, is found to have not only a substantially higher number of tokens of reported speech or thought than all the other speakers, as he has 89 tokens more than the average of the rest of the speakers, but he also has an abnormally high usage of *zero* quotatives at 76.7%. His high number of overall quotatives might be attributed to his individual style of speech, as, unlike the other speakers, his were not predominantly found within the context of a narrative where quotatives typically appear. Rather, his were often used for hypothetical conversations in which the majority of his tokens of *zero* quotative were found, as seen in (43).

- (43) *I have lots of friends over there, but oh my god, they do actually have the shirts on all the way buttoned up, and they have their little pens in the pocket, and they're always in Netto where they go buying their chips and their discount cola.*
 Ø 'What are you going to do today?'
 Ø 'Ooh I just got the new World of War Craft!'
 Ø 'Of course you did.'

As the data provided by Frederik would skew the overall results, all quotatives provided by him will from this point on be excluded from the data, reducing the overall number of tokens to 356.

Gender:

The distribution of *be like* by gender shows that it is overwhelmingly preferred by female speakers over male speakers. Figure 2. is tabulated according to the number of *be like* quotative forms used by

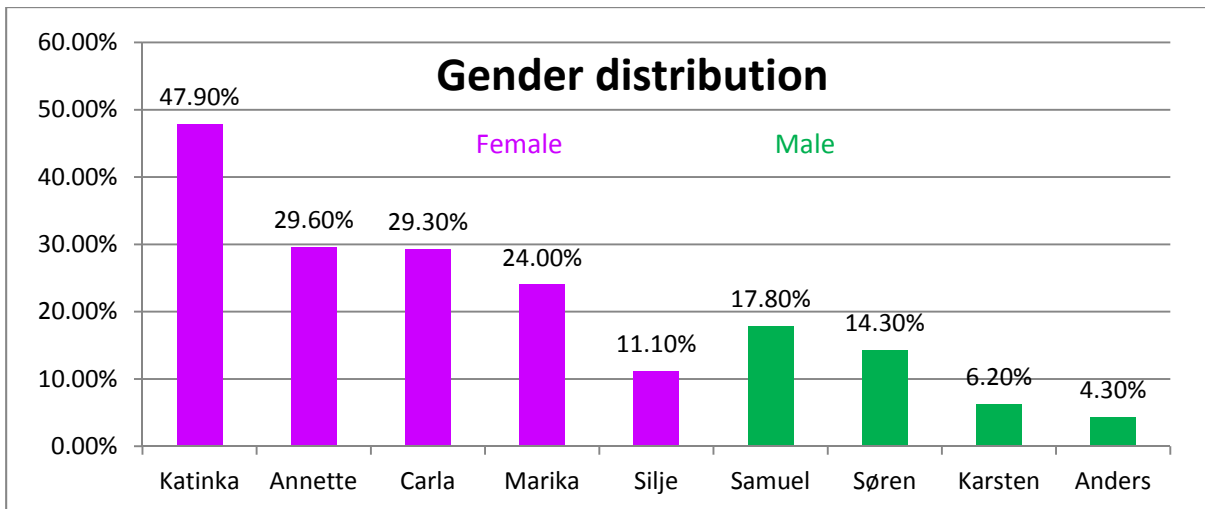


Fig. 2. Overall distribution of *be like* quotatives according to gender.

the speakers of either gender out of the total number of *be like* quotatives. The results show that *be like* is clearly a quotative form preferred by the female speakers in this study, as they are found to use it at an average frequency of 28.4%, as opposed to the 10.7% frequency found for the males. This finding is in line with findings for native speech, where there are higher rates of *be like* in female as opposed to male speech (e.g. Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Macaulay 2001; Singler 2001; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, 2007).

Lived abroad vs. not lived abroad:

Somewhat surprisingly, the data initially suggest that the speakers who have never lived in an English speaking country are using this native speaker quotative significantly more than those who have spent time immersed in an English-speaking speech community. Figure 3. is tabulated according to the

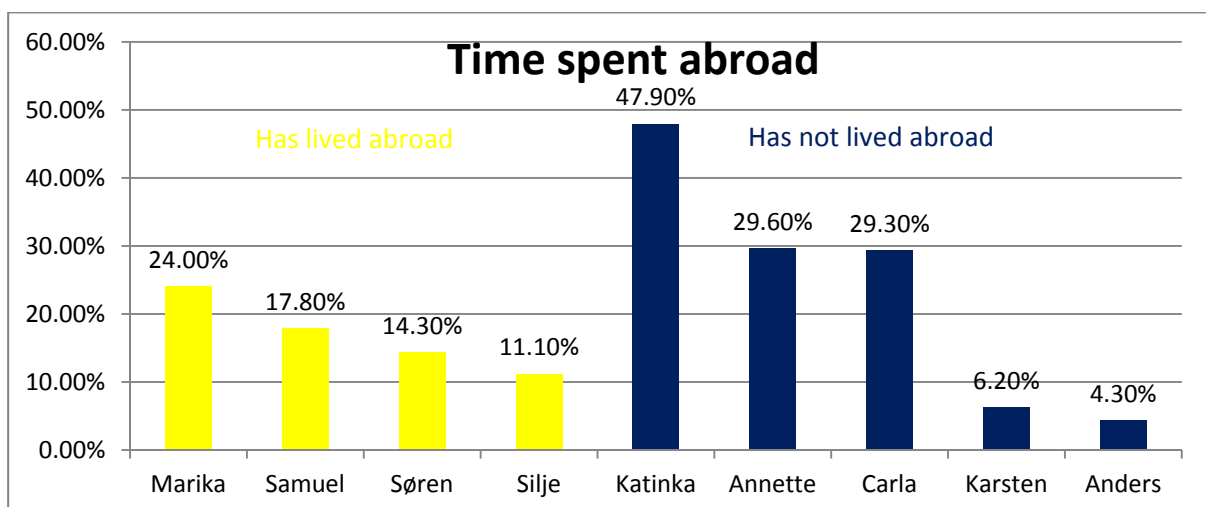


Fig. 3. The distribution of *be like* by speakers who have lived abroad and speakers who have not.

number of *be like* quotatives found for the speakers of each group out of the total number of *be like* quotatives. Initially, the results seem to show that the speakers who have not lived in an English speaking county use *be like* the most at an average of 23.5% compared to those who have lived in an English speaking country, who are found to use it only at an average of 16.8%. However, such a claim would be an oversimplification of the actual results as it transpires, on closer inspection of the use of *be like* by the individual speakers, that the four speakers who have spent time in an English speaking country actually fall in the middle of those who have not in terms of use. That is, the four speakers who have lived abroad, Marika, Samuel, Søren, and Silje, use *be like* less than the three most frequent users, Karinka, Annette, and Carla, but more than the two least frequent users, Karsten and Anders. These rather mixed results suggest that living in an English-speaking country does not necessarily increase an individual's use of this native feature. I return to this point later in the discussion in chapter six.

Content of quote:

Moving on to the linguistic constraints on *be like*, we here find the results for content of the quote. It has been found that the speakers use *be like* with reported thought more than they do with reported speech. Figure 4. is tabulated by the percentage of *be like* quotes out of all the quotes of reported speech and thought in the data. From all the contexts which were internal dialogue (N=25), 18% were found to be with *be like*, while for direct speech (N=40) only 12.3% were with *be like*. See (44) for an example of internal dialogue and (45) for an example of internal dialogue with a non-lexical item.

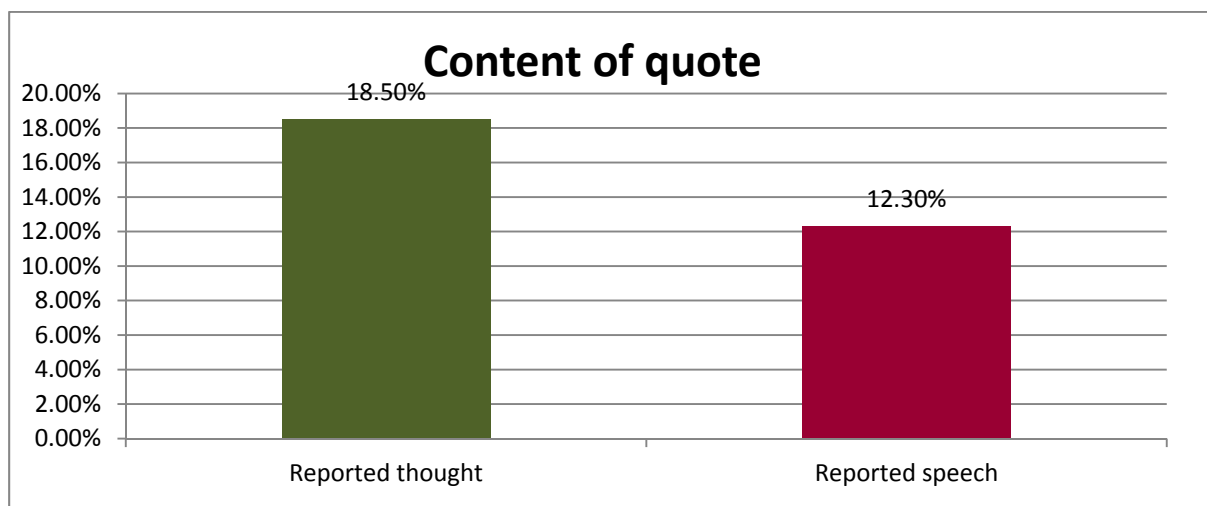


Fig. 4. Distribution of *be like* quotative according to the content of the quote.

- (44) *After the second one I just had to turn it off because I was just like, 'It's too embarrassing.'*
- (45) *But sometimes you just need an information so you're like, '(frustrated groan) Urgh', punching and trying to get this information out of the person.*

See (46) and (47) for examples from the data of direct speech and direct speech with a non-lexical item see.

(46) *But the experienced back packers would always be like, ‘Wow that’s almost as cool as in Borneo’.*

(47) *It’s because we’re so cute when we perform, we’re just like, ‘Snapping finger in time to imaginary music’*

This finding mirrors practically all findings for native English use of *be like* (e.g. Butters 1982; Tannen 1986; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2004, 2007), as *be like* has been found to be a marker of reported thought from the earliest stages of its study.

Grammatical person and number:

The results show that the strongest constraint on grammatical person in this data is first person singular. Figure 5. has been tabulated according to the percentage of *be like* quotes out of all the quotes within these categories, thus showing the frequency with which *be like* occurs according to grammatical person and number. At a frequency of 36.8% first person singular is the preferred category of grammatical person and number for the speakers to use *be like*, followed by the two third person categories at 31.7% for plural and 27.7% for singular, and the first person plural category at 26.3%. Finally, at the lowest rate we find second person singular at 11.1%. Examples of the five

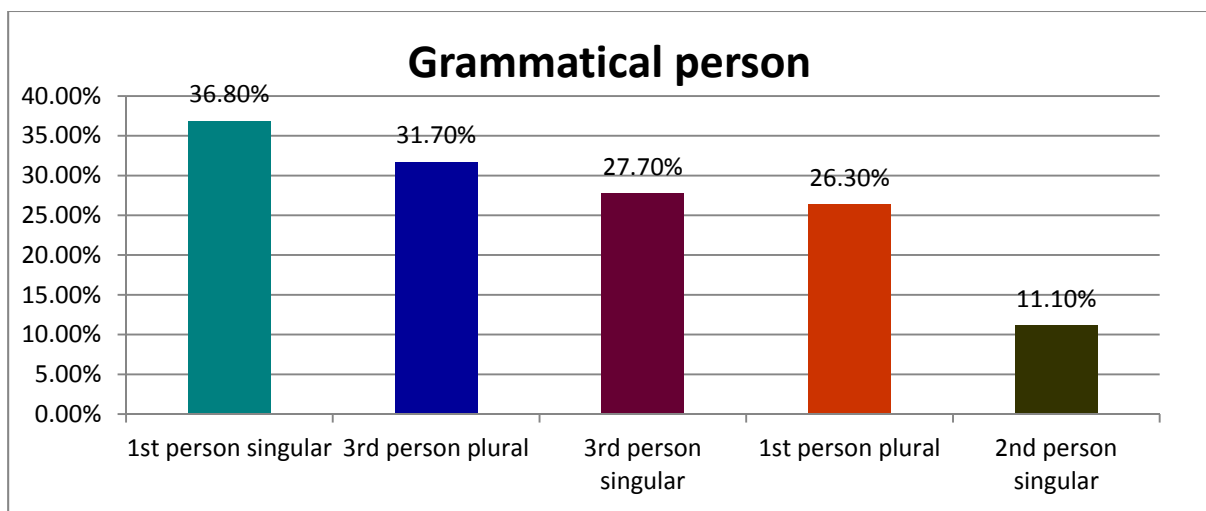


Fig. 5. Distribution of *be like* according to grammatical person and number.

studied categories of grammatical person and number can be seen in (48) to (52) in the order of the most to the least frequently found subjects occurring with *be like*.

(48) *And I was like, ‘Oh. That’s fantastic.’*

- (49) *I have lots of friends studying down there and they're just like, 'Well we don't do classes, we just sit and we discuss it all over [campus].*
- (50) *When I say I don't have time to come and visit she's always like, 'I- oh- I can come and get you.'*
- (51) *That was kind of dangerous but we were just like, 'Okay, taxi!'*
- (52) *You sort of get over the feeling but at first you were just like 'Argh, argh, I want to speak Danish!'*

While it is common to group such grammatical categories according to person but irrespective of number, it is here necessary to differentiate between them, as there is some difference in use of *be like* between first person singular and first person plural, although the same is not evident for the third person category. It is therefore unclear whether this result mirrors the most common findings for native speakers (Blyth et al. 1990; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009 etc.), as these studies simply refer to a favouring of first person subjects with no mention of number.

Tense and temporal marker:

The results for tense and temporal marker show that in the speech of the Danish participants *be like* occurs most frequently in historical present. Figure 5. is tabulated according to the percentage of *be like* quotatives out of the total number of quotatives in each category, and shows the frequency at

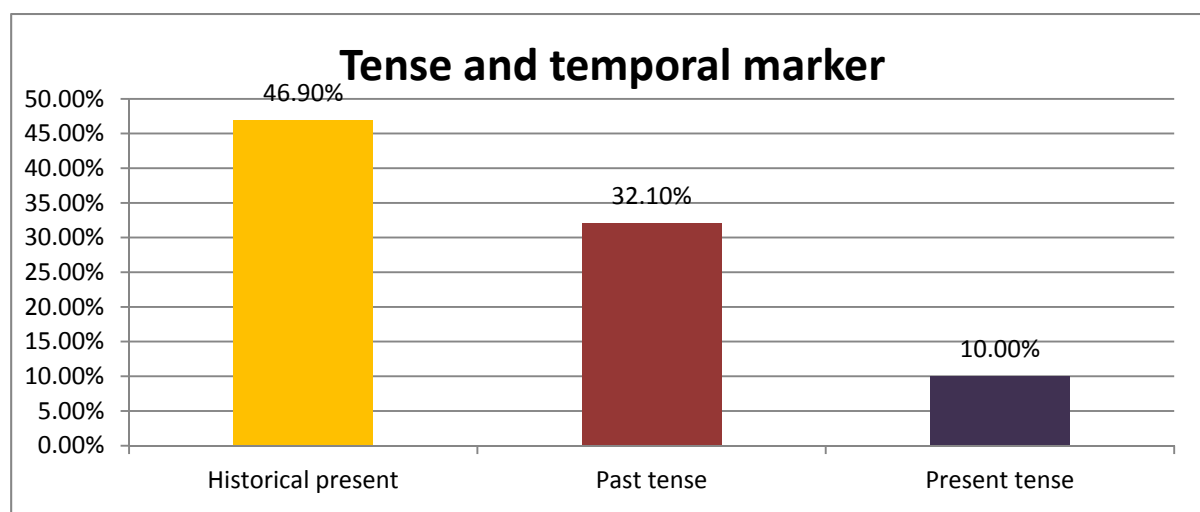


Fig. 5. Distribution of *be like* between tense and temporal markers.

which it occurs according to tense and temporal marker. At the greatest frequency of the three, historical present is seen to be used 46.9% of the time, while past tense is used at 32.1%, and present tense is hardly used at all, at a rate of only 10.0%. The following examples (53) to (55) show *be like* used in each tense in order of most to least frequently occurring in the data.

- (53) *This elephant was just standing there and it just took up an awful lot of space but everyone's like, 'It's quite cool.'*
- (54) *And we were just like, '(Sharp intake of breath) Oh no! What's- what is it?'*
- (55) *I have also been thinking about new year's eve this year cos I'm just like, 'It's the first year without a boyfriend.'*

This finding confirms those of Singler (2001), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007) and the American and New Zealand results in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), as they too found historical present to be the strongest constraint on tense and temporal marker in their data sets.

Mimetic re-enactment:

The occurrence of *be like* with quotes performed with a different voice from the speaker's normal voice is found to be more frequent than the occurrence of *be like* quotes performed with the speaker's normal voice. Figure 6. is tabulated according to the percentage of *be like* tokens out of all the quotatives that do or do not have mimetic re-enactment, and shows the distribution of *be like* between the two categories. The results show that the majority of the *be like* quotes provided in the data are performed in a voice other than the speaker's own voice, as this occurs at a rate of 18.3%, while it is only used with the speaker's normal voice 14.0% of the time. Examples (56) and (57) illustrate how quotes are performed with mimesis, while (58) and (59) show quotes expressing no mimesis.

