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**Analysing Spoken English:
Resources and Techniques for English
Language Teachers**
Resource booklet

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Organised and devised by Heike Pichler (Newcastle) and Sue Fox (QMUL), with contributions by Stephen Levey (Ottawa) and the DECTE project team (Newcastle)

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PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO CONTACT US SHOULD YOU HAVE ANY QUERIES ABOUT THESE MATERIALS.

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INTRODUCTION

Dr Heike Pichler (Newcastle University) & Dr Sue Fox (Queen Mary, University of London)

The materials in this booklet were designed for teachers of A-Level English Language, specifically those teaching sessions on spoken English and/or language variation & change.

The focus of the materials is on so-called discourse-pragmatic features, i.e., features such as *innit* (e.g. *It's only an hour from Edinburgh and Newcastle, innit?* – *Oh, I've answered this one before, innit?*), *be like* (e.g. *And they were like, "we divn't want you here." And we were like, "why?"*) or *dead* (e.g. *It was dead funny.*) which do not generally contribute to the factual content of an utterance but perform important interactional functions in discourse. By introducing teachers and students to these features' functions in social interaction, their inherent variability as well as the mechanisms that lead to innovations in their use, we hope to:

- raise awareness of their indispensability in spoken discourse;
- break down existing prejudices against the use and users of these features;
- introduce a variety of social factors affecting language variation within and across dialects; and
- elucidate the relationship between dialect variation and language change.

The materials provided in this booklet include:

- fact sheets summarising relevant insights from current research into the selected topics;
- suggestions for classroom activities that foster students' theoretical knowledge about spoken language and language variation & change (with answers and commentaries);
- photocopyable worksheets for practical investigations into spoken language use and language variation for use and adoption in the classroom;
- an annotated list of on-line resources and databanks for English Language A'Level teachers; and
- some background reading materials on topics related to the workshop theme.

We hope that these materials are useful to you. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions about the topics covered in this booklet, the materials included in it or anything else related to spoken English and language variation & change.

Our warmest wishes,



(on behalf of the organizers & contributors)

WHAT ARE DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FEATURES?¹

Dr Heike Pichler (Newcastle University)

A. FACT SHEET

A.1. Labels: The terminology applied to refer to the items and constructions discussed below includes *discourse markers*, *pragmatic markers*, *pragmatic particles* and *discourse-pragmatic features*.

A.2. Inventory of forms: A wide range of linguistic features can function as discourse-pragmatic features. These include, amongst others:

- subject-(negative-)verb combinations: *I (don't) think, I (don't) suppose, I (don't) know, I guess, I reckon, I mean, you know, you see*
- verb-pronoun combinations: *mind you*
- verbs: *say, see, like, look*
- adverbial conjuncts and disjuncts: *actually, basically, anyway, so, right*
- coordinating and subordinating conjunctions: *and, because/cos, but, or*
- interjections: *oh, ah*
- adverbials (of time, manner, etc.): *now, then, really, well, just*
- response particles: *ok, uh-huh, yeah*
- other: *kind of, sort of, and stuff (like that)*

A.3. Definition: Discourse-pragmatic features are syntactically optional linguistic items or constructions which make little or no contribution to the referential meaning (= factual content) of an utterance but are used instead to perform important interactional functions.

- syntactic optionality: In most cases, linguistic features that function as discourse-pragmatic features can be removed from a sentence without rendering the sentence ungrammatical (left-hand column). This is not the case when these lexical items or constructions function as verbs, adverbs, etc. (right-hand column).

	discourse-pragmatic feature	(ad)verb
<i>like</i>	That's LIKE six hours away. LIKE there's no as much drugs. It's not very LIKE fashionable or artistic or anything.	I quite LIKE the Irish accents. It looks LIKE tea.
<i>(you) see</i>	SEE , that's really Irish. YOU SEE , there's nothing else to come to Berwick apart from the pubs.	You go to Newcastle and you SEE people that's from Berwick.

- lack of referential meaning: In many cases, discourse-pragmatic features can be removed from an utterance without significantly altering its content or message.

with discourse-pragmatic features	without discourse-pragmatic features
AND I THINK with Berwick being fought over so many times, they KIND OF get confused. COS it was LIKE thirteen times.	Ø Ø With Berwick being fought over so many times, they Ø get confused. Ø It was Ø thirteen times.