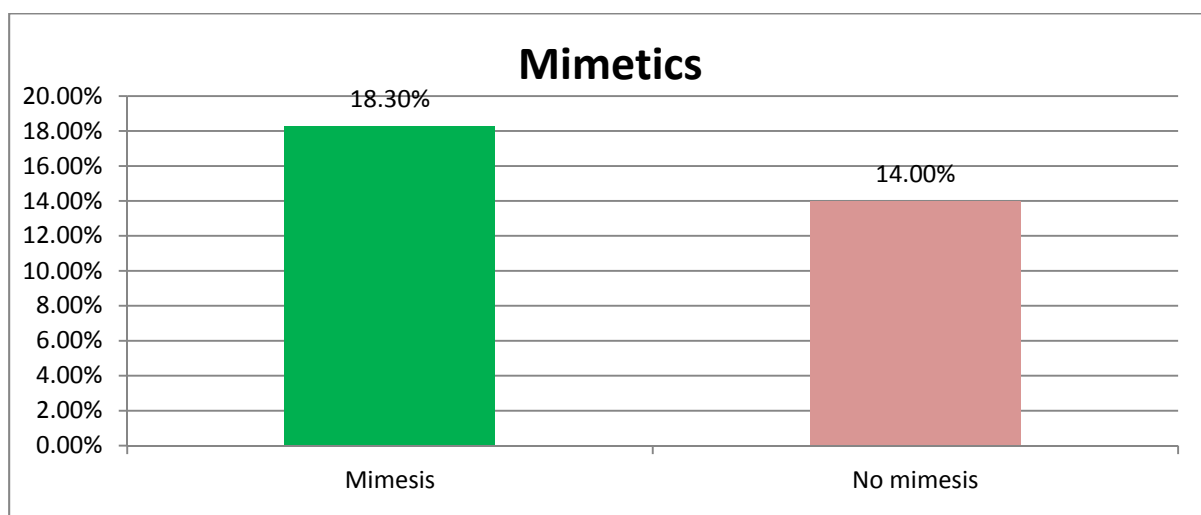


Fig. 6. Distribution of *be like* with quotes using mimesis and quotes not using mimesis.

- (56) *They have a party and they invite her and she's just like, '(Exasperated voice): Oh my god, I'm the only single one here.'*

- (57) *I've never talked to any English people who've actually been there or, [if they've heard of it], they're always like, '(Obnoxious voice): Wow, that's just a place you DON'T want to go!'*
- (58) *In the beginning he was like, 'Yeah of course your name has to be there too, and I really don't care if she's got both our names or not.'*
- (59) *Yeah every time I would see something I recognised from the show I would be like, 'Ahh, that's so cool.'*

This result substantiates the findings of Romaine and Lange (1991), Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), Singler (2001) and Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), as they all found that more often than not *be like* occurs with quotes expressed with mimesis.

Conjunction with discourse markers:

The results from the data show that *be like*, more than any of the other quotative verbs, is found to occur alongside discourse marker *just*, as opposed to occurring with discourse marker *like* or no discourse markers at all. Figure 7. is tabulated according to the percentage of *be like* quotatives out of all the quotatives that do or do not occur in conjunction with discourse markers and shows *be like*'s distribution within each category. It has been found that at a rate of 55.2% *be like* occurs in conjunction with *just* considerably more frequently than any other quotative, while it occurs without any discourse markers at only 11.0%. Unsurprisingly, *be like* does not occur alongside discourse marker *like* at all. An example of *be like* occurring with discourse marker *just* can be seen in (60),

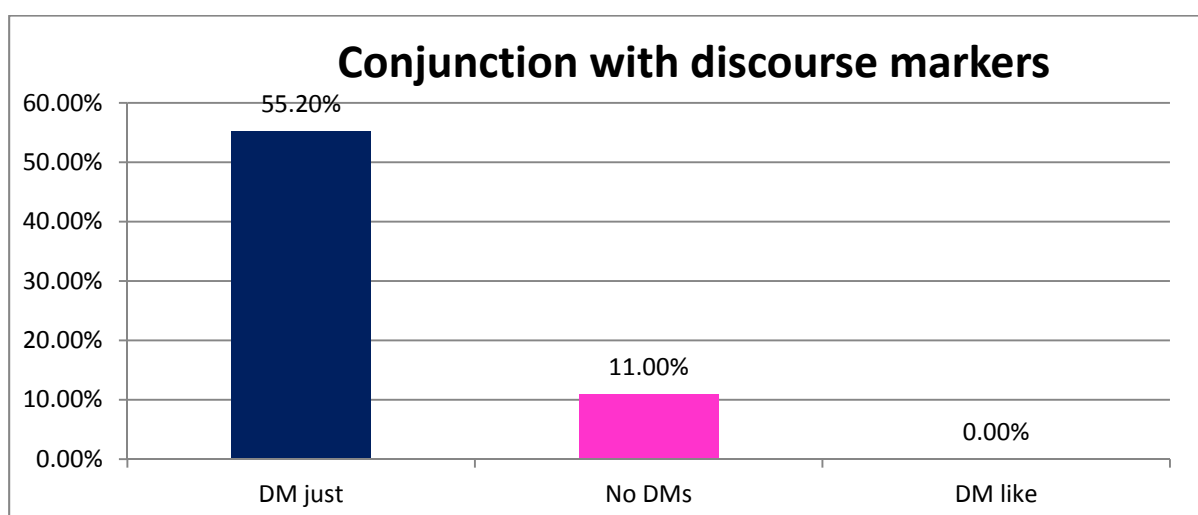


Fig. 7. Distribution of discourse markers in conjunction with *be like*.

along with an example where it occurs without any discourse markers, as seen in (61).

- (60) *And I was just like, 'Oh my god, what am I doing?'*

(61) *And she's like, 'What do you mean when you say that?'*

This result shows that Danes are not only using a native type of quotative marker, but they are quite consistently combining it with yet another native-speaker feature, discourse marker *just*. Whether they are approximating the use and rates of occurrence of native speakers remains an area of study yet to be explored.

Multivariate analysis:

Having examined all the factor groups individually, I now turn to a multivariate analysis using Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte and Smith 2005) to determine the relative strengths of the constraints on *be like*. Goldvarb X considers all the factors individually to test for statistical significance while simultaneously assessing which combination of factors has the most statistically significant effect on the use of the variable. The advantage of such an analysis is that it is not only extremely well-suited for analyses of natural speech, but it also organises the data in such a way that enables the researcher to make sense of linguistic data by making it ‘maximally accessible and analysable’ (Tagliamonte 2006: 129). By examining the range it can provide the strength of a factor, that is, the influence each factor has on the prescience of the variant, as well as a hierarchy of the constraints within each category. Results exhibiting a factor weight over .5 are said to favour the use of *be like*, and results with a factor weight under .5 are said to disfavour *be like* (2006: 156). As the two social categories, gender and lived abroad vs. not lived abroad, are not homogenous groups, they cannot be grouped together. They have therefore been excluded from the analysis. Table 3. reveals the results of the variable rule analysis of *be like*. It shows that all five factor groups tested for are found to be statistically significant: content of quote, grammatical person, tense and temporal marker, mimesis, and individual speaker. The results show that individual speaker is the most significant factor, as it has the highest range with .81. As far as I am aware, no other study has carried out a variable rule analysis of *be like* testing for individual speaker as most studies group these by age, gender, class etc., so it is impossible to tell if this a typical finding or not. Nevertheless, it is an impressive result in its own right, as the range for this category is nearly twice as great as it is for the next most significant factor, tense and temporal marker, which has a range of .45.

Danish non-native speakers of English		(Log likelihood: -99.063. Input: 0.193)	
	FW	%	N
<i>Content of quote</i>			
Thought	.63	18.5	135
Speech	.45	12.3	324
Range	.18		

<i>Grammatical person</i>			
1 st pers. plu.	.55	26.3	19
3 rd pers. plu.	.54	31.7	60
1 st pers. sing.	.48	36.8	76
3 rd pers. sing.	.48	27.7	65
Range	.07		
<i>Tense and temporal marker</i>			
Historical present	.74	46.9	49
Past tense	.49	32.1	140
Present tense	.29	10.0	50
Range	.45		
<i>Mimesis</i>			
Mimesis	.76	18.3	120
No mimesis	.41	14.0	364
Range	.35		
<i>Individual speaker</i>			
Katinka	.92	47.9	48
Samuel	.86	17.9	45
Carla	.81	29.3	41
Silje	.80	11.1	27
Marika	.78	24.0	25
Søren	.62	14.3	42
Annette	.51	29.6	27
Karsten	.35	6.2	32
Frederik	.19	1.6	128
Anders	.11	4.3	69
Range	.81		

Table 3. Variable rule analysis of *be like*

The hierarchy of the result for tense and temporal marker, however, mirrors that of Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) from their U.S. and New Zealand data sets, in that they too found historical present to have a considerably higher factor weight than the two other tenses. However, it was also found that the present data differs somewhat, as the factor weight range here is greater than that of their American data and smaller than that of their New Zealand data.

The third most significant factor group, mimesis, has a range of .35, thereby confirming the hierarchical findings from all three of Buchstaller and D'Arcy's (2009) data sets, and practically matching the range of their American data.

Next, with a range of .18, content of quote is found to be the fourth most significant factor. This confirms the hierarchy of the findings of Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), and Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009). Here the range is very similar to the results of the two former studies, but lower than the range found in the latter study.

Finally, the least significant factor group is grammatical person, as it has a range of just .07. The hierarchy of this last result once more confirms previous findings by Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), and Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009). While the two former studies found higher ranges, the latter study's range is almost identical to that of the present study.

The multivariate analysis has thus demonstrated that the factor significances for the use of *be like* by the non-native speakers in the current data very often closely echo the results from multivariate analyses of native speakers from several previous studies.

In summary, the data from the current results of non-native use of *be like* reveal the following ten findings:

1. *Be like* is used by every speaker
2. *Be like* is not the overall most frequently occurring quotative for Danes as it is for many native speakers. Instead *zero* quotative is.
3. Females use *be like* more than males.
4. It is unclear whether speakers who have lived in an English speaking country use *be like* more than those who have not.
5. *Be like* is favoured for internal dialogue over direct speech.
6. *Be like* favours first and third person subjects over second person subject.
7. *Be like* is used with historical present more than with past or present tense.
8. *Be like* occurs more frequently with mimesis than without.
9. *Be like* occurs more with discourse marker *just* than any of the other quotatives do.
10. The statistical significance and factor weight range of the present data is overall quite similar to the results of previous studies' multivariate analyses.

While this section has shown that the rates of use of *be like* are considerably smaller for the non-native speakers in the current data than for previous studies carried out with native speakers, it is

nevertheless interesting to see that the linguistic constraints found here are very similar to those found with native speakers. In terms of social factors, it seems that there is less consistency with the constraints tested here, suggesting that *be like* patterns individually from speaker to speaker. As *be like* in time becomes a more established quotative this might change resulting in it being a more socially constrained variable in non-native speech, but only further research can tell how it will develop in the future.

For *be like*, I also conducted further analyses of speaker attitudes to this quotative, as I now detail below.

3. Attitudes to users of be like

Studies (Dailey-O’Cain 2000 and Buchstaller 2006) have shown that there are very strong attitudes associated with *be like* for native speakers of English. To discover whether the same or other attitudes are linked to this feature for non-native speakers, as well as whether this could influence its frequency of use, I tested this on the current study’s Danish participants.

3.1. Synchronic findings

Although *be like* has ‘arguably become the flagship globally-available linguistic resource’, as Buchstaller and D’Arcy put it (2009: 292), to the best of my knowledge only two studies have focused exclusively on attitudes towards the use of this otherwise well-researched quotative marker, Dailey-O’Cain (2000) and Buchstaller (2006).

Social categories:

Both Dailey-O’Cain (2000) and Buchstaller (2006) find that *be like* is associated with young female speakers. Unlike Dailey-O’Cain, Buchstaller also looks at class and finds that her participants specifically associate *be like* with neither working-class nor middle-class speakers. As demonstrated in chapter 2, these attitudinal results pattern very closely the actual use of *be like* by both native and non-native speakers.

Regional associations:

Buchstaller (2006) furthermore tested for any regional associations that her U.K. participants might have with *be like*, and found that it was not strongly associated with any one specific geographical location.

Personality traits:

Dailey-O’Cain’s (2000) participants judged *be like* both positively and negatively, as they perceive users of *like* as being more attractive, cheerful, friendly, and successful, but less educated. Similarly, Buchstaller’s (2006) participants perceived users of *be like* as being more giddy, animated and cool/trendy, but simultaneously seeming less ambitious, less educated and less pleasant. While the adjectives used in the two studies are not identical, the results from the two studies are suggestive of a certain personality type: a popular, cool, and fun person who is nevertheless not particularly well-educated, intelligent or kind.

On the basis of the results of these two studies, the following three findings emerge:

1. Very similar to how *be like* is actually used, it is perceived to be used by young female speakers, though not associated with any particular social class.
2. U.K. respondents do not associate the use of *be like* with any one specific geographical location.
3. It is evaluated both positively and negatively, as it is perceived to be used by the type of person who is popular, cool, and fun, while simultaneously not particularly well-educated, intelligent or kind.

I now test these attitudinal findings on the non-native participants of the present study.

3.2. Data collection

The covert attitudinal data were therefore obtained through a matched guise test (Lambert, Giles and Picard 1960), carried out by each speaker after the interview. An additional nine subjects fitting the same social criteria as the ten main participants also participated in the attitudes study. The matched guise test pertains to the speakers’ attitudes only toward the use of the *be like* quotative, as, of the three linguistic features studied here, this is the one to which the most attitudinal studies have been devoted. The speakers were at this point still unaware that the study was about the use of *be like*, and were therefore given two texts to read, one containing *be like* quotatives and the other *say/ask* quotatives and asked to rate the speaker on twelve personality traits along a five-point semantic differential scale (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957). Furthermore, they were asked to say which of four age groups they believed the speakers in the texts belonged to, as well as which gender and class the speakers were thought to belong to.

The overt attitudinal data were obtained at the very end of the interview. This involved revealing to the participants the focus of this part of the study so that they could openly discuss the *be like* quotative and all things associated with it. They were therefore asked to state on a questionnaire sheet

where they believed this feature to have originated, and to which age group, gender and social class they perceived users of this feature to belong. This unveiling was intentionally left until the very end to allow for as natural speech as possible during the sociolinguistic interview in order to mitigate the negative effects of the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972), as well as to elicit the speakers' overt attitudes to users of *be like* during the matched guise tests (Buchstaller 2006). However, to get these attitudes, it was obviously necessary to inform the participants fully of the aim of the study. In addition to obtaining the participants' covert attitudes, the objective of this was to get a more qualitative insight into the attitudes surrounding this widespread linguistic feature.

3.3. Method

Buchstaller's (2006) study was selected as a template for my study of Danes' attitudes and perceptions of the use of *be like*, as this approach provides a tried and tested method as well as directly comparable findings.

The first part of the attitudinal study carried out by each of the participants consisted of a matched guise test in which the participants are exposed to two different variables and asked to rate the speakers according to several personality traits as well as put the speakers into socially constructed categories such as age, gender and class. This type of attitude test was developed by Lambert, Giles and Picard (1960), and has since then overwhelmingly focused on spoken language. However, Buchstaller (2006) argues that such 'global stimuli' (Preston 2002) as *be like* do not lend themselves well to this type of matched guise testing, as there are simply too many other linguistic features embedded in the spoken data that could trigger associations unrelated to the variable in question. For instance, it is practically impossible to test reliably for gender associations with spoken data as the voice quality of the speaker would naturally influence the subject's response more than any linguistic feature could (Sachs, Lieberman and Erickson 1973). Similarly, it is equally difficult to test for perceptions of the nationality of the speaker with spoken data, as the listener will naturally base his or her response on stimuli from the speaker's variety over the linguistic variable. As research has shown that written matched guise tests can provide perceptual and attitudinal results similar to those derived from spoken matched guise tests (Preston 1985), Buchstaller (2000) chose to use written stimuli.

Although Buchstaller (2006) argues that her texts have been found to be neutral in content and thus allow only the presence or absence of the stimuli to influence the perceptions of the respondents, I did not find them to be sufficiently neutral for use in a matched guise test, as the texts contained references to gypsies and missionary Christians, both potentially sensitive subjects to some participants. This study's method therefore deviates somewhat from Buchstaller's, in that the texts selected for this study were sourced from Tagliamonte (in press) and Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999),

rather than borrowed directly from Buchstaller (2006). The texts were rewritten into standard English to remove any features of regional dialects that might affect the readers' perception of the speaker. The texts were furthermore modified somewhat to minimize any structural differences between them. The final versions of the texts each contained seven lines, and had three quotes in one text and four in the other (see appendix 2 for the texts as well as the full questionnaire).

To ensure that the responses given by the participants were triggered by the stimulus and not the subject matter of the texts, half of the participants were given texts with the stimulus only in Text 1, and the other half were given texts with the stimulus swapped so that it appeared only in Text 2. To provide alternative quotative verbs that ought to trigger very different associations, the text without the stimulus contained *say* and *ask* instead, as these are standard and non-stigmatised quotatives.

The participants were asked to read the passages of text carefully and then rate the speakers of each text according to 12 sets of personality traits along a 5-point semantic differential scale (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957). The traits, which roughly fall along the axes of positive or negative, are as follows: *calm - giddy*; *trendy/cool - old-fashioned*; *educated - uneducated*; *annoying - pleasant*; *British - non-British*; *animated - boring*; *intelligent - stupid*; *confident - non-confident*; *extroverted - introverted*; *professional - unambitious*; *glamorous - dull*; *popular - unpopular*. Additionally, the respondents were asked to state which of the following age groups they believed the speakers to belong to: *15-20*; *21-30*; *31-40*; *41+*, as well as which gender and social class they belonged to. The responses provided for each personality trait were then given a value of 0.5 points for the answer 'neither', 2 points for the answer 'quite', and three points for the answer 'very', and converted into percentages to see the overall distribution of responses to each adjective.

The second part of the attitudinal study took place immediately after the matched guise test and concerned overt attitudes. As mentioned in section 3.2., this therefore required the participants to be made aware of the variable under study by highlighting the occurrences of *be like* in the text that was moments before used for their matched guise test. Once more, the speakers were asked if they associated *be like* with younger or older speakers, male or female speakers, and working class or middle-class speakers. To determine whether *be like* has any regional associations for Danes, they were additionally asked where they believed it originated from geographically.

3.4. Results

I now present the findings of the current study's non-native speakers' attitudes to users of quotative *be like*.

Social categories:

When comparing the results of the matched guise tests of *be like* with the non-*be like* quotative, *say/ask*, it becomes evident that the presence or absence of the stimulus has a substantial impact on the participants' perception of the speaker in each text. Recall that this could not have come from the content of the text itself, since every other test had had the stimulus swapped between the two texts. As Table 3. shows, *be like* triggers associations of age, gender, and class among the Danes very similar to findings from the literature on actual use of this quotative. The results show that *be like* is

Guise:		<i>Be like</i>		<i>Say/ask</i>	
Social category		N	%	N	%
Age	15-20	7	36.8	2	10.5
	21-30	8	42.1	9	47.4
	31-40	4	21.1	5	26.3
	41+	0	0.0	3	15.8
Gender	Male	5	26.3	9	47.4
	Female	14	73.7	10	52.6
Class	Working	4	21.1	4	21.1
	Middle	15	78.9	15	78.9

Table 3. Matched guise test results for associations with age, gender, and class (N = 19).

strongly associated with younger female speakers from a middle-class background. By contrast, the results of the participants' perception of users of *say/ask* show weak associations with age and gender, yet the exact same associations for class as those prompted by *be like*. The findings for *be like* differ considerably from Buchstaller's (2006) matched guise results for this quotative, as she found that her participants associated it less strongly with younger speakers, and were practically split down the middle in terms of associations with gender and class.

The results from the overt discussion of users of *be like* reveals that some associations with certain categories are even clearer here than those triggered by the matched guise test, while others are less clear. This is demonstrated in table 4. which shows that the Danes in the sample are consciously

Social category		N	%
Age	Young	19	100.0
	Old	0	0.0
	Don't know	0	0.0

Gender	Male	2	10.5
	Female	16	84.2
	Don't know	1	5.3
Class	Working	6	31.6
	Middle	5	26.3
	Don't know	8	42.1

Table 4. Overt attitudes toward age, gender and class of *be like* users (N = 19).

aware that *be like* is associated young female speakers, as these associations are proven to be very strong. However, there is less agreement on which class *be like* users belong to than there was with the covert matched guise test. Once more, these results are found to be a great deal more stable than those of Buchstaller (2000) as the vast majority of her respondents did not know which gender or class category to place *be like* users in. However, similarly to the present results, 93% of them believed *be like* to be used by young speakers. Likewise, Dailey-O'Cain's (2000: 72) informants 'believed very strongly that younger people use *like* more frequently than older people'. Thus, it seems that there is a universal perception of *be like* as being a feature exclusively of young people's speech. On the other hand, it appears that the gender and class of *be like*-users is perceived differently in various locales around the world.

Personality traits:

The results of the personality traits linked to users of *be like* elicited from the matched guise test show that the participants responded both positively and negatively to the speakers in the texts that contained the stimulus *be like*. This is illustrated in Figure 8. where the results are shown in percentages. A result close to the 50% mark for one set of adjectives indicates no strong association with one personality trait or the other. Results over or under 50% suggest either a strong or weak association with one of the personality traits in the set of adjectives. Hence, the results signify that the participants associate the use of *be like* with speakers who are perceived as being trendy/cool, animated, confident, extroverted and popular, but simultaneously annoying and stupid. The perception of *be like* as a non-British feature matches the responses from the section of the questionnaire pertaining to overt attitudes, in which all but one respondent stated that they believed it to have originated in the U.S.

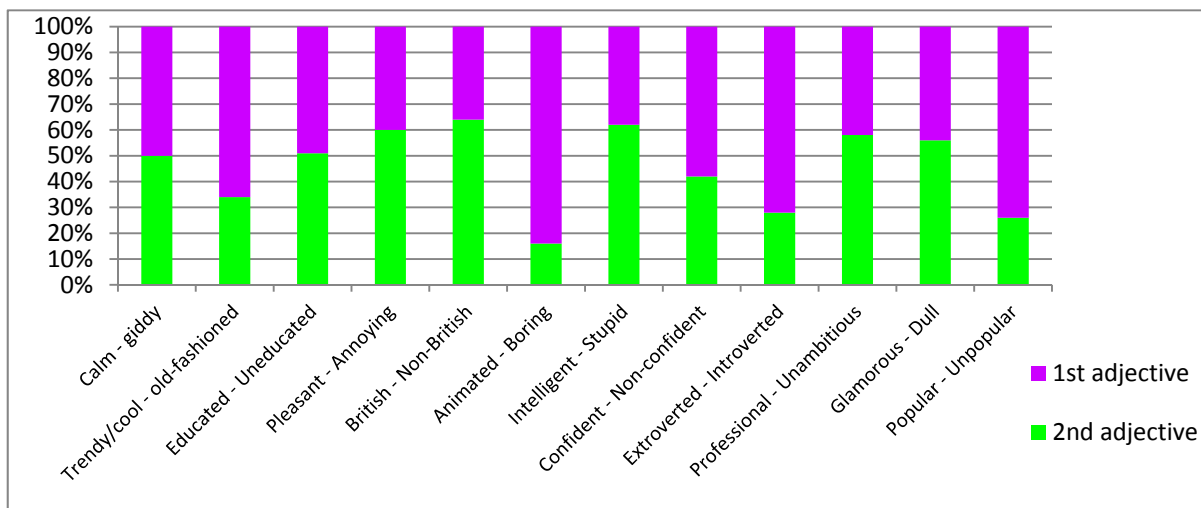


Fig. 8. Overall distribution of responses to each set of adjectives.

Paradoxically, the responses from the participants whose own use of *be like* was studied in the previous chapter showed overall negative associations toward its use by the majority of those with the greatest frequency of *be like* in their own speech: Katinka, Annette and Marika. On the other hand most of the speakers with low frequencies of use, such as Søren, Silje, Karsten and Anders, had generally positive associations toward it. Fig. 9. shows the average responses of the three speakers who have high frequencies of *be like* in their own speech, but low opinions of users of this feature, juxtaposed with the four speakers with low frequencies of *be like* in their speech, but who rated it positively. The closer the responses are to 0, the more strongly they are associated with the positively evaluated first adjective. Conversely, the closer the responses are to 4, the more strongly they are associated with the negatively evaluated second adjective. It is interesting to note that the four

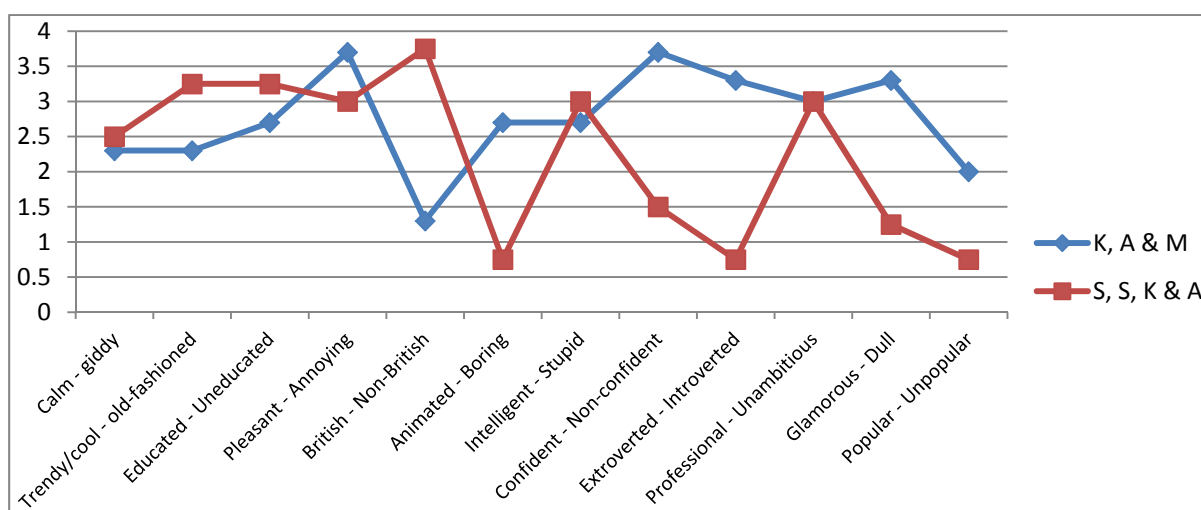


Figure 9. Average responses to personality traits by speakers with high frequencies and speakers with low frequencies of *be like* in their own speech.

speakers with the most positive evaluations of *be like*-users, Søren, Silje, Karsten and Anders, associate its use much more strongly with non-British speakers than do those with negative evaluations of *be like*-users (Katinka, Annette, and Marika). Negative attitudes toward the U.K. could thus potentially be a factor in their overall negative perception of users of *be like*. Alternatively, perhaps it is an awareness of high frequencies of this very stigmatised feature in their own speech which has made them evaluate it negatively. However, without more detailed qualitative data it is difficult to determine whether either explanation might make these speakers actively dislike users of *be like*, or if there are some other factors influencing their attitudes.

As the results of the personality traits associated with *be like* users gave neither entirely positive nor negative results, and no correlation was found between high rates of use and positive associations or low rates and negative associations, it might be argued that for Danes the main influencing factor in the use of *be like* is its wide range of linguistic functions. This suggestion is corroborated by Silje in this comment made after the survey:

'I kinda got- actually, I got really annoyed when I was in Ireland cos I really- I really don't like [quotative be like]. But yeah, it's easy to use and it- you know, it feels good in your mouth.'

From these results concerning the Danish participants' perceptions of *be like*-users, the following five findings emerge:

1. Covertly and overtly it is associated with young females.
2. Covertly it is associated with middle-class speakers, while overtly there is less agreement on class associations.
3. Covertly and overtly it is regionally affiliated with the U.S.
4. Users of *be like* are evaluated positively as being trendy/cool, animated, confident, extroverted and popular, but simultaneously negatively as being annoying and stupid.
5. There is no correlation between high rates of use and generally positive associations or low rates of use and negative associations.

To extrapolate from this, it appears that non-native speakers' perception of the social categories to which users of *be like* belong is practically unanimous among the participants of the current attitudinal study. Additionally, there seems to be general agreement between the participants on the personality traits stereotypically associated with users of *be like* which indicate, in the U.K as well as the U.S, that *be like* is still associated with the stereotypical Valley Girl. Admittedly though, this is a very simplistic measure of attitudes, as it merely shows initial results. However, they are indicative of

'real' results, as the results of the current study confirm previous findings (Dailey-O'Cain 2000 and Buchstaller 2006).

I now move on to discuss my study of discourse marker *like*.

4. Discourse marker like

4.1. The definition of discourse markers

Traditionally, discourse markers (hereafter referred to as DMs) are regarded as being words or phrases that link one sentence to another. Fraser (1999) maintains that there are two types of DM within this view, 'those that relate the explicit interpretation conveyed by [the following segment] S2 with some aspect associated with the [preceding] segment S1; and those that relate the topic of S2 to that of S1' (1999: 931). Examples of such DMs are *and*, *but*, *however*, *nonetheless*, *on the other hand*, and *despite this*, as in '(S1) He is not particularly academically gifted. (S2) However, he is a wonderfully talented visual artist'. Schiffrin (1987), generally agreeing with this approach, speaks of DMs as being 'discourse glue', as the overall meaning of a sentence is held together through their use.

However, as Siegel (2002) points out, this is a very wide category which contains subdivisions that do not necessarily have this function at all. Examples are the ubiquitous *like* as well as *just*, *yeah* and *you know*. They fall under this category only when the removal of the DM does not result in a change in the meaning of the utterance. There are many explanations for their use, including their being pause fillers, hedges, and highlighting or focusing devices (Underhill 1988; Tagliamonte 2005, etc.). Unlike the sentence-linking DMs mentioned before, they have no apparent grammatical relation to the sentence they occur in, although Siegel (2000: 38) maintains that they do have pragmatic meaning, as they 'convey something about the speaker's relation to what is asserted in the sentence', and Brinton (1996: 35-36) states that 'if such markers are omitted, the discourse is grammatically acceptable, but would be judged 'unnatural', 'awkward', 'disjointed', 'impolite', 'unfriendly' or 'dogmatic' within the communicative context'. Such pragmatic functions are often hard to define for a fuzzy category such as this, so it is important to demonstrate that they are not simply used at random, as their use does, in fact, show a great deal of grammatical rule adherence.

Some studies look at DMs from a pragmatic point of view, examining their specific functions in language and communication. Here, however, I will only look at them from a sociolinguistic point of view.

4.2. The stigmatisation of discourse marker *like*

Discourse marker *like* has received a possibly unparalleled amount of criticism since its use exploded among young Americans in the '80s with the sociolect, Valspeak, in which mainly young, affluent girls from the San Fernando Valley in California, who were perceived as being materialistic and self-centred, used 'slang' derived from the hipsters and beatniks of the '50s and '60s (Ayers 2004: 44). Other words and phrases which were initially associated with DM *like* are 'as if', 'whatever', 'far out', and 'totally'. American linguist Geoffrey Nunberg puts the heavy stigma placed on DM *like* into perspective when he writes,

'[C]ritics were making *like* into the symptom of an alarming decline in communication skills among the nation's young people. That single word seemed to embody all the pernicious influences at work in the culture – lax standards, television, poor manners, and a spreading mindlessness' (2001).

Seemingly, this perception has persisted into the twenty-first century, as evidenced by the vast number of negatively-toned entries posted about DM *like* on Urban Dictionary, a website famous for its vast and up-to-date data base of 'slang' expressions. For instance, in 2003 one user writes about DM *like*, 'A meaningless word used in teen-age American speech which may indicate, among other things, a gap in thinking or brain functioning; a contemporary equivalent of "uh" or "um".', and in the same year, another user similarly writes 'An idiot teenager conversation spacer that is virtually meaningless.' However, over the past decades linguists have studied the form extensively arguing that it serves important pragmatic functions, such as highlighting elements of an utterance that require specific focus, or introducing new information (Underhill 1988). As this chapter will demonstrate, the most important findings in favour of the use of DM *like* is that it is rule governed, meaning it cannot be used just anywhere in a sentence, and that it is not simply a pointless hedge or interjection like 'um' and 'er' which is only used when a speaker is having trouble finding the right words, or requires extra time to organise a sentence in his or her mind before speaking it out loud.

4.3. Historical precursors of discourse marker *like*

The origins of the word *like* functioning as a comparator, as we recognise it from present-day English, stem from three closely connected meanings. The first is an adverbial form meaning 'in the manner

of' typically expressed as 'like that', which at one stage expands into an adjective whilst retaining this meaning. The other two are adjectives meaning 'similar to' and 'such as'. *Like* as a verb, however, is quite separate from this meaning in etymology, function and meaning.

The OED first notes the adverbial use of *like* meaning 'in the manner of' in approximately the year 1370 with the following sentence from Robert Cicyle '*He rode non odur like*'. A similar meaning to this then emerges around the time of Theophile Bonet's *A Guide to the Practical Physician* from 1684, seen in its adjectival form in the sentence '*The unskilfulness of the Dissector, who was liker a Butcher than an Anatomist*'.

In addition to this, the OED holds several other entries for *like* as an adjective meaning 'having the same characteristics or qualities as some other person or thing', or simply 'similar to'. This meaning is first recorded in or around year 1200 in the Burchfield transcript of *The Ormulum* in the sentence 'Hire sune wass himm lic O fele kinne wise'

The newer use of the adjective *like* as a comparator, meaning 'such as', was according to the OED first recorded in 1886 in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Letters to his Family and Friends* in the sentence '*A critic like you is one who fights the good fight, contending with stupidity*'. While *like* is now and has been used in several ways and in several grammatical forms, the three above mentioned adjectival meanings are the ones most commonly used as comparators.

The use of *like* as a suffix appended to a noun to form an adjective with the general sense 'similar to', characteristic of' or 'befitting' was according to the OED first recorded in 1598 in *View of Fraunce* by Sir Robert Dallington in the sentence '*Making Hidalgo-like Rhodomontades*'.

Quite separate from these meanings of *like* is the verb *to like* meaning 'to find agreeable or congenial' or 'to feel attracted to or favourably impressed by (a person)'. The OED first notes this use of *like* around the year 1200 in the *Trinity Cambridge Manuscript* in the sentence '*Mildheorted beð þe man þe reoup his nehzebures unselðe, and likeð here alre selðe.*' While it is a homonym of DM *like*, it is highly unlikely that the verb *to like* would have had any influence on *like*'s present development into a discourse marker.

Finally, the OED contains an entry on DM *like* which states that it is a dialectal and vulgar form meaning 'as it were' and 'so to speak', and, in addition, that it is used colloquially as a meaningless interjection or expletive. Examples of use go as far back as 1778 with the following sentence from Frances Burney's *Evelina* '*Father grew quite uneasy, like, for the fear of his Lordship's taking offence*', right up until 1973 with this sentence from the 17th volume of *The Black Panther* '*What will be the contradictions that produce further change? Like, it seems to me that it would be virtually*

impossible to avoid some contradictions'. This same entry in the OED also covers another currently less common type of DM *like*, clause-final *like*. This type of DM *like* is typically found in the more Northern parts of Britain (Andersen 2001), a claim supported by the fact that the example given in the OED is from Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* from 1815 and reads '*The lady, on ilka Christmas night.. gae twelve siller pennies to ilka puir body about, in honour of the twelve apostles like*'. Andersen (2001) states that clause-final *like* is used to qualify a preceding statement, and Miller and Weinert (1995) explain that it 'is concerned with countering objections and assumptions' thereby also serving the function of clearing up potential misunderstandings. The examples of DM *like* given in the OED only show two placements in the sentence for DM *like* to occur, although, had more attention been paid to this linguistic feature, a wider variety of examples could certainly have been found.

4.4. Synchronic findings

The functions of discourse marker like:

Over the past years numerous studies have aimed to explain the function of DM *like* in speech. On the basis of these it has been firmly established that it serves several specific functions. The first is that *like* functions as a focuser and introducer of new information, as in the example from Underhill's (1988) study in (62).

- (62) *Bookstore clerk (responding to a request for a particular book): You go like in the back room and they're like in the left corner.*

Here the use of *like* signals to the hearer that the following information is new and noteworthy. The second function *like* serves is in its clause-final position. Here it is found to counter objections and assumptions, as seen in the example (63) from Weinert and Miller's (1995) study

- (63) *(Mother talking about her two-year-old daughter): My wee girl can swim you know – she has her wings like.*

In this example *like* is added to the end of the clause in order to pre-empt any misconceptions the hearer might have about the girl's swimming abilities, as if to say '*when she has on her inflatable wings, my wee girl can swim*'. Macaulay (2005: 84) finds clause-final *like* to occur mainly in the speech of working class adults in Glasgow, although, he says, it used to be a common feature of Scottish English.

While many of these previous studies are not quantitative, and therefore do not specifically say how often DM *like* occurs within different factor groups, they can tell us something about the linguistic environment that it potentially occurs in. For instance, Andersen (2000: 210) states that DM *like* can

occur between clause constituents, within phrases and between prepositions. More specifically, in his study, Underhill (1988) points out the following places that *like* can occur: before a noun phrase, as in (64), before an adjective phrase, as in (65), before an adverb phrase, as in (66), before a verb phrase, as in (67), before a subordinate clause, as in (68), and finally before the entire sentence, as in (69).