A.4. Functionality: As Fetzer (2011: 255-256) points out, “[i]n the majority of communicative exchanges [...] participants do not only exchange factual information, that is, propositional

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all examples provided in this section are taken verbatim from recordings of speech data made in Berwick-upon-Tweed, north-east England, and Salford, Greater Manchester. Thank you to Rebecca Corrie, Jessica Morris, Rafal Rabiec, Chelsey Wallwork, Hayley Ward and Hafsa Younus for collecting and transcribing the Salford data.

information concerning facts of the world [...], but also information about the nature of their interpersonal relationship and social status, about their degree of commitment toward their contribution's validity regarding force and content, about how they intend the contribution to be taken up, and about the contribution's discursive status." The usage of discourse-pragmatic features, which is first and foremost motivated by their functionality in discourse, contributes to communicating this kind of non-factual information. Their macro-functions are introduced and illustrated below.

- to express speaker beliefs & attitudes and establish/maintain social rapport with interlocutors

Example	function
<p>Luke: For the kids that are on drugs, I blame the parents, me. HP: Why. Luke: I DIVN'T KNAA? I THINK they're just. Aye, they're no looking after their kids properly, or they just, just letting them get away wi it.</p>	<p><i>signals Luke's reduced commitment to the validity of his potentially highly controversial opinion, presumably in an attempt to forestall criticism and to mitigate interactional conflict</i></p>
<p>Charlene: I would just stay the same. I use the phone a lot at work, so we sort of HP: You have your you've a telephone voice. Yeah. Charlene: I do- ^{Have I?} I DON'T THINK I've got a telephone voice.</p>	<p><i>mitigates the potentially offensive effect of an overt disagreement (compare I don't think I've got a telephone voice and I haven't got a telephone voice)</i></p>
<p>Helen: You know, it's not their fault our walls have got asbestos, YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN? Kathleen: Yeah.</p>	<p><i>requests Kathleen to confirm that she shares Helen's opinion and attitudes w.r.t. the asbestos situation</i></p>
<p>Glenn: There's like the young people. I know we're no old. But, like, the thirteen-, fourteen-year-olds. They're even though they're from Berwick, they're more Geordie, AREN'T THEY? Cody: Oh yeah. Glenn: Cos they walk around and they talk Geordie.</p>	<p><i>invites Cody to express agreement with Glenn's assessment that young Berwickers speak like Geordies</i></p>

- to guide & facilitate utterance interpretation

example	Function
<p>You've got just about everything's going for you if you're a retired person. I MEAN, there's plenty of clubs and things like that for retired people. Plus there's there's walks.</p>	<p><i>signals that what follows is an exemplification or illustration of the point raised in the preceding sentence, i.e., that Berwick is an excellent place to live for retired people</i></p>
<p>Like, if someone phoned up and (I have started) talking on the phone. Was someone from the bank OR WHATEVER. I am, I probably do. I just speak clearly.</p>	<p><i>implies that the preceding example of a bank employee calling on the phone is just one of the circumstances under which the speaker would attempt to speak more clearly than usual</i></p>
<p>And you already don't like her. And Tony APPARENTLY hates her as well.</p>	<p><i>signals the source of the speaker's statement w.r.t. Tony's feelings towards the girl in question, i.e., that it isn't based on factual knowledge but on hear-say or inferred from observation</i></p>

- to structure discourse & contribute to the smooth development of social interaction

example	function
Joseph: That's a word that's often used. I'm surprised you've never heard of it before. HP: No. Joseph: ANYWAY . Em. And then there's the breaks. You've heard of the breaks?	<i>marks Joseph's return to the main topic of conversation, i.e., dialect words for 'trousers', after a short digression in which he expressed his astonishment at HP's non-familiarity with a dialect word he'd mentioned prior to the beginning of this extract</i>
Well, my dad's lived in Berwick for about seventeen, eighteen years now. And he's from Bristol. WELL , he was originally born in Wales but he was brought up in Bristol, around that area. And he doesn't talk Berwick now. He sometimes tries to but it doesn't work. So	<i>marks the beginning of a repair sequence in which the speaker modifies the content of what she just said</i>
Well, my dad's lived in Berwick for about seventeen, eighteen years now. And he's from Bristol. Well, he was originally born in Wales but he was brought up in Bristol, around that area. And he doesn't talk Berwick now. He sometimes tries to but it doesn't work. SO	<i>signals the end of the speaker's contribution and her desire to relinquish her hold on the floor</i>

Note that most discourse-pragmatic features are multifunctional, i.e., they can perform functions other than the ones exemplified above (e.g. *anyway* is often used to bring a conversation to a close; *well* is often used to down-tone disagreements).

A.5. Stigmatization: While there are compelling reasons for using discourse-pragmatic features in social interaction, their usage is often condemned by members of the general public, as illustrated in the following quotes.

“Verbal viruses [such as *uh, um, like, you know, well, okay, sort of*] are meaningless fillers that speckle our speech, distract from your message, drain our impact and annoy listeners. I call them verbal viruses because they seem to be contagious and we pick them up without being aware of it.” (Berkley 2002; <http://www.school-for-champions.com/speaking/verbalvirus.htm>)

Like is “[a] meaningless word used in teenage American speech which may indicate, among other things, a gap in thinking or brain functioning.” It is used in the UK “randomly by irritating teenagers and people who dropped out of school or have never read a book above the literary standard of Guns ‘n’ Ammo.” (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=like>)

One reason for the widespread misperception about the meaningless and superfluous nature of discourse-pragmatic features lies in their lack of referential meaning discussed above and the fact that it can be quite difficult to define their exact contribution to discourse.

Another reason lies in their frequency and multifunctionality. Like other linguistic features which can be employed as discourse-pragmatic features, *like* has multiple uses and functions. Theoretically, we could construct a sentence like the following invented example:

I know what you mean. **LIKE**, when you don't eat for **LIKE** 10 hours, you feel **LIKE** really hungry, and you're **LIKE**, “I would *LIKE* to eat now and I feel *LIKE* eating something that smells *LIKE* fish and tastes fish-*LIKE*.”

The tokens of **LIKE** in italics are Standard English uses of **LIKE**: a verb, a conjunction, an adverb, and a suffix. By contrast, the tokens of **LIKE** in bold are discourse-pragmatic uses of **LIKE**. The first token signals that what follows is some kind of exemplification, illustration or explanation; the

second token signals approximation (similar to *about, around, approximately*); the third token puts focus and emphasis on the following ‘really hungry’; and the fourth token introduces quoted speech or verbalized inner thought. Because LIKE is so functionally versatile and can occur in so many different slots of a sentence and because listeners don’t necessarily distinguish between Standard English uses of LIKE and discourse-pragmatic uses of LIKE, it can create the impression in listeners that its use by (mainly young) speakers is not only meaningless and superfluous but also random and excessive.

A final reason for the stigmatization of some discourse-pragmatic features has to do with language change. In my recordings from Berwick-upon-Tweed, different generations of speakers tend to use different forms of discourse-pragmatic features. Older speakers (aged 60+) have very high rates of *you know*; speakers from the middle generation (aged 30-50) have very high rates of *eh, er, em*; and young speakers (aged 17-25) have very high rates of *like*. People’s criticism of e.g. *like*-usage often reflects their negative attitudes towards linguistic change and linguistic innovations. Unfortunately, these attitudes are then projected on the social groups driving these innovations (i.e., mostly young females).

A.6. Speech and writing: Written texts also contain a multitude of discourse-pragmatic features, albeit largely ones that are different from those used in speech. Examples include: *probably, possibly* (to hedge an utterance); *thus, therefore, consequently* (to signal that what follows is a result or consequence of what has just been mentioned); *however, conversely* (to mark a contrast); *in other words* (to introduce a different/simpler explanation), etc. These features are not generally stigmatized. On the contrary, their accurate use in written texts is usually equated with textual coherence and good writing skills.

A.7. Linguistic discrimination: Although linguists recognize the interactional importance of discourse-pragmatic features in speech, negative perceptions and prescriptive stigmatizations of these features persist. Russell et al. (2008) examined the effect the discourse marker use in job hiring decisions. They recruited a male and female actor who enacted a job interview situation in which they described themselves, their employment history and their job suitability. These recordings were manipulated as follows:

~ control condition: *I majored in Business Management and I hope to Ø put the skills I learned while in school into play within a work setting.*

~ ‘uh’ condition: *I majored in Business Management and I hope to **uh** put the skills I learned while in school into play within a work setting.*

~ ‘like’ condition: *I majored in Business Management and I hope to **like** put the skills I learned while in school into play within a work setting.*

The participants in the experiments (college students as well as professionals who had sat on interview panels in real life) were asked to rate the suitability of the interviewees in the three conditions described above along three dimensions:

hire	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	not hire
professional	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	unprofessional
recommend	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	not recommend

The results of the study revealed the following trends:

~ likelihood to be hired: Ø > ‘uh’ > ‘like’

~ perceived as professional: Ø > ‘uh’ > ‘like’

~ likelihood to be recommended: Ø > ‘uh’ > ‘like’

Russell et al. (2008: 116) concluded from these results that those overusing *like* may be at a particular disadvantage in the hiring process.’