- (64) *It's very international as well so you get like friends across countries and stuff like that.*
- (65) *They have two categories like super famous and famous.*
- (66) *It's most of all because they're like ahead in journalism.*
- (67) *I think that could just be a extraordinary way of like seeing the world.*
- (68) *But it's also like I can't make that much food in there.*
- (69) *Like now I'm writing this project, then you feel like a lot of other stuff you want to do.*

However, Underhill (1988) states that DM *like* does not necessarily occur in all of these places in the sentence every time, but rather, it only occurs when new information is introduced or a specific point is highlighted.

Position in the sentence:

Dailey-O'Cain's (2000) study looks at the position of DM *like* in the sentence. While she does not offer the frequencies at which it occurs in each position, she does state that her findings echo those of Underhill (1988), as DM *like* does, in fact, occur in each of the positions he mentions. Tagliamonte (2005), on the other hand does provide quantitative results, as she examines the distribution of DM *like* according to which grammatical position it follows. Importantly, she finds that DM *like* does not occur evenly before each of the grammatical positions mentioned above. Rather, it was predominantly found to occur in front of noun phrases, as seen in (64), and in front of entire sentences, as seen in (69).

Age:

Age is mentioned in practically all texts on DM *like*, regardless of whether they are quantitative sociolinguistic studies or not, as it is almost exclusively associated with the speech of young people. Dailey O'Cain (2000) finds in her study that DM *like* occurs at the highest frequency among her 14-29-year-old participants, then drops in frequency among her participants aged 30-49, and finally ceases to occur at all among her 50-69-year-old participants. Tagliamonte's (2005) study focuses exclusively on young speakers, so the extent to which a differentiation in use between young and old speakers can be determined is limited. However, within her sample of 10 to 19-year-old participants, she finds that the use of DM *like* increases up until the age of 17, after which it drops considerably in frequency to a rate lower than that of her 10-12-year-old participants. This is explained as being

evidence of age-grading associated with this linguistic feature in the speech of young Canadians. That is, a phenomenon where speakers in successive generations will alter their use of specific variants once they reach a certain age when it is no longer socially acceptable to use such stigmatised forms (Chambers 2009: 200-1).

Gender:

Gender is another social factor that is frequently discussed in the literature. Like quotative *be like*, it has been found to vary in use considerably between the genders. Some studies (e.g. Dailey-O’Cain 2000) have found that males have higher frequencies of DM *like* in their speech than females do. Others (e.g. Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams 2005) have found an even gender distribution for DM *like*. However, the majority of studies (e.g. Macaulay 2005, Cheshire; Kerswill and Williams 2005; Tagliamonte 2005) have found that females use DM *like* at much higher rates than males. Tagliamonte (2005) even found that the majority of the females in her sample use it more frequently than they do the word *and*.

Thus, from the literature three main findings emerge:

1. DM *like* occurs most frequently in front of noun phrases and entire sentences.
2. DM *like* is used predominantly by younger speakers.
3. DM *like* tends to be used more by females than males, yet some findings show mixed results.

I now test these previous findings on constraints on the current non-native data.

4.5. Analysis of the data from the present study

Types of like occurring in the data:

As demonstrated in section 4.3., there are several meanings of *like*, only one of which is being examined here. To be able to study DM *like* and how it operates socially and linguistically, it is necessary to separate all instances of this type of *like* from the other types found in the corpus. Therefore, in the analysis, each occurrence of the word *like* has been coded according to meaning and function in order to be able to tell them apart from DM *like*. In cases where this could not be determined, the tokens were excluded from the analysis. Thus, the different types of *like* coded for in the data are DM *like*, as seen in (70), comparative *like*, as in (71), the verb *to like*, as in (72), quotative *be like*, as in (73), suffix *like*, as seen in (74), and a category called ‘ambiguous’ comprising of occurrences that are impossible to categorise as any of the previous due to the speaker not finishing the sentence, as in (75).

- (70) *I heard that Eva Mendez was front- like the brand figure- front figure for Cocio in Denmark.*
- (71) *I do feel sometimes that caffeine is addictive, kinda like nicotine, not as bad maybe, but I think most people are addicted to coffee.*
- (72) *I've never been the kind of guy who goes to discotheques to pick up girls. I don't like that, it's not me.*
- (73) *We were like "are you having a baby? Or are you getting married or something?"*
- (74) *I also have prejudices about them that it's a little bit more hippy-like [out there].*
- (75) *My old roommate had a contact down there, so before I went I just asked him and he was just like- he asked his contact there- or his friend and yeah I was invited to live with them (Unclear if it is DM like, quotative *be like*, or something else altogether).*

Tense and temporal marker:

Besides the linguistic factors mentioned in section 4.4., the data were coded for tense and temporal markers, as these can reveal if, like quotative *be like*, these are strong constraints on DM *like*, and whether it too is found to occur frequently with historical present. For simplicity's sake, the distinction between the main tenses is based exclusively on the tenses, and not on the aspects that may or may not follow. That is, present continuous has been coded merely as present tense, exactly as past perfect has been coded merely as past tense. Thus, on this basis the clauses in data have been coded for present tense, as in (76), historical present, past tense, as in (77), the subjunctive mood, as in (78), 'infinitive marker only', as in (79), 'continuous marker only', as in (80), and clauses with no tense marker at all, as in (81).

- (76) *I really enjoyed it- enjoyed it down there and also like the summer there is just incredible*
- (77) *The teacher's word was the law, and it was like there was no way you could challenge what the teacher says.*
- (78) *If you saw something like that in Denmark people would get like, maybe not offended, but definitely it would look more- like it would be slutty definitely.*
- (79) *You know [minor Danish celebrities] are invited to different clubs to go Friday and Saturday night to be like guest bartender, and they get like paid for that.*
- (80) *Hitting each other and like yelling at each other, it was just like a very bad relationship.*
- (81) *And like the last day at that museum Bauhaus, where I just like slept standing there.*

4.6. Circumscribing the variable context

Unlike with the case of quotative markers examined in chapter 2, applying the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972) to the use of discourse markers is no straightforward task, as previous studies (Underhill 1988; Dailey-O’Cain 2000; Andersen 2001; Tagliamonte 2005) have shown that DM *like* can occur at several different places in the sentence. This makes counting the places where it could occur practically impossible. Some (e.g. Dailey-O’Cain 2000) have, nevertheless, painstakingly attempted to count each individual context in which DM *like* might occur. More often though, previous studies (e.g. Macaulay 2005) have tended to count the number of tokens of DM *like* per 1000 words. This is however not necessarily adequate, as there is no way of controlling whether DM *like* really could occur anywhere in the full corpus of speech. This study, however, uses the grammatical clause as a denominator. Therefore each individual clause constitutes a place in the participants’ speech where DM *like* could occur. The following extract (82) from the current data shows how they were separated into clauses.

- (82) *Me and my sister
we went to find Abercrombie and Fitch in London
and then we, ‘Er, it should be this street’
and suddenly I was just like, ‘(sniffing) I can smell it!
It’s that way!’ (laughs)
and I was just like, ‘I have a good- very good sense of smell’
and it was that way
and you know they spray a lot of the perfume
but I also think they just like do a little round
out of the- out on the street.
It was very crazy.
And inside it was just like very dark
you couldn’t even see the clothes
and it was just like maybe there were
like I dunno 20 to 30 young people at work at the same time
and maybe like 10 or 15 of them were actually working.
The others was just standing and flirting
and some of them were standing up on the balcony and dancing
and the music was- was very loud
extremely loud actually.*

Out of the 20 clauses in this extract, each of which constitutes a place that DM *like* could occur, it actually does so 5 times, or at a rate of 25%.

However, certain irregularities must be accounted for when employing this method. To begin with, some clauses might not in any plausible way see a discourse marker occur within them for one or more of several reasons, such as the clause consisting only of a single word, as in (83) and (84), the clause solely containing a non-lexical item, as in (85) and (86), the clause constituting only a set phrase that always occurs as a fixed unit, as in (87) and (88), or the clause being spoken entirely in a foreign language, here Danish, as in (89) and (90).

- (83) *Participant: I didn't see Keanu Reeves unfortunately.*
Interviewer: Bummer.
*Participant: Yep (*Like yep).*
- (84) *Interviewer: Yeah, you get to a point where it's embarrassing to keep saying 'Sorry, say that again?'*
*Participant: Exactly (*Exactly like).*
- (85) *Interviewer: Like what British things did they do?*
*Participant: Umm (long pause) (*Umm like).*
Well of course they drink tea and all that.
- (86) *Participant: Oh, you watch 'Single Liv'?*
Interviewer: Embarrassingly, I do sometimes.
*Participant: Arghhhh! (*Like arghhhh!)*
- (87) *Interviewer: But you always have to be the one who's giving out the whisky?*
Don't they ever give back?
*Participant: Of course (*Of like course).*
- (88) *Interviewer: So where would you want to go on your road trip, coast to coast, or?*
*Participant: Route 66 (*Route like 66).*
- (89) *Participant: (Hearing her baby cry) Såå, skal du sove lidt igen? [Do you need a little more sleep?] (*Like såå skal du sove lidt igen?)*
Interviewer: Aww, is she tired now?
Participant: Yeah she is, she's tired.
- (90) *Participant: I think they have had some regulations about you know...*
*Hvad hedder prisstigning? [How do you say price increase?] (*Hvad hedder like prisstigning?)*

Interviewer: Um, raising prices?

Participant: Yeah, on raising prices for you know fat and sugar.

As demonstrated by the insertion of DM *like* in the bracketed clauses shown above, the occurrence of DM *like* in such clauses would be highly unlikely. Therefore all clauses falling under the above outlined categories have been excluded from the data to ensure that the results are as accurate as possible when using this method. This leaves only clauses in which DM *like* could occur. Following this, all tokens of *like* that do not belong to the category of DM *like* are removed from the sample so that the focus of the results remains solely on DM *like*.

I now turn to the results from the current non-native study of DM *like*.

4.7. Results

The data show that the word *like* occurs 940 times in the 8,162 clauses in which DM *like* might potentially occur. Of these 477 tokens are DM *likes*, making it the most frequently occurring type of *like* in the data. The following sentences (91), (92), and (93) are examples of how the participants in this study have used DM *like*, with the addition of the sentences (94) and (95), as examples of how it is used more than once in the same clause.

- (91) *Like the more Spanish I learned the more French I forgot.*
- (92) *And yeah, Friday night he was like all in Armani from head to toe.*
- (93) *and we always had this like symbiosis where she was really dominating but gave me something because I was really shy.*
- (94) *Like everybody was like wearing short skirts.*
- (95) *And like also doing like official requests and so on on Facebook.*

The remaining 463 tokens of *like* in the data constitute comparative *like* meaning ‘similar to’, as in (96), or ‘as if’, as seen in (97), verb *like*, as in (98), quotative *be like*, as in (99), ambiguous *like*, as in (100), and suffix *like*, as in (101).

- (96) *It can sound a little bit to me like a redneck language*
- (97) *When we had parties with the Americans it was just like being in 8th grade again back here*
- (98) *My brother knew and he was not embarrassed, but he didn't like to talk about it.*
- (99) *She was just like, ‘Yeah weirdo, let's just be friends.’*
- (100) *So before I went I just asked him and he was just like- he asked his contact there- or his friend, and yeah I was invited to live with them.*

(101) *I also have prejudices about them, that it's a little bit more hippy-like, and that's also true.*

Fig. 10. has been calculated according to the number of clauses in the data that *like* occurs in, and

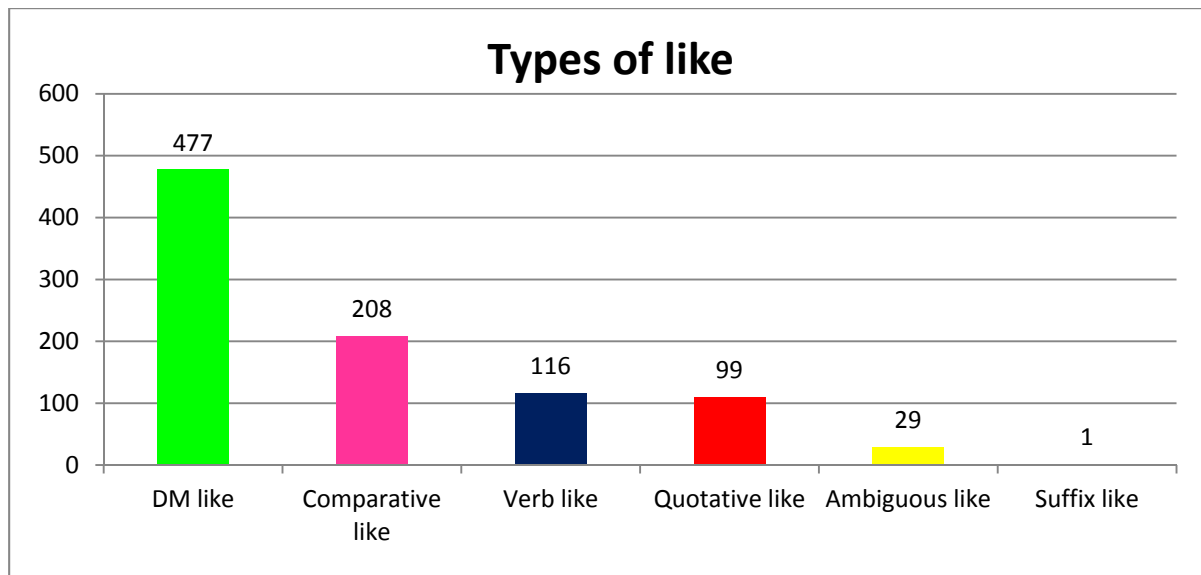


Fig. 10. Distribution of the different types of *like* occurring in the corpus.

shows the distribution of the different types of *like*. It is interesting to see that although Danish non-native speakers of English are not formally taught to use this non-standard form they are nevertheless found to use it far more often than any other standard type of *like*. I will return to an explanation of how this can be in the discussion in chapter six.

As DM *like* is different from all the other types of *like* mentioned above, all 433 of them must be excluded from the analysis, leaving a total of 477 tokens of DM *like*. From this it can be worked out that DM *like* is used in the speech of the Danish participants at a rate of 5.8% of the time.

Individual speakers:

Examining the results of the use of DM *like* in the current study, it is found that its use by the individual speakers is quite diverse, as it ranges from a substantial 21.6% at the top end of the range to a mere 0.7% at the bottom end. Still, it should be noted that DM *like* is, in fact, present in the speech of each participant. Fig. 11. shows the distribution of DM *like* by the individual speakers' usage. These figures were tabulated according to the number of times it occurred out of the total number of clauses uttered by each speaker. The most habitual user of DM *like*, Katinka, uses it at a rate of 21.6%. This is a considerably higher rate than all the other speakers, as evidenced by the fact that the

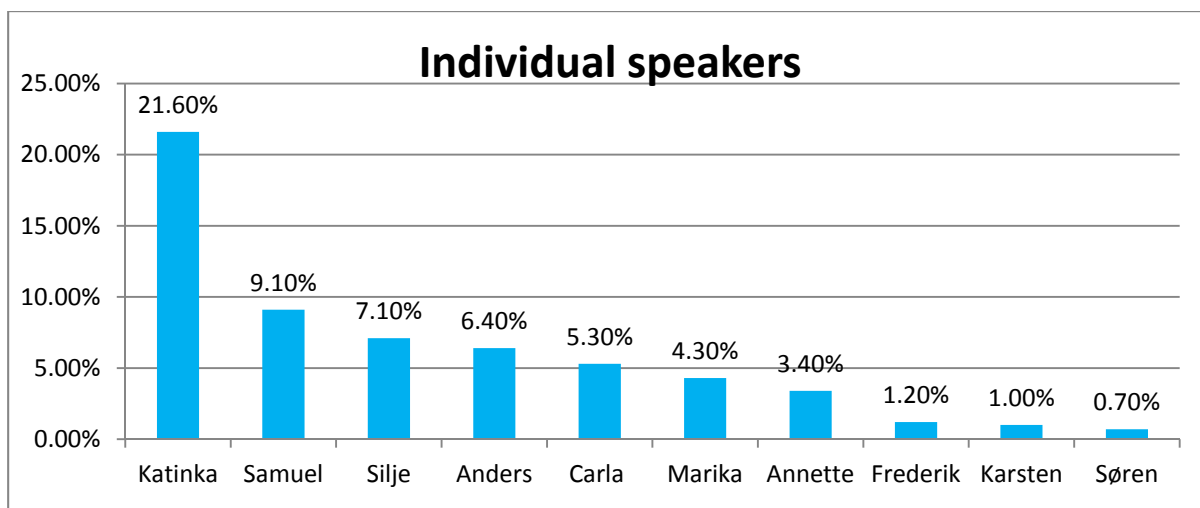


Fig. 11. Distribution of DM *like* by individual speaker.

second most frequent user, Samuel, uses it less than half as often at 9.1%. At the opposite end of the scale we find three speakers in whose speech DM *like* is hardly found to occur at all. These speakers Søren, Karsten and, Frederik, use it at a rate of only 0.7%, 1.0% and 1.2% respectively.

Gender:

The results show that the females in this study use DM *like* to a greater extent than the males do. Fig. 12. was calculated according to the number of clauses in which DM *like* occurred out of all the clauses uttered by each speaker. Ordered according to usage, the female speakers are seen on the right and the male speakers on the left. It reveals that females use DM *like* 8.2% of the time on average, compared to just 4.1% for the males. However, on closer inspection, it is clear that such a statement is

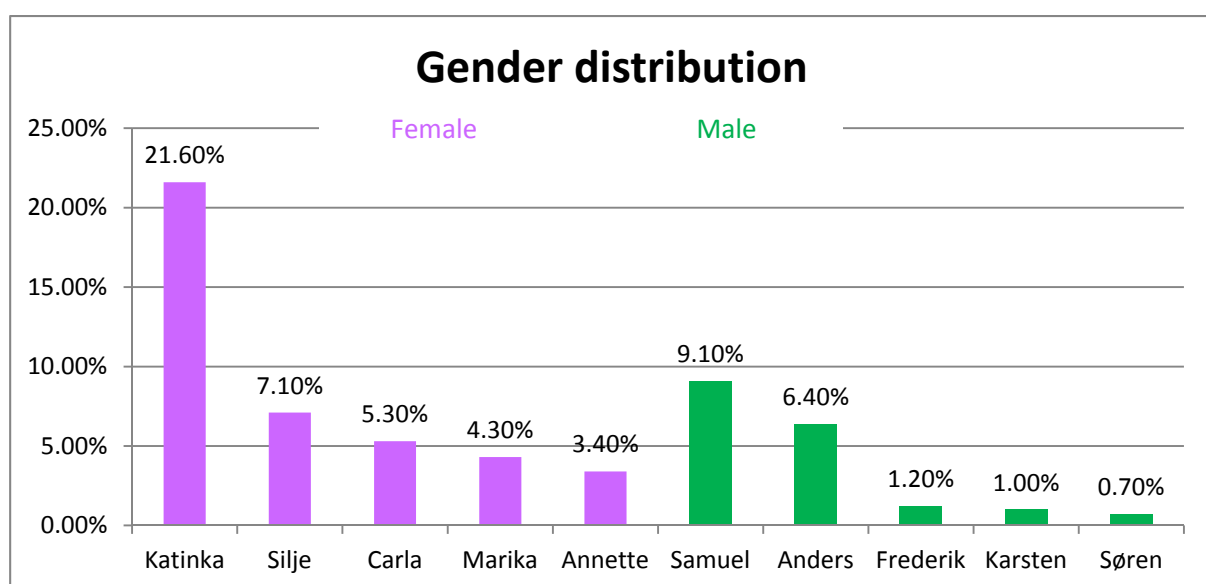


Fig. 12. Distribution of DM *like* by gender.

in fact a simplified explanation of the results, as two of the males, Samuel and Anders, have relatively high frequencies of *DM like* in their speech, at rates close to the second most frequent female user, Silje, and at rates a good deal higher than the remaining three female speakers. The other three male speakers, on the other hand, have the lowest frequencies of *DM like* out of all the speakers, regardless of gender. As with the findings in the literature on *DM like*, there is no evidence for a clear gender differentiation in the current sample of speakers with regard to their use of *DM like*, as it appears that its use differs according to the individual speaker.

Abroad versus not abroad:

The results show that the subjects who have recently spent a short period of time living in an English speaking country use *DM like* less than the subjects who have never lived outside Denmark. This is shown in Fig. 13. which was calculated according to the number of times that *DM like* occurred in the clauses spoken by each participant. Here we find the abroad speakers on the left and the home speakers on the right ordered according to frequency of use.

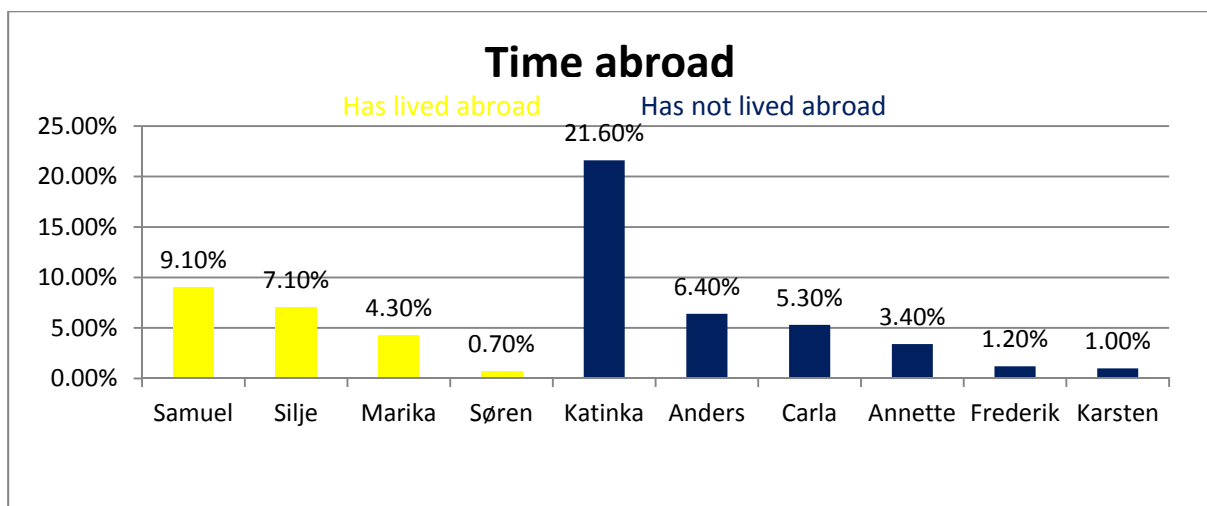


Fig. 13. Distribution of *DM like* between speakers who have lived abroad and speakers who have not.

On the surface the average results of each group suggest that the speakers who have never lived in an English speaking country use *DM like* the most, as their average use is 6.5% as opposed to 5.3% for those who have lived in an English speaking country. However, this result does not take into account the frequencies of the individual speakers of each category. A closer look at the results reveals that while the speaker with the highest frequency, Katinka, has never lived abroad, the two next most frequent users, Samuel and Silje, have lived abroad. At rates of 9.1% and 7.1% respectively, they are found to use *DM like* more than the remaining five speakers who have not lived abroad. It has therefore been found that there is no significant correlation between the use of *DM like* and whether a speaker has lived in an English speaking country or not.

Placement in the clause:

The results show that DM *like* does not simply occur anywhere in a sentence. Rather, it is found in a pre-noun phrase position in preference to all other positions. Fig. 14. shows the frequency of DM *like* occurrences by following grammatical category. The table has been calculated by percentages of

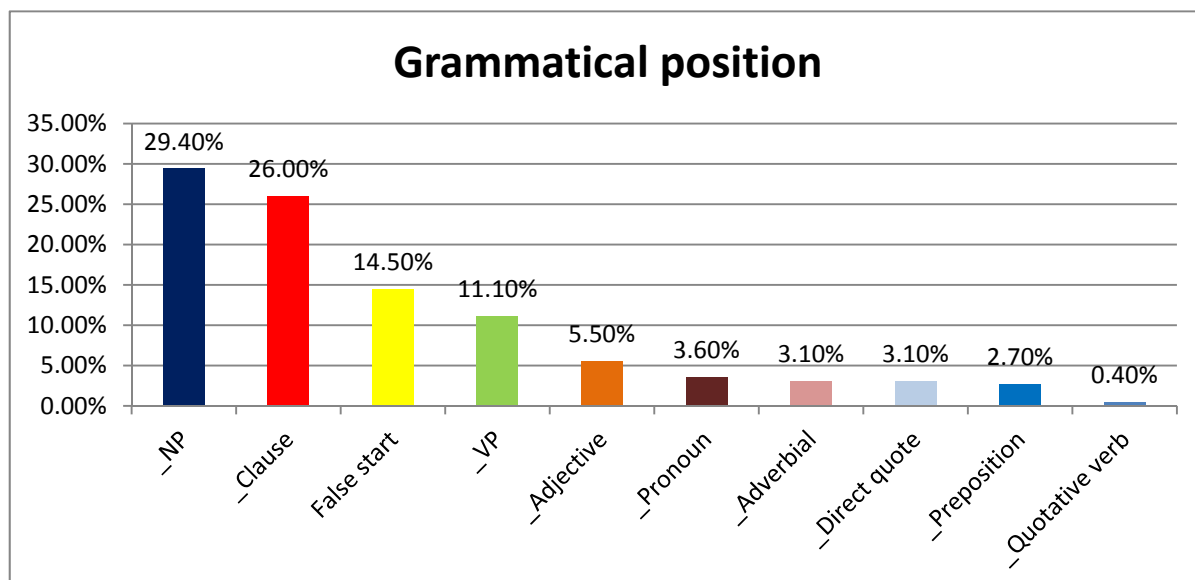


Fig. 14. Distribution of DM *like* according to grammatical position within the clause.

overall tokens of DM *like* in the data. Here we see that at 29.4%, almost a third of the DM *like* occurrences precede a noun phrase, echoing the results of Tagliamonte (2005). The following example (102) shows DM *like* in a pre-noun phrase position within a clause.

(102) *There's a demand for more quality also with like gourmet burgers and stuff like that.*

The second most frequent place that DM *like* is found to occur is at the beginning of a clause. This occurs 26.0% of the time. This finding also matches the results of Tagliamonte (2005). Here DM *like* can either occur as the very first word of the sentence, as in (103), or it can introduce a clause in the middle of a sentence, as seen in (104).

(103) *Like you're beginning to see patients that have been seen by your friends, and it's funny to see what they- what they wrote.*

(104) *The teacher's word was the law, and it was like, there was no way you could challenge what the teacher says.*

Another 14.5% of the tokens of DM *like* are found in unfinished sentences right before they are broken off by the speaker who might have changed their mind about what they were saying, wanted to

reword their clause, misarticulated a word and started over, or been interrupted, preventing them from finishing their sentence. Cases such as this belong to the category ‘false start’. This is a relatively large category partly due to the fact that the participants are not native speakers of English and would therefore naturally correct any errors in their speech. However the main reason for the large size of this category is that such false starts occur all the time in natural speech, as spoken language is innately spontaneous. Examples of false starts from the current data can be seen in (105) and (106).

(105) *And it's not because it's like- it's not because it's incriminating or anything.*

(106) *It was her husband's like- what do you call it? Event management thing that- they were the ones who had held the party.*

The next two most commonly found positions for DM *like* to occur are pre-verb phrase and pre-adjective phrase, as seen in (107) and (108) respectively.

(107) *You end up fighting or like screaming, or some cry, and it's very different how people react.*

(108) *I have a profile and I use it, I like watching what others do and write a little bit, but I really- I set all my privacy settings like extreme so they don't pop up if you search me.*

Finally, DM *like* occurs immediately before the last five categories, pronouns, adverbial phrases, direct quotes, prepositions and quotative verbs, at no more than 3.6% per category, a total of just 12.9% combined, showing that while it is possible for DM *like* to occur in these positions in the clause, they are the least likely ones for it to be found in.

This result therefore confirms previous findings (Tagliamonte 2005) for native speakers’ use of DM *like*, and demonstrates that it is not used haphazardly or when the speaker needs more time to decide what to say, as some critics have claimed.

Tense and temporal markers:

The results from the present data show that DM *like* most frequently occurs in sentences in the present tense. Fig. 15. shows how DM *like* is distributed between the tenses and temporal markers in the corpus. The percentages were tabulated according to the overall number of occurrences of DM *like* in the corpus. With 44.9%, almost half of the occurrences of DM *like* are found in present tense clauses, and, at 32.1%, almost a third are found in past tense clauses. The third most frequent category of tense marker where DM *like* is found to occur is ‘no tense marker’, in which there are no verbs to indicate the tense of the clause. This category makes up 15.2% of the tokens of DM *like*. The final category, ‘other’, is compiled of the remaining three tense markers that the data were coded for, these being

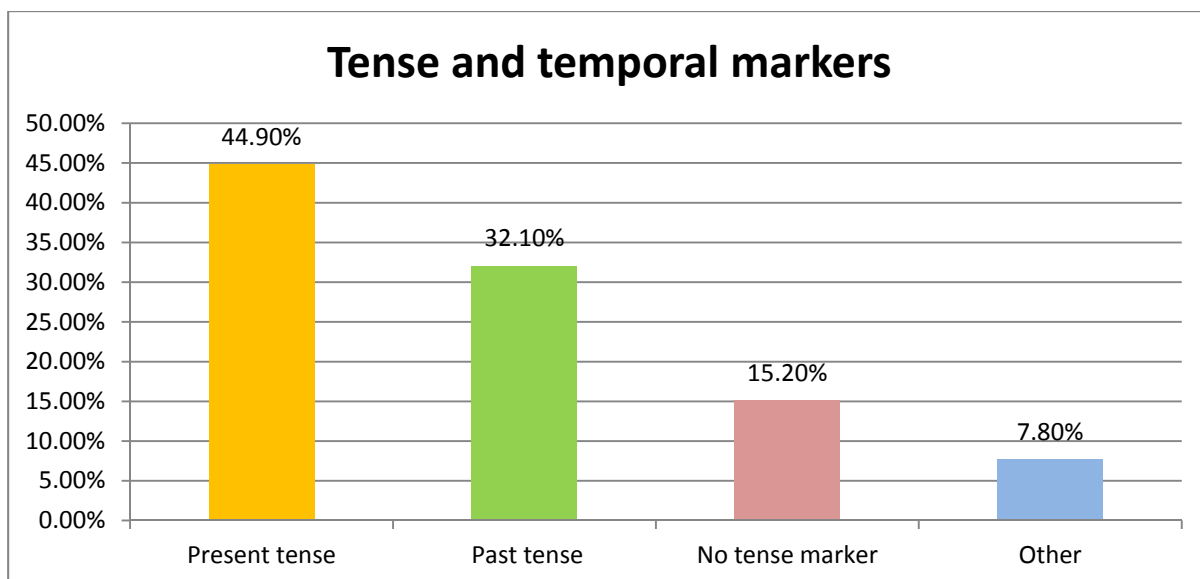


Fig. 15. Distribution of DM *like* between tense and temporal markers.

‘infinitive only’, ‘continuous only’, and the subjunctive mood, totalling 7.8% combined. The following four sentences (109) to (112) illustrate how DM *like* occurs with each tense marker.

- (109) *And everybody's trying to get a cab, so sometimes you can stand around and wait for a cab for like an hour or so.*
- (110) *It was like you just had a choice of which of the 17 different burger joints you wanted to go to.*
- (111) *Just like half a year or a year maybe in the [candidate] part.*
- (112) *Like two officers drinking coffee and eating doughnuts.*

Perhaps surprisingly, there are no occurrences of DM *like* in historical present, as could be expected from the literature on quotative *be like*, as detailed in section 2.2. These results demonstrate that DM *like* is linguistically constrained to occur mainly in clauses in the present tense.

In this analysis of DM *like* five main points emerge:

1. DM *like* is used more than any other type of *like* despite its use never being formally taught to the speakers.
2. The use of DM *like* is not clearly differentiated by gender.
3. Speakers who have lived in an English speaking country do not necessarily use DM *like* more than those who have not.
4. Use of DM *like* is highly rule-governed, and is found to favour pre-noun phrase and clause initial positions.
5. DM *like* occurs most often in present tense clauses.

In comparison with previous studies of DM *like*, it seems here that the Danes' use of this form closely mirrors previous findings of native speakers' use, given that there was no clear gender differentiation, and that it was found to occur predominantly before noun phrases and entire clauses. It is once again intriguing to find that the speakers who have lived abroad do not use this form more than those who have not, as predicted. These results, along with the finding that DM *like* is here preferred in present tense clauses, will need to be tested against results from other studies in order to gain a full understanding of their implications.

I now proceed to discuss my study of discourse marker *just*, as detailed below.

5. Discourse marker just

Unlike quotative *be like* and DM *like*, DM *just* has not received much scholarly attention. This is somewhat surprising, as it seems to have become a salient feature of North American youth speech, at least since the turn of the millennium, a development that would normally garner adequate academic awareness for it to be studied to a greater degree than it has been. In The United States and Canada, if not by now also in other English speaking nations, it has risen above the level of consciousness for some members of the public to the extent that it is being discussed and, as expected, stigmatised by linguistic purists and the media alike, just as DM *like* has been over the last few decades. Tagliamonte (2005) notes that on a website devoted to improving an individual's marketability there is an article addressing the apparent over-use of the word *just* in its discourse marker form. Here, Bickel, the author, writes 'What does the excess use of JUST signal? An excuse! I call it the whiney-excuse word.' (2002). Similarly, on the website Urban Dictionary, a user posted an entry on *just* in 2004 stating that it is '[a] little word that creeps into all kinds of places where it doesn't belong. An easy way of trivialising something without having to justify the trivialisation, and often without the hearer even realising what is happening'. Another entry on *just* posted on the same website also in 2004 states that it is '[a] weak adjective or adverb that is a 'filler' word such as *like*. The written or spoken sentence can get along quite nicely without the word'. With such claims being made suggesting that *just* is being used randomly and gratuitously, it is perhaps puzzling that more research has not been carried out on this new linguistic phenomenon in order to provide empirical evidence of its functions and frequencies of use.

5.1. Historical Precursors

The word *just* has changed function considerably since its early uses as an adjective meaning either ‘righteous’ and ‘fair’, or ‘exact’ and ‘precise’. The former meaning was first recorded in the OED in 1430 in *Hymns to the Virgin* with the sentence ‘*The hizest lessoun þat man may lere Is to lyue iust lijf*’. While this form can still be used in present-day English, it is now somewhat dated, and is therefore more often than not used in set phrases such as *a just sentence* or *he got his just deserts*.

The second meaning, on the other hand, was first recorded in the OED around the year 1391 in Chaucer’s *A Treatise on the Astrolabe* with the sentence ‘*To haue take a Iust Ascendent by thin Astrilabie*’. This form has retained its association with its original meaning, but has since then expanded its function to become an adverb meaning ‘exactly’ or ‘precisely’.

By 1574 *just* is first recorded in connection with time. The OED notes its use in that year by William Bourne in *A Regiment for the Sea* with the sentence ‘*Then ryseth the Sunne at fiue of the clocke iust, and setteth at seuen of the clocke iust.*’

The meaning of *just* that is synonymous with ‘simply’ and is the meaning predominantly used in present-day English, is found in the OED in an entry from 1726 by D’Orville in *The Tragical Hist. Chevalier de Vaudray* in the sentence ‘*When I heard this melancholy News, I was just ready to expire with Grief*’.

The change in meaning from ‘exact’ to ‘simply’ and, in particular, the change in function from adjective to adverb, suggests that the word *just* has gone through the process of grammaticalization typical of words that have developed from content words into function words, precisely as *just* has. The OED does not have an entry on DM *just*. This is not surprising, however, as neither does DM *like* in its entirety, despite the countless studies devoted to it verifying it as a well-established linguistic feature of present-day English.

5.2. Swedish studies on DM Just:

Looking for previous research conducted on DM *just*, it becomes clear that there is hardly any to find. While the present study considers social factors, such as gender, and whether the speaker has recently lived in an English speaking country or not, as well as linguistic factors such as the placement of DM *just* in the sentence, and tense and temporal reference of the clause it appears in, it seems that there is not much research available to seek out for comparison on these factors, let alone acknowledgement

of the phenomenon itself. Yet, it has been well studied by Swedish scholars in its English form as well as in its Swedish equivalent, *bara*.

Erman (1997) writes an article on *just* focusing on its context and function in teenage talk, yet hardly mentions DM *just*. This, however, is possibly due to its early publication, as *just* would most likely not have reached above the level of consciousness, even for linguists, at that time. The case of DM *just* that she considers is one in which *just* is used together with a cleft *it* as a device to cement one's point of view in argumentative discourse by using the phrase *it's just* immediately before making a statement, as shown in (113) and (114) from the current data.