B. SUGGESTED CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES: Characteristics of spoken English: Exploring the use, function and effect of discourse-pragmatic features

Typically, the language we use for speaking is somewhat different from the language we use for writing. We use different linguistic features when we're gossiping with our next door neighbour who we have known for years than when we're writing a letter of complaint to the local council. While few features are unique to either the written or spoken medium, there are many features that are more typical of one medium or the other.

B.1. Analysis of spoken texts: Read the following two extracts recorded between 2003 and 2005 in Berwick-upon-Tweed, north-east England.

Extract 1

Well (...) (there's) there's a lot of people (..) more so, it's when we're away from here. There's a lot of people think (..) sort of lean to the Scottish (..) accent, you know (that) I have a Scots accent. But (i-) (.) I (.) it's no a deliberate thing wi me. I I would say I just talk Berwick. You know? (.) Em. I mean we go away as I say we (have) been over the world and (somebody say,) "oh, there's a you're a Scotsman." I'm no a Scots, you know. So it (..) we're that close to Scotland, I suppose. (h) We have to pick up (.) you know them (.) bits and pieces. As (.) we are as close to (.) Newcastle and places like that. We seem to use (.) both kind of words, you know.

Extract 2

Oh, I dunno. It is (..) (And) it's nice. I dunno. I like going places and saying I'm from Berwick. I dunno. Cos it (.) like it (.) like it's got a lot of history. And it was Scottish, then it was English, and it was Scottish. It's changed hands quite a few times. So (..) I dunno, I find it (.) nice. Like, (.) and it's I think it is a nice place. The mo- like I've grown up (.) here (..) and (.) I've (learned) to appreciate it more. Like my mum used to live in the country in the middle of nowhere. And she says she just got on with it. You know, and made things and you found things to do. And that (.) so, like, you like make it what it is if you keep saying "Oh, it's boring. There's nothing to do. There's nothing to do." Then there won't be anything to do.

Transcription conventions

(.)	small pause
(..)	medium pause
(...)	long pause
(h)	in-breath
(text)	uncertain transcription
<u>underlining</u>	emphatic stress
.	final intonation contour
,	continuing intonation contour
?	rising intonation contour

- Which of the features of these two extracts are typical of speech?
- What age would you estimate the speaker to be in each case? What are the clues?
- Can you think of similar features to the ones identified above that you would regularly use in speech? Are there features your parents or siblings use that you would never use or only rarely?
- What effect does the use of these features have? Would the meaning of these extracts change if the identified features were removed?

B.2. Analysis of written texts: Read the extract below from Deborah Cameron's (2001: 19-20) book on *Working with Spoken Discourse*.

There is no single prototype of 'good' data. Your aims as a researcher should determine both the kind of data you set out to get and the methods you use to collect it. If you are a social scientist whose research is about something other than talk itself, you will probably adopt one of the methods that are standardly used in your discipline, such as observation or participant observation (where the researcher is actually involved in what is going on, not just watching it), interviewing or conducting focus group discussions. Most of these methods involve interaction between researcher and subjects, often of a fairly structured kind (the

researcher asks questions on a predetermined topic, and the subjects respond). Thus the researcher ends up with a certain kind of talk to analyse – a corpus of interviews or discussions, for instance.

In other cases, however, the purpose of collecting spoken language data is to find out how some aspect of talk itself works. How do people know when it's their turn to speak? How do they change the subject? How long is a 'normal' silence? How do people 'repair' breakdowns in conversation? If these are the kinds of questions you are hoping to answer, interviewing may not be the best method for collecting data, because the conventions of the interview as a particular sort of 'speech event' [...] discourage certain kinds of potentially relevant behaviour – interview subjects rarely initiate or change topics, for instance. Rather than taking the role of an interviewer, therefore, the researcher may prefer the role of observer, bystander or eavesdropper.

- a. Can you identify linguistic features that contribute to the overall coherence and structure of the text?
- b. Can you verbalize the precise function of these features and describe their contribution to the coherence of the text?
- c. Would you use these features in speaking? If not, are there linguistic features with a similar function that you'd use in speech instead?