(113) *So it's just, it's a great opportunity to get to network across countries.*

(114) *I dunno, it's just, I mean it's funny because Americans usually have no problem giving credits to themselves for doing something.*

Erman (1997) comments on the fact that this type of DM *just* correlates exactly in meaning and use to the Swedish word *bara*, abbreviated as *ba'* in her study, which has been found in Swedish to be used in the same manner in argumentative discourse. This finding could prove interesting to the present study, as Danish has a similar word with the same meaning, *bare*, which my own observations lead me to believe is being used in this exact way in Danish as well, potentially explaining the high frequencies of this type of DM *just* in the data of this study. I will return to this point in further detail in the discussion in chapter six.

An elaboration of the phenomenon of the Swedish word *ba'*, mentioned by Erman, is seen in a sociolinguistic study carried out by Eriksson (1995) in which he examines the increased use of the Swedish word *ba'* by young adolescents. He claims that *ba'* serves two important functions. The first is that of a discourse marker used as an indicator that what follows is remarkable in some way, as seen in the example (115) from his study. The second use is as a quotative marker introducing both reported speech and thought, as well as what he calls 'fancies' indulged in by the speakers, in which they jokingly describe what could happen or be done rather than what actually did happen or was done (1995: 6), as seen in another of his examples in (116).

(115) (Swedish): *Sen kom de så här sjuttitusen engelsmän ba'.*
(Literal translation): *Then came there like this seventy thousand Englishmen just.*
(Grammatically correct translation): *Then seventy thousand Englishmen turned up.*

(116) (Swedish): *Anki å Malin ba' 'öh jävla hippie.'*
(Literal translation): *Anki and Malin just 'oh bloody hippie.'*
(Grammatically correct translation): *Anki and Malin said 'oh bloody hippie.'*

Eriksson finds that quotative *ba* ' has increased in use dramatically from 32.7% between 1977-79 to 76.3% between 1989-90, suggesting that it, as well as DM *ba* ', is going through the process of grammaticalization in Swedish. Specifically, he finds that DM *ba* ' almost exclusively occurs before the verb phrase and in sentence final positions, indicating clear systematic usage. Similar to the use of *ba* ', as discussed here, is the use of the Danish word *bare* recorded just once in the data of the present study, in a line of speech entirely in Danish. In (117) the speaker, Katinka, says the following:

- (117) (Danish): *Så jeg streger den ud, og så mener jeg at jeg agree? Total skummel advokat, eller bare sådan 'og ja tak!'*
(Literal translation): *So I score it out, and then mean I that I agree? Total sinister lawyer, or just like 'and yes thank you!'*
(Grammatically correct translation): *So I score this out to show that I agree? Totally sinister lawyer, just like that 'ahh, yes, thank you!'*

Here, the speaker is filling out a consent form, and jokingly conjures up the image of a greedy lawyer eager for a signature to be put on a binding contract. It could here be argued that *bare* functions as a quotative followed by DM *like*, as this is a typical example of the 'fancies' Eriksson mentions that speakers can indulge in, where hypothetical situations are played out in jest. However, it could also be said that this use of *bare* functions as a discourse marker, in the sense that if it were to be removed from the sentence the meaning would not change. So, clearly, *bare* is doing something interesting in Danish too, possibly something that could influence Danish speakers' use of DM *just* in English. This too will be examined further in the discussion.

5.3. Synchronic findings

Age:

The only quantitative sociolinguistic study in English that I have come across on DM *just* is Tagliamonte (2005). She states that '*just* is one of the most frequent forms used among the young people', and suggests that this is an indicator that it is expanding beyond its standard function (2005: 1904). Looking at its distribution among the 10 to 19-year-old speakers in her sample, she finds that the frequency of use of DM *just* increases steadily between each of her four age groups, suggestive of on-going linguistic change. However, as her sample of speakers is quite narrow in terms of age, it is not possible to tell if it is indeed 'real' change in progress (Labov 1972), as it appears on the surface, or if it might, once again, be a case of age-grading (Chambers 2009). Thus, if the frequency of use of *just* were to drop in the speech of subjects over the age of 19, which was the age of the oldest speakers in Tagliamonte's (2005) study, it could be seen as evidence of age-grading rather than on-going linguistic change. However, this would need to be tested against a sample of speakers of a wider age stratification to provide more concrete evidence to indicate which of the two is taking place here.

Gender:

In terms of the distribution of DM *just* among the genders, Tagliamonte (2005) finds that the females in her study use DM *just* more than the males. This correlates with the vast majority of all sociolinguistic research carried out in Western societies, stating that females will practically always be the linguistic innovators using more different incoming variables and at a greater frequency than males (Labov 1990).

Placement in the clause:

Tagliamonte (2005) additionally looks at the placement of *just* in the sentence, finding that DM *just* is even more highly circumscribed than DM *like*, as it clearly favours a pre-verb phrase position, echoing the findings of Eriksson. This is demonstrated in (118) from Tagliamonte's (2005) study.

(118) *I just stayed home cos someone was taking care of me. And then I was just watching TV. And I just took a nap.*

This is followed, at some distance, by a pre-DM *be like* position, as seen in (119) also from her study, after which it is found to occur before the remaining nine positions she coded for at a practically negligible rate.

(119) *I'm just like so there, you know?*

Tagliamonte's (2005) findings thereby show that DM *just* is socially and linguistically constrained in a similar manner to most other sociolinguistic variables and, perhaps most importantly, that it, precisely like DM *like*, is not used at random or 'in all kinds of places where it doesn't belong', as one of the posts on Urban Dictionary claimed.

Thus, from the literature three main findings emerge:

1. DM *just* looks as though it is used predominantly by younger speakers, but this requires further testing on speakers of a wider age range.
2. DM *just* is used more by females than males.
3. DM *just* occurs most frequently in a pre-verb phrase position.

I now test these previous findings on constraints on the current non-native data.

5.4. Analysis of the data from the present study

Types of just occurring in the data:

The entries on *just* in the OED reviewed in section 5.1. have shown that this word has several meanings. Apart from these, section 5.2. on the previous findings from Swedish studies has shown that it also serves certain pragmatic functions in discourse. All of these must therefore be

differentiated between in order to be able to examine how DM *just* is being treated in the speech of the Danes of this study. Of course, as Erman (1997) points out, there may be difficulties at times in distinguishing differences in meaning, as the meanings of *just* can thought of as existing on a continuum rather than in clearly defined categories. Therefore, once again, in cases where the categorisation of the variable could not be determined, it was excluded from the analysis. As a result, each token of *just* in the data has been coded according to the following categories: DM *just*, as in (120), emphasizer *just*, as in (121), minimizer *just*, as in (122), ‘exactly’ *just*, as in (123), temporal/special *just*, as in (124), and quotative *just*, as in (125).

- (120) *It's a little weird as well that everything just closes at 2 o'clock, so then you just have to get out.*
- (121) *Austin was really nice and we were at the university as well out there and it was just an incredible university.*
- (122) *Whenever there's fashion week we have these young guys - we just call them drivers because they are drivers (laughs) - and they drive around in big Audis taking all the important people from show to show.*
- (123) *There was so many people that you just like wandered in like a queue all the way round, and it was just like being at a you know very big concert*
- (124) *Zones one and two which is like inner city and the ring just around the city.*
- (125) *I'd always come home and they would sit in the sofa with the windows open just "Ahhhhh, cool and yet warm! And we're not paying [for the heating]!"*

Tense and temporal marker:

As well as the linguistic factors referred to in section 5.3, the data were coded for tense and temporal markers, as there is a void in the literature on information about the constraints that this factor may have on DM *just* which this study hopes to fill. Here the tense and temporal marker categories are once again coded according to the tense itself, not the aspect that might potentially follow. Based on this distinction the clauses in the data have been coded for present tense, as in (126), historical present, as in (127), past tense, as in (128), the subjunctive mood, as in (129), ‘infinitive marker only’, as in (130), ‘continuous marker only’, as in (131), and clauses with no tense marker at all, as in (132).

- (126) *And you're just- you have so many things that you understand in a different way.*
- (127) *They're on this train and they just feel like they are just pretty cool and pretty funny and Ron has puke down his shirt.*
- (128) *[The mess] is overwhelming. The kitchen was just- you can't find your way and I- I just- I get stressed of it.*

- (129) *It took me ages to get it done just because you know "Well I should do this but I could also just like meet up with someone or you know clean or something stupid!"*
- (130) *To just walk up on some girl you don't know and say "Hey, can I buy you a drink?". It's 'Eugh!' I don't like it.*
- (131) *It just takes a lot just to getting myself together before I can do it.*
- (132) *It was just this freedom moving away, and just- you could just eat yoghurt for dinner if you wanted.*

5.5. Circumscribing the variable context: DM just

The data have here been dealt with in the exact same way as they were for DM *like*, as Tagliamonte (2005) found that while the linguistic constraints for DM *just* were somewhat different from those of DM *like*, DM *just* similarly has the capacity to appear in the same variety of positions within the clause. Therefore, as detailed in section 4.6., the data were once again divided into grammatical clauses. By counting each clause as a place in the speech where DM *just* might potentially occur, the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972) is accommodated.

5.6. Results: DM just

The initial results show that the word *just* occurs in 1,049 out of the 8,162 clauses in which *just* could potentially occur. With 452 tokens, DM *just* is found to be the most frequently occurring type of *just* in the current data. Sentences (133) to (136) are examples of how DM *just* is used by the speakers of this study.

- (133) *So, erm, yeah, we just went there and we just went sightseeing.*
- (134) *And she just bought a case of beer, and she put it down, and she just sat on it, and she opened one with another beer [which] is kind of a guy thing. And she just put her arm around me. And I was just scared.*
- (135) *It was like so weird just hanging around with some people who were just completely wasted.*
- (136) *I really like that, being like just self dependent back here, and just choosing when to do what and just- yeah just-...*

The remaining 597 tokens of *just* that did not fall under the category of DM *just*, constitute emphasizer *just*, as in (137) and (138), minimizer *just* as in (139) and (140), temporal/special *just*, as in (141) and (142), quotative *just*, as in (143) and (144), and exactly *just*, as in (145) and (146).

- (137) *If you wanna play basketball at 11pm on a Tuesday night you just go down there.*
- (138) *It just totally replaced every single French word I'd ever learned.*
- (139) *No it's just like a little vacation.*
- (140) *It's the same thing that Kanye West uses and Cher just in a big way.*
- (141) *Another friend of mine just had a son (temporal marker)*
- (142) *In Baltimore which is just north of Washington DC (spatial marker)*
- (143) *When they're out sometimes they just, "oh I just have to text my girlfriend" (speech)*
- (144) *And I just, "when are they gonna show music again?" (thought)*
- (145) *They hadn't learned to control it so it was just like being back in the 8th grade sometimes.*
- (146) *I got that just the other way around with Brøndby.*

The distribution of these categories of *just* in the data can be seen in Fig. 16. It was calculated according to the number of clauses in the data where each token of these types of *just* occurred. Once again, it is remarkable to find that these non-native speakers are using a non-standard form, which they have not formally been taught to use, more than they do any other individual category of standard form of *just*. I will return to the point of their easy adaptation of DM *just* in the discussion.

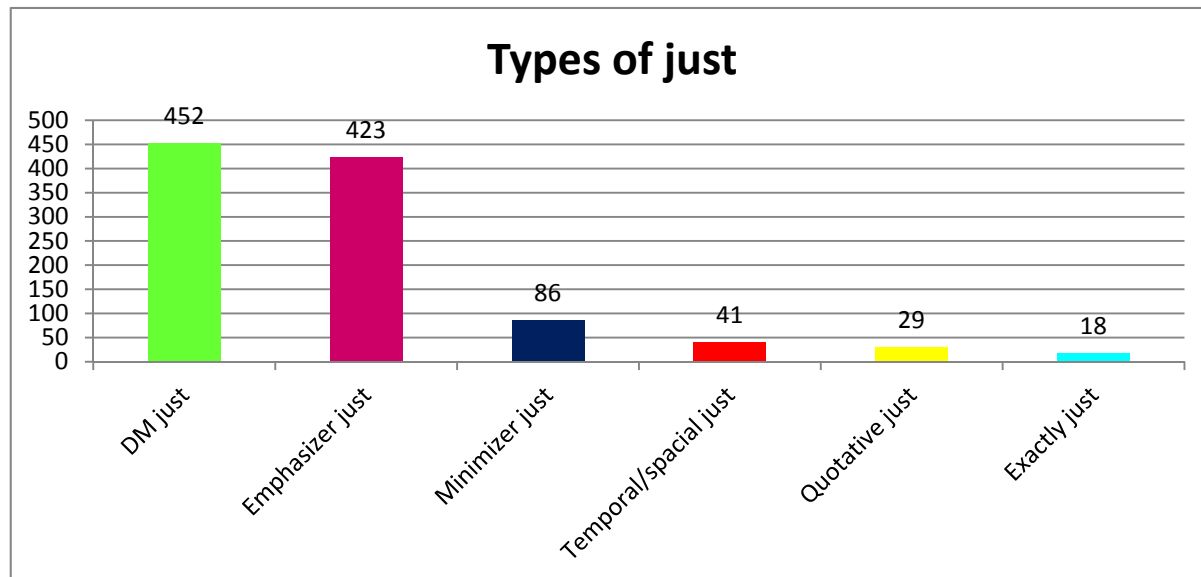


Fig. 16. Distribution of the different types of *just* occurring in the corpus.

As DM *just* is different from all the other types of *just* mentioned above, all 597 tokens of them must be excluded from the analysis, leaving a total of 452 tokens of DM *just*. Thus, it can be calculated that out of all the clauses where DM *just* could potentially occur, it actually does so in 5.5% of all the clauses spoken by the Danish participants of this study. This is only marginally less frequent than DM

like, despite Tagliamonte (2005) finding that it occurred approximately three times less frequently than DM *like* in her data.

Among the individual tokens of DM *just* in the data, occurrences of the function of DM *just* mentioned by Erman (1997) have been found. Recall from section 5.2. that she found DM *just* to occur in a specific place in the sentence, namely immediately before a full clause, and that it occurs with specific collocates, that is, always within the set phrase *it's just*. Erman calls this *it*-clefted function a kind of argumentation device whereby the speaker uses *just* to introduce a position. Examples (147) and (148) from the current data can arguably be seen to have this same function.

(147) *But it's just, it's fun that even though you speak English there's just times where you don't understand each other.*

(148) *It's just, people are definitely more talkative to strangers in different countries than they are back home.*

As this function of DM *just* is also prevalent in Swedish speech with the word *bara*, a reason for its relatively high rate of occurrence in the current data (11.1% of all the tokens of DM *just* were found to function this way) could be the fact that the Danish equivalent *bare* is already used in a similar way in Danish by the participants. For this reason, Danes and Swedes are possibly more likely than native speakers of English to use DM *just* for this function. The influence of the speaker's native language on their second language use will also be expanded on in the discussion.

Individual speaker:

The frequency at which each individual speaker uses DM *just* has been shown in the results to vary greatly. Fig. 17. shows the distribution of DM *just* between the individual speakers. These percentages were tabulated according to the number of times the variable occurred out of the total number of clauses uttered by each speaker. While most of the speakers use DM *just* at a rate of 5% or less, some use it considerably more than that, as seen with Katinka, whose overall usage reaches 15.3%, and Samuel, who uses DM *just* 12.7% of the time. While each speaker is found to have DM *just* in their speech, the individuals' use of it is far from regular, as evidenced by the least frequent users, Silje, Marika and Søren, who use it at rates of just 1.8%, 1.3%, and 0.4% respectively. Looking more closely at the data provided by Katinka, it becomes clear that the vast majority of the DM *just* tokens uttered by her are in fact part of a DM cluster of *just* followed immediately by *like*. Were these to be

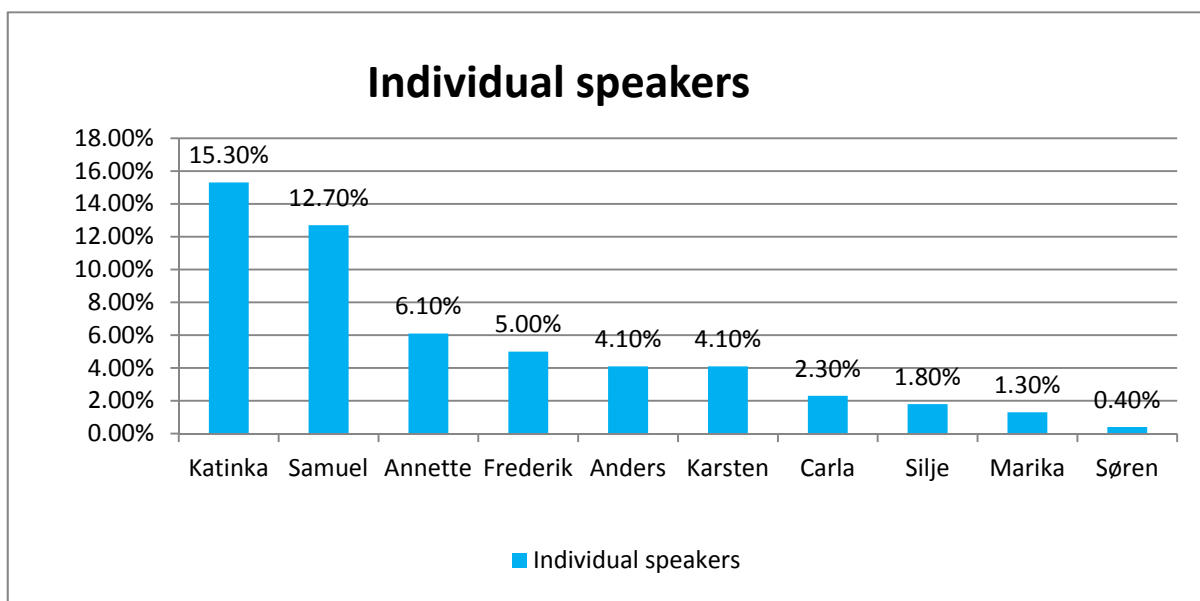


Fig. 17. Distribution of DM *just* across individual speakers

taken out of the equation, her results would show her only to use DM *just* at a rate of 2.1%, putting her in the bottom four speakers in terms of frequency of use.

Gender:

The overall gender distribution might suggest that the males and females use DM *just* at equal frequencies. Fig. 18., which was tabulated by calculating the number of occurrences of DM *just* out of all the clauses spoken by each participant, shows how the use of DM *just* is distributed according to gender, as the females are seen to the left and the males on the right. It is here demonstrated that the

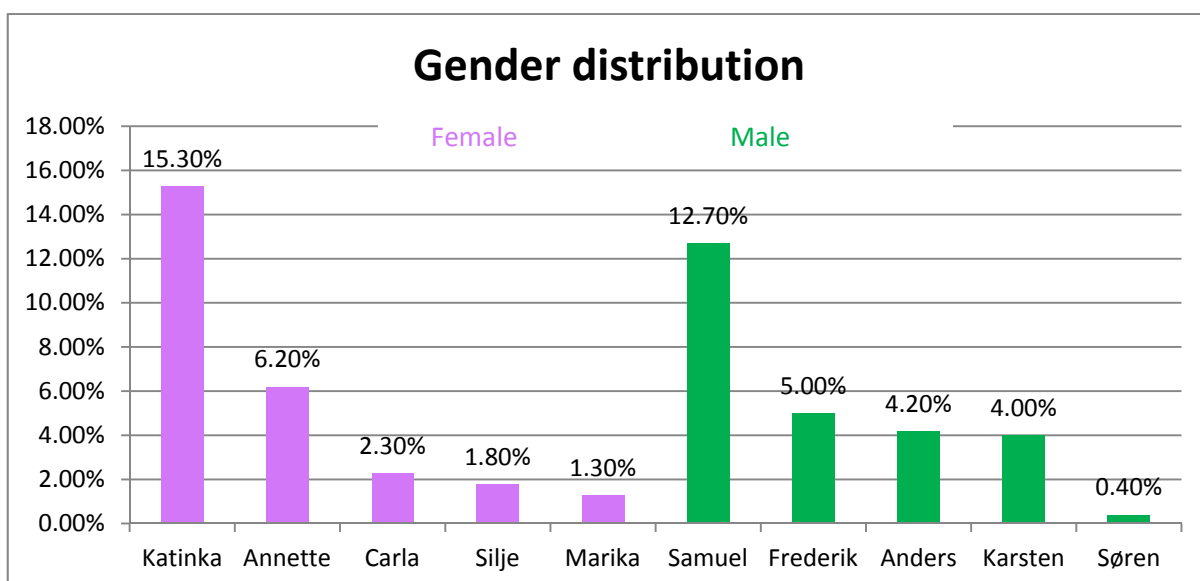


Fig. 18. Distribution of DM *just* between females and males.

average number of tokens provided by the two genders is very close, as the females are seen to use it at a rate of 5.4% and the males at 5.3%. However, the speakers of each category do not use it at equal rates between them, as is evidenced by the fact that the two highest as well as the two lowest users of *DM just* are both times a male and a female. Thus, unlike Tagliamonte's (2005) findings, the current results show no clear gender differentiation.

Abroad versus not abroad:

The overall results initially suggest that as the speakers who have lived abroad in an English speaking country use *DM just* at an average rate of 5.1%, they use it less than those who have never lived abroad, who are found to use it at an average rate of 5.8%. However, Fig. 19. which was tabulated by

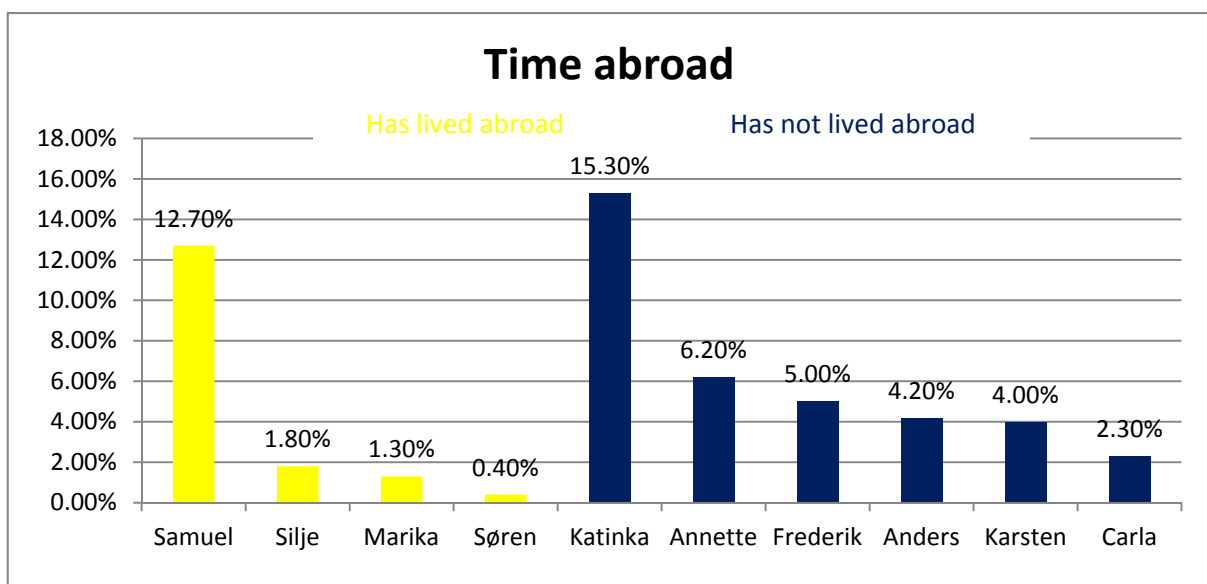


Fig. 19. Distribution of *DM just* between speakers who have lived abroad and speakers who have not.

the number of tokens of *DM just* found within the clauses spoken by each participant, once again illustrates that these results merely express an average frequency, and therefore do not take into account the individual speakers' use of *DM just*. This is evidenced by the fact that the second most prolific user of *DM just*, Samuel, has lived abroad, while another speaker to have also lived abroad, Søren, has the lowest number of tokens in his data. Therefore, once again the results show that there is no evidence to support the hypothesis that speakers who have lived in an English speaking country use *DM just* more than those who have not.

Placement in the clause:

The results show that the placement of *DM just* within the clause is highly prescribed in the speech of the non-native participants of the present study. Fig. 20. shows the frequency of *DM just* according to the grammatical category it precedes. In this tabulation the percentages are calculated out of the total

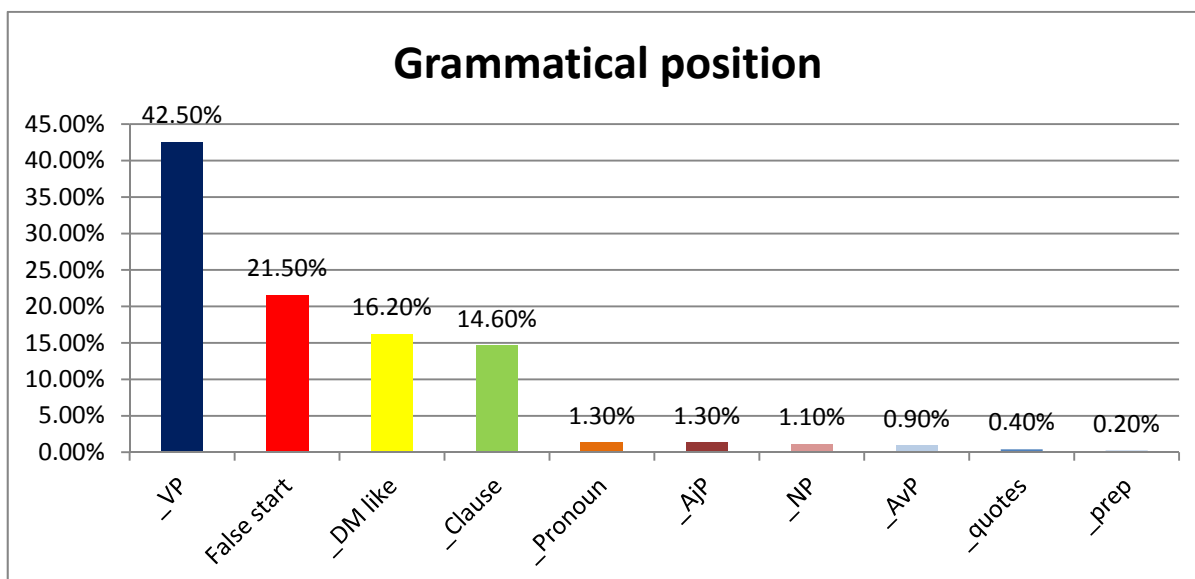


Fig. 20. Distribution of DM *just* according to grammatical position within the clause.

number of DM *just* occurrences in the corpus. These results confirm Tagliamonte's (2005) results that found DM *just* to occur most frequently in front of a verb phrase, as they do so here at a rate of 42.5%. Out of this percentage, it is interesting to note that 13.7% are quotative verbs, suggesting that DM *just* frequently precedes markers of quoted speech or thought. The following sentences illustrate the use of DM *just* immediately before a verb phrase, as in (149) and a quotative verb phrase, as in (150).

(149) *I just hate that when you're abroad, even if you speak English, you just have this German accent.*

(150) *I don't know if you've seen it, but there are many campaigns of students complaining that we don't get enough [financial support] and I'm just like "ach, come on!"*

Another 21.5% are found in the 'false start' category. Recall that this category includes hesitations, interruptions, starting over due to misarticulation, and so on. Examples of this kind can be seen in (151) and (152).

(151) *But in sailing you just- people stick to the sport*

(152) *But I can feel it sometimes if I get up really early and go to work I- I just- I'm craving coffee.*

14.6% of the occurrences of DM *just* appear at the very beginning of a clause. These are predominantly found to be in conjunction with *it*-clefts, as seen in (153), or to occur as the first word of the clause, as in (154).

(153) *It's just- it's a perfect way of not doing your work and I understand why a lot of employers they- they block Facebook.*

(154) *Sometimes they do get aggressive and at that time you really can't do anything. Just normally we say "sit down, we have the police waiting for you".*

Finally, while it is worth pointing out that DM *just* occurs immediately before DM *like* 73 times at 16.2%, the results show that these are practically all found in the speech of one speaker, Katinka, indicating that this is not actually as frequent a place for DM *just* to occur as the numbers might superficially suggest. Examples of her use of the combination of DM *just* followed by DM *like* can be found in the following sentence (155).

(155) *And like the last day at that museum Bauhaus where I just like slept standing there and I was just like so tired because I'd gotten like, what, three hours of sleep during the whole weekend.*

The results for this factor group therefore confirm previous findings of native speakers' placement of DM *just* in the sentence (Tagliamonte 2005), and demonstrate that its use, like all other linguistic features of any variety of speech, is systematic and thus does not merely occur at random.

Tense and temporal markers:

Finally, the data collected for this study suggests that DM *just* is almost exclusively limited to sentences in the past or present tense, as these make up 80.8% of the occurrences. Fig. 21. is tabulated according to the number of occurrences of DM *just* within each tense marker out of the overall number of tokens of DM *just*, and shows its distribution within each category.

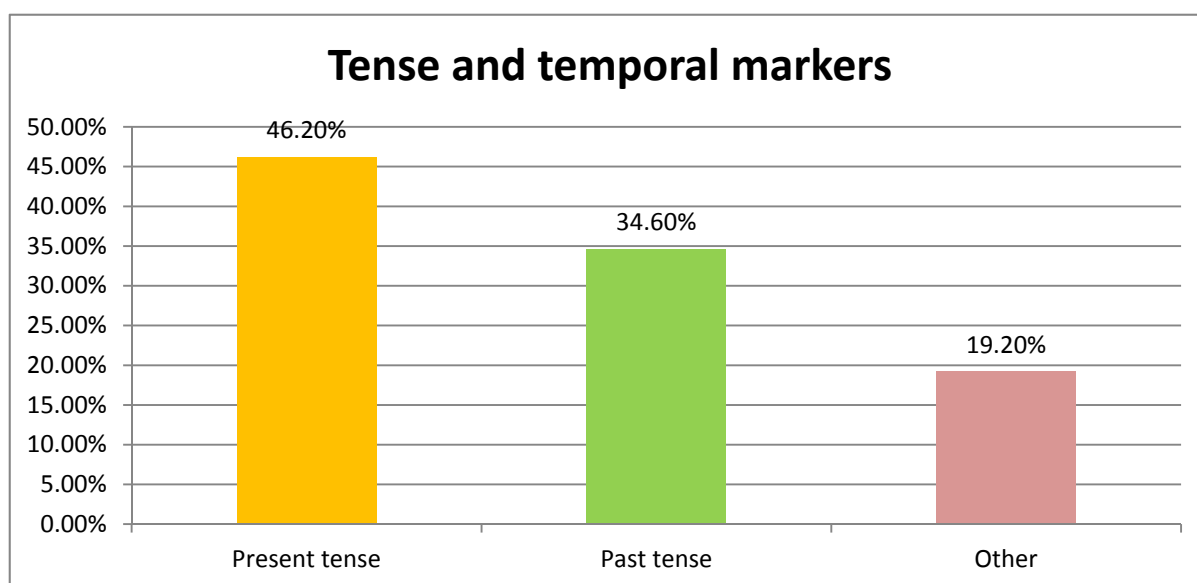


Fig. 21. Distribution of DM *just* between tense and temporal markers.

The results show that at 46.2% DM *just* occurs most frequently in the present tense, while it occurs in the past tense at 34.6%. Unlike the results found in section 2.5. for the quotatives, DM *just* hardly appears in Historic Present at all. In fact, the two were only found to appear together on three occasions, a mere 0.7% of the total number of occurrences. As historical present, the subjunctive mood, ‘infinitive marker only’, ‘continuous marker only’, and ‘no tense marker’ merely came to 19.2% combined, they have been grouped together into an ‘other’ category. Examples seen in (156) and (157) show occurrences of DM *just* in sentences in the present and the past tense respectively.

(156) *But with my friends we've never really kept track of who's buying what cos we're always just buying [rounds of drinks].*

(157) *So she took off from her husband, hid in a toilet and just drank a bottle of vodka.*

The sentence in (158) and (159) are examples of ‘continuous marker only’ and ‘no tense marker’ from the category ‘other’.

(158) *He's very proud that he's been to America, "over there, just me, just being tanned, being buff, being trash-talking!"*

(159) *Yeah, just like always with that -ie ending, like barbie instead of barbeque.*

These results practically mirror those of tense and temporal marker for DM *like* in section 4.7. in terms of use in the present and past tenses. Admittedly these results do not necessarily show the true influence that this constraint has on the use of the two DMs under study here, as this study has not coded the entire data for tense and temporal marker, but only the clauses containing DM *like* and *just*. Therefore it is not possible to determine conclusively whether this provides evidence that DM *like* and *just* favour the present tense over the past tense, or whether they occur here more frequently simply because the data contain more present than past tense clauses. Further examination of this issue is therefore required in order to shed more light on how tense and temporal markers constrain the use of these two DMs.

In this analysis of DM *just* five main points emerge:

1. DM *just*, despite its use having never been formally taught to the speakers, is used more than any other of the standard uses of *just*.
2. The use of DM *just* is not clearly differentiated by gender.
3. Speakers who have lived in an English speaking country do not necessarily use DM *just* more than those who have not.
4. Use of DM *just* is highly rule-governed, and is found to favour pre-verb phrase and pre-false start positions.
5. DM *just* is predominantly found to occur in present tense clauses

It is difficult to comment on the non-native use of DM *just* found in the current data compared to previous findings for native speakers' use, given the overall dearth of information about the use and constraints of this relatively new linguistic feature. However, it seems that its association with female speakers that Tagliamonte (2005) found is not supported here, as the current results showed no strong gender differentiation. On the other hand, the results for the position of DM *just* in the sentence do match the findings of Tagliamonte (2005), as both studies have found DM *just* to prefer a pre-verb phrase position. Once more it has been found that the speakers who have lived in an English speaking country do not use DM *just* more than those who have not. Finally, as with the results for DM *like*, the use of DM *just* with the different tense and temporal markers would need to be tested further against all the clauses in the data to tell conclusively if they most often occur in the present tense, as the present study has found. Only when more studies have been carried out on the use of DM *just* by native speakers will it be known whether the non-native speakers of the current study use it in comparatively similar or dissimilar ways.

6. Discussion

6.1. Summary of main findings

What do these findings reveal to us in terms of the original research questions? As anticipated, the results show that all three variables, quotative *be like*, DM *like* and DM *just*, have found their way into the speech of young, university-educated Danes, as they were all seen to be used by each of the current study's participants. The frequencies and social and linguistic constraints on the use of these three variants will be reviewed and interpreted below.

Quotative be like:

Although the results showed that *be like* is not the most frequently used quotative, its distribution among the participants suggests that it is familiar to all of them and even, in some cases, the overall preferred quotative marker. The finding that *be like* is not the preferred quotative marker differs from most recent studies of native speakers of English (e.g. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004). This either suggests that Danish non-native speakers of English use quotatives in a notably different way to native speakers, or that *be like* is still a change in progress for these speakers and will increase in use over time. A real time study of the development of this quotative would therefore need to be conducted in order to assess the validity of this second suggestion.

While gender was clearly found to be a strong constraint on the use of *be like* by this sample of speakers, the other social factors examined here seem to have less of an influence on the use of this quotative marker. For instance, the results revealed a great deal of in-group variation as some speakers were found to use *be like* at relatively high rates while others seemed to be resisting the change as they hardly used it at all. It might be argued that some of the speakers are either consciously trying to avoid this feature in general speech, or perhaps refrained from using it as much as they normally would due to the unnatural circumstances of the interview. Similarly, the results did not show any discernible correspondence in frequency of use between the speakers who had spent time living in an English speaking country as opposed to those who had never lived outside Denmark. This is somewhat surprising as it is well-known from the study of second language acquisition that foreign language learners acquire non-standard forms faster when immersed in a community mainly consisting of native speakers of the language they wish to learn. While these results might simply indicate that these are not strong constraints on young Danes' use of *be like* it is nevertheless important to note that these fuzzy results might be due to the present study's small sample size. A greater number of participants would therefore be required in order to identify properly the degree of influence these constraints have on the use of the variable.

As stated by Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009: 312) 'the constraints on *be like* that are consistently found to be significant are the linguistic ones'. That is, whether or not this quotative is uttered by a native or non-native speaker, it seems that the linguistic constraints on it remain remarkably stable. This is evidenced by the results of the present study of *be like* with regard to each of the internal constraints examined here. That is, like Butters (1982), Tannen (1986), Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), and Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004, 2007), it was found that *be like* prefers internal dialogue to direct speech. Another significant constraint was grammatical person, as the current study found a higher overall rate of occurrence of *be like* quotatives with first person subjects over third person subjects, just as is found with most native speakers studies (Blyth et al. 1990; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009 etc.). Next, previous studies (Singler 2001; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009 (American and New Zealand results)) have shown that while it may initially look as though *be like* favours present tense, it is in fact most frequently found to occur in present historical, which shows present tense morphology despite a non-present tense reference. Here too the same constraints are found on the use of *be like* by the Danes as by native speakers. As expected, the results of the present data confirm previous findings (Romaine and Lange 1991; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Singler 2001; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), as *be like* is here found to favour mimetic re-enactment over no mimetic re-enactment. In addition to these well-studied linguistic constraints this study examined how *be like* occurs in conjunction with discourse markers. It was here found that more than any other quotative in the data *be like* frequently occurs alongside DM *just*. However, as I know of no other

study that has considered this constraint there are no previous data with which to compare this finding. The fact that all the linguistic constraints that have been studied previously are shown to be robust, despite the different speakers' varying degrees of fluency in English, tells us a great deal about what type of linguistic change *be like* is (I will further elaborate on the details of this in section 6.2). Thus, its linguistic properties in native speech are found to be mirrored in non-native speech without much difficulty, despite users of this form not being taught how to use this quotative in the same manner as native speakers.

Attitudes to users of be like:

The results of the current study's qualitative analysis of young Danes' attitudes to users of *be like* revealed very similar findings to those of Dailey-O'Cain (2000) and Buchstaller (2006). The Danes perceive *be like* users to be young, middle-class American females who are trendy/cool, animated, confident, extroverted and popular, but simultaneously annoying and stupid. This perception closely matches the stereotype of the American Valley Girl which emerged around the time that the quotative made its way into the English language, and which is evidenced by the song 'Valley Girl' by Frank Zappa. However, as is a typical finding in attitudinal sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Ladegaard 2000), this shows that there is no clear correlation between perception of the form and actual production, as the literature (e.g. Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Buchstaller 2008; Blyth et al. 1990; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Macaulay 2001; Winter 2002; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009) shows that it is used worldwide, by both genders and by speakers from all socio-economic backgrounds, demonstrating that attitudes are formed independently of facts.

It was hypothesised that positive attitudes to users of *be like* would be displayed by the study's speakers who had the highest rates of the quotative in their own speech. However, this was not the case. Rather, in some instances these speakers had very negative attitudes to users of *be like*, a quotative that they themselves used very frequently. Yet, as the present attitudinal study is somewhat basic, it is difficult to say with much certainty why positive attitudes were not matched with high rates, and negative attitudes with low rates. As suggested in section 3.4., it is possible that the stigmatisation of this specific quotative has come to the attention of some Danes, just as it has to many native speakers of English. Thus, the Danish speakers would be aware of its negative associations even if they are not consciously able to stop using it themselves. This might be due to its having already entered into their own grammar of English or, potentially, on account of their being primed by their own use of the Danish equivalent *være sådan noget*. Alternatively, it might simply be that the wide range of functions of *be like* outweighs any negative attitudes an individual might have towards users of the quotative. This suggestion is corroborated by Silje in this comment made after the survey:

'I kinda got- actually, I got really annoyed when I was in Ireland cos I really- I really don't like [quotative be like]. But yeah, it's easy to use and it- you know, it feels good in your mouth.'

A much more detailed approach is thus required in order to properly elicit and fully understand the seemingly complex attitudes of these informants to users of *be like*.

Discourse markers like and just:

The two DMs, *like* and *just*, were found to occur at almost equal rates, despite Tagliamonte (2005) reporting that DM *just* occurred almost three times less frequently than DM *like*. This seems to suggest a significant finding. However, as the methods of calculating the frequencies of these variables differ between Tagliamonte's study and the present study, it is not possible to tell at this stage if the Danes use DM *like* less than the Canadians or if they in fact use DM *just* more. Further research with comparable methods is therefore required in order to determine which of the two it is, and to assess what might be the cause of the difference in use between the two varieties.

As with the results for quotative *be like*, it seems that the social constraints for both DM *like* and DM *just* for non-native speakers are fairly weak as they do not match results from previous studies carried out with native speakers (e.g. Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Tagliamonte 2005). The results of the present study showed considerable inter-speaker variation which did not pattern clearly by gender or by whether a speaker has lived in an English speaking country or not. While it is possible that these constraints are in fact merely weak for these two variables, a larger sample of speakers would be required in order to state with confidence how DM *like* and DM *just* pattern according to these social factors in the speech of young Danes.

Once again, we find that the linguistic constraints for the variables under study are considerably more robust than the social ones. This is seen specifically for position in the clause as both DMs were found to occur predominantly in the same position and with similar distributions in percentages as that reported by Tagliamonte (2005). That is, DM *like* occurs most frequently in front of noun phrases and whole clauses, whereas DM *just* is found principally before verb phrases and false starts. This study furthermore coded the data for tense and temporal markers as a constraint on the use of these two DMs. It was found that both variables occurred more frequently in present tense clauses than in historical present or past tense. However, as mentioned in section 5.6., it is important to bear in mind that due to time restrictions the entire data were not coded for this factor group. Therefore these findings merely suggest that there could be a correlation between the use of DMs *like* and *just* with present tense clauses. However, it is possible that the data simply contain more clauses in the present tense than in any other tense or temporal markers, which would explain why it appears that these

variables prefer present tense clauses. Thus, further research on this constraint on DM *like* and DM *just* is required to determine conclusively whether there is any evidence to support this finding.

I will now expand on some points from the results of the current study highlighted in chapters two, three, four and five, and attempt to explain how non-native speakers might acquire these three variables.

6.2. Off the shelf changes

In this study it has been found that each of the Danish participants uses all three variables, quotative *be like*, DM *like*, and DM *just*, to some extent in their English speech. Moreover, these forms have been found to be linguistically constrained in the same way as they are by native speakers. This is rather remarkable considering that the participants have neither been formally taught to use them, nor indeed how to use them. The question therefore is, how did they acquire these forms?

Milroy (2007) makes the distinction between two types of socially motivated language changes. The first type, which is relatively easy to access, i.e. acquire, she calls *off the shelf* changes. The second type is a great deal more complex and requires repeated exposure to the form as well as local support and participation from a dense social network in order to access the input needed for the changes to take place. This type of change she calls *under the counter* changes. She states that the difference between these two types of change ‘roughly correspond to the distinction between *supralocal* and *local* changes’ (149-150, her italics): that is, changes that take place across wide geographical areas or social strata as opposed to changes taking place only in specific geographical locations or in certain social pockets of society. She further states that *off the shelf* changes ‘are freely available to appropriately positioned social actors as a stylistic and social resource, regardless of the structure and location of their primary social networks’ (152). Here I argue that all three variables under examination in the current study can be said to be *off the shelf* changes. Take for instance the fact that only two of the ten participants stated on the background questionnaire (see appendix 1) that they occasionally spoke English with friends who are native speakers of English. This means that the remaining eight speakers, the vast majority here, have no regular social contact with native speakers of English, indicating that these three forms must be *off the shelf* changes as the speakers are not exposed to the variables repeatedly in the context of a close-knit social network. Milroy goes on to note that Holmes (1997) and Horvath and Horvath (2002) have reported on the spread of *off the shelf* changes from the U.K. to New Zealand and Australia, where they are found to exhibit many of the same constraints that are found in the variables’ source locations. Finally, Milroy (2007) specifically mentions quotative *be like* as a typical example of an *off the shelf* change. Combined, these points

indicate that the three variables under study here are forms which speakers can access with relative ease, and use when and where the circumstances call for it.

This in turn begs the next question: if not from close friends and relatives, where do the speakers first encounter these forms?

6.3. *The influence of the mass media*

Despite decades of sociolinguists (e.g. Trudgill 1986; Chambers 1998) maintaining that linguistic innovations are not spread by television and radio, Stuart-Smith (2005, 2007) states that, alongside other factors, exposure to a linguistic feature through mass media has in fact been found to have an effect on use. Stuart-Smith's (2005) study on the use of TH-fronting and /l/ vocalisation by young, non-mobile, working class adolescents from Glasgow revealed that there was a connection between how much the informants engaged with London based television shows, such as *Eastenders* and *The Bill*, and the occurrences of Cockney features in their speech. Thus, it was shown that while television has been found to have an effect on production of this feature, it only does so when the viewers engage with what they are watching and when this factor occurs in conjunction with other factors. That is, by themselves mass media do not have sufficient influence to change the way people speak, but in conjunction with the right combination of other factors they can be found to have an impact. The vast number of American television shows to which Danes are exposed could therefore be argued to be an influence on the use of these features, as all the participants listed mainly American television shows as their favourites on the background questionnaire (see appendix 1). This might additionally have been a contributing factor in the perception of *be like* as a feature of American English. However, as this study has not tested for the influence of the media on the variables under discussion here, it is not possible to tell whether the circumstances are right for this to be an influencing factor.

6.4. *The potential influence of functional equivalents in Danish*

Intuitively, it seems as if functional equivalents of these three variants in Danish, i.e. quotative *være sådan noget*, DM *ligesom* and DM *bare*, could have an influence on the way that Danes use these English forms, as they occur frequently in their speech despite the participants of the current study having never been formally taught to use them, or, indeed, how to use them 'correctly'. Yet, this is unlikely as there are countless examples from around the world of non-native speakers acquiring these forms despite there being no functional equivalent in their own native language. However, this does not necessarily disprove that such forms in speakers' native language might influence their use of similar forms in their non-native language; further research would be required in order to identify

what kind of effect it may or may not have on acquisition of non-standard forms, such as the ones being examined in the present study.

6.5. *The zero quotative*

Although most studies of native speakers' use of *be like* (e.g. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004) show higher rates of this quotative than any other, this was not the case with the non-native speakers of the present study. As with Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999) Canadian sample, the current results showed that here the *zero* marker, which presents itself as no marker at all, is in fact the overall most frequently used quotative. Unusually for quotatives, it was found to be used by one speaker, Frederik, almost categorically. As this quotative marker has only had few studies devoted to its use and functions (e.g. Mathis and Yule 1994), it is difficult to say why this particular quotative occurs at such notably higher rates among the participants of the current study than both the standard quotative verbs, such as *say* and *think*, and the more well-established non-standard quotatives, such as *be like* and *go*.

A possible explanation for the high frequencies of the *zero* quotative in the data could be attributed to the specific way in which young Danish speakers use quotatives in Danish speech. This is evidenced by the results of Rathje's (2011) study of the use of quotatives in Danish by three generations of Danish women. Here she finds that among her youngest speakers, aged 16 to 18, the *zero* marker occurred at a frequency of 44.5%, as opposed to only 27.1% for standard quotative verbs and 28.4% for non-standard quotatives. By comparison, hardly any of the middle-aged or older speakers used this quotative marker. This therefore suggests that, more than any other quotative marker she studied, the *zero* quotative is a feature of youth speech in Danish. As there would be no need to translate this form from Danish into English since it is represented by no marker at all, *zero* quotative is ideal for language transfer. It might therefore be suggested that as this has been found to be a much more common marker of quoted speech and thought in Danish, the speakers of the present study transfer its use from their native language into any other language they speak including English.

However, further examination of the use of the *zero* quotative in Danish by native speakers, and in English by both native and non-native speakers, as well as research into the constraints on its use, are required before any such claims can be asserted about why this quotative occurs at such high rates in the current data.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation has analysed the use of quotative *be like* and the discourse markers *like* and *just* by ten Danish non-native speakers of English, as well as measuring their and nine others' attitudes towards users of quotative *be like*.

Based on findings from previous studies, the results presented here show that the Danes in this study have lower frequencies of these features in their speech, but that they nevertheless use them very similarly to native speakers of English. However, for DM *like* and *just*, the social factor of gender is not as strongly constrained for the non-native speakers as it is for native speakers, since no gender agreement was found in the results. This demonstrates that while linguistic constraints seem to be adopted indiscriminately in a foreign language context, the social constraints are reassessed and possibly reorganised by the speakers of the community into which these variables enter.

In terms of attitudes towards quotative *be like*, the Danes' perception of users of this feature has not caught up with the actual current use of *be like*: a globally available linguistic feature of present-day English used to a lesser or greater degree by practically all young speakers today. Rather, they believe it is used mainly by speakers who match to the social stereotype of the California Valley Girl, as they are perceived as being young American females from a middle-class background who are popular and fun but not particularly intelligent or pleasant. Unexpectedly, it has been found here that positive associations with users of *be like* do not necessarily result in higher rates of use, just as negative associations do not necessarily result in lower rates of use.

The results from the current study have sought to add to the knowledge we have of these linguistic features and their individual constraints, allowing us to gain information specifically on how non-native speakers adopt and adapt these forms to fit their social environment, as well as illustrating how non-native speakers approach linguistic forms that they are not formally taught to use.

The discussion has attempted to identify elements of the Danish language as well as the popular culture in Denmark that might be found to have an influence on the use of these non-standard forms by the country's younger generations. It has explored the idea that the media's focus on American popular culture may have a strong effect on the use of these linguistic features which are seen to be associated with American English. Although it has not been possible to provide sufficient empirical evidence for such a connection, it is hoped that future research may be carried out to explore and assess the merit of such suggestions.

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Appendices:

1. Participant pack: information sheet, consent form, background questionnaire, and debrief sheet.
2. Attitudes questionnaire: *be like*

Information for Participants

Firstly thank you for agreeing to take part!

These recorded interviews are for research I am undertaking into Danish non-native speakers of English, specifically how and when they use English, and what their attitudes to it are.

Taking part in the research will require that you be recorded for an hour and a half: an informal interview with me about life as a student in Copenhagen, how much or little the use of English affects your life, and how you feel about using it.

Unless you specifically give me consent to use your name in association with your recording, I will store and refer to all recordings with numbers and/or pseudonyms. This also applies to the information you give me about yourself in the background sheet.

All recordings and information disclosed will be treated as strictly confidential. Your recordings will be stored securely and only be accessible to myself and those working on this project.

You may withdraw from the study at any point.

Many thanks!

Further information is available from:
Kirsteen Bressendorff 0601910b@student.gla.ac.uk

Informant Consent Form

I have read and understood the information and this consent form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this study, and that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage before or during data collection, without giving any reason.

Please indicate your consent to being a research subject here by deleting “do not agree”:

- I agree / do not agree to participate in this study as detailed in the information sheet
- I agree / do not agree that anonymous recordings of my voice may be stored indefinitely and used for academic purposes (including analysis, research, academic conference presentations, and future applications for research funding).

In addition to the consent above, please indicate whether you consent to any of the following:

- I agree / do not agree that anonymous recordings of my voice can be used in university teaching.
- I agree / do not agree that anonymous recordings of my voice can be broadcast to an audience on laboratory open days or other public, non-professional talks and presentations.
- I agree / do not agree that I may be contacted after the experiment by researchers working at the University of Glasgow, who may be looking for participants in a follow-up to this study.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date:/...../2010

Further information is available from:

Kirsteen Bressendorff: 0601910b@student.gla.ac.uk

Participant Details

Name: _____

Informant number (researcher to fill out): _____

Age: _____

Student or graduate of which university? _____

Where were you

Born: _____

Raised: _____

Have you ever lived in an English speaking country?: _____

If so, where?: _____

And for how long?: _____

Are you fluent in any other languages?: _____

Do you have any close friends who are native speakers of English?: _____

If so, do you speak English or Danish with them?: _____

Do you watch English-speaking TV programmes? _____

Which are your favourites? _____

For approximately how many hours a day do you do this? _____

Do you listen a lot to music sung in English? _____

If so, who are your favourite musicians? _____

Debrief

Thank you for taking the time to be interviewed and recorded!

The title of my Masters project is 'From Vikings to Valley Girls: A sociolinguistic study of non-native use of quotative be like and discourse markers like and just'. As I suspect you might have already guessed from the last section of the questionnaire, I'm interested in the way non-native speakers of English use quotative verbs, in particular, quotative like. This is to see if they use it in the same capacity and with the same constraints as native speakers. In addition, I'm keen to understand what kind of attitudes people have towards those who use quotative like.

These recordings will allow me to explore these issues in depth – so thank you!

Matched Guise

Text 1:

A: So anyway, we started walking
 And then we asked, ‘Should we turn down this lane?’
 So John says, ‘Hang on, where’s the GPS?’
 Then it got pretty awkward and no one would say anything.
 And it was kind of a ‘Oh well, we’ve forgotten that. We’ll have to navigate by the stars!’ sort of thing.
 So we just carried on from there.

Personality traits of Speaker A:						
	Very	Quite	Neither	Quite	Very	
Calm						Giddy
Trendy/Cool						Old-fashioned
Educated						Uneducated
Pleasant						Annoying
British						Non-British
Animated						Boring
Intelligent						Stupid
Confident						Non-confident
Extroverted						Introverted
Professional						Unambitious
Glamorous						Dull
Popular						Unpopular

How old do you think this speaker is: 15-20, 21-30, 31-40 or 41+? (please circle)

What do you think is the sex/gender of this speaker? _____

What do you think is the social class of this speaker? _____

Matched Guise

Text 2:

X: So then, she was like ‘Oh, it’s okay. Just remember to count to five and everything will be fine’.
 And I was like ‘Oh that’s - that’s alright’.
 Then today she asked me again ‘How are you juggling everything? I hope everything’s going okay.’
 And I was like ‘Well not really this week. This week is really stressful’.

Personality traits of Speaker X:						
	Very	Quite	Neither	Quite	Very	
Calm						Giddy
Trendy/Cool						Old-fashioned
Educated						Uneducated
Pleasant						Annoying
British						Non-British
Animated						Boring
Intelligent						Stupid
Confident						Non-confident
Extroverted						Introverted
Professional						Unambitious
Glamorous						Dull
Popular						Unpopular

How old do you think this speaker is: 15-20, 21-30, 31-40 or 41+? (please circle)

What do you think is the sex/gender of this speaker? _____

What do you think is the social class of this speaker? _____

Text 2:

X: So then, she was like ‘Oh, it’s okay. Just remember to count to five and everything will be fine’.

And I was like ‘Oh that’s - that’s alright’.

Then today she asked me again ‘How are you juggling everything? I hope everything’s going okay.’

And I was like ‘Well not really this week. This week is really stressful’.

Do you associate *be like* with older or younger speakers? _____

Do you associate *be like* with male or female speakers? _____

Do you associate *be like* with working-class or middle-class speakers? _____

Where do you think this use of *be like* originated from? _____