B.3. Data collection and analysis: Search the internet (e.g. opinion pieces or letters to the editor in newspapers or magazines; the Urban Dictionary; self-help guides for communicative effectiveness) for comments on the use of the discourse-pragmatic feature *like*, and collect any comments you find in a word document.

- a. How is the **use** of *like* described in these comments?
- b. How are the **users** of *like* described in these comments?
- c. Do you think these comments are valid and justified?

B.4. Commentary

Analysis of spoken texts: These exercises aim at alerting students to the frequency, variability and interactional importance of discourse-pragmatic features in spoken texts. In addition to containing a great number of discourse-pragmatic features which I've highlighted below, the texts are replete with other features characteristic of speech such as pauses (represented here through (.), (..) or (...)), abandoned utterances (e.g. *So it (..) we're that close to Scotland*), recast utterances (e.g. *There's a lot people think (..), sort of lean to the Scottish side*), use of non-standard grammar (e.g. *them bits and pieces*), repetition (e.g. *I I would say ...*), etc. Without these features, the texts might sound stilted or unnatural.

Extract 1

Well (...) (there's) there's a lot of people (..) more so, it's when we're away from here. There's a lot of people think (..) **sort of** lean to the Scottish (..) accent, **you know** (that) I have a Scots accent. But (i-) (.) I (.) it's no a deliberate thing wi me. I I would say I **just** talk Berwick. **You know?** (.) **Em. I mean** we go away as I say we (have) been over the world and (somebody say,) "**oh**, there's a you're a Scotsman." I'm no a Scots, **you know**. So it (..) we're that close to Scotland, **I suppose**. (h) We have to pick up (.) **you know** them (.) bits and pieces. As (.) we are as close to (.) Newcastle **and places like that**. We seem to use (.) both kind of words, **you know**.

Extract 2

Oh, I dunno. It is (..) (And) it's nice. **I dunno**. I like going places and saying I'm from Berwick. **I dunno. Cos** it (.) **like** it (.) **like** it's got a lot of history. And it was Scottish, then it was English, and it was Scottish. It's changed hands quite a few times. **So** (..) **I dunno**, I find it (.) nice. **Like**, (.) and it's **I think** it is a nice place. The mo- **like** I've grown up (.) here (..) and (.) I've (learned) to appreciate it more. **Like** my mum used to live in the country in the middle of nowhere. And she says she **just** got on with it. **You know**, and made things and you found things to do. And that (.) **so, like**, you **like** make it what it is if you keep saying "**Oh**, it's boring. There's nothing to do. There's nothing to do." Then there won't be anything to do.

Rather than getting the students to identify the discourse-pragmatic features in the above texts, you could present the students with the gap-filling exercises below and ask them to complete the gaps with words/constructions that are typical of speech. Each ‘_’ represents a letter; hyphens between ‘_’ indicate that the discourse-pragmatic features consist of two words (e.g. *you know*). Since the first extract represents the speech of a pensioner and the second the speech of a teenager, it might be easier for students to start with Extract 2.

Extract 1

____ (..) (there's) there's a lot of people (..) more so, it's when we're away from here. There's a lot of people think (..) _____ lean to the Scottish (..) accent, _____ (that) I have a Scots accent. But (i--) (.) I (.) it's no a deliberate thing wi me. I I would say I _____ talk Berwick. _____? (.) _____ we go away as I say we (have) been over the world and (somebody say,) "____, there's a you're a Scotsman." I'm no a Scots, _____ it (..) we're that close to Scotland, _____ (h) We have to pick up (.) _____ them (.) bits and pieces. As (.) we are as close to (.) Newcastle _____ We seem to use (.) both kind of words, _____.

Extract 2

____. It is (..) (And) it's nice. _____ I like going places and saying I'm from Berwick. _____ it (.) _____ it (.) _____ it's got a lot of history. And it was Scottish, then it was English, and it was Scottish. It's changed hands quite a few times. ____ (..) _____, I find it (.) nice. _____, (.) and it's _____ it is a nice place. The mo- _____ I've grown up (.) here (..) and (.) I've (learned) to appreciate it more. _____ my mum used to live in the country in the middle of nowhere. And she says she _____ got on with it. _____, and made things and you found things to do. And that (.) _____, you _____ make it what it is if you keep saying "____, it's boring. There's nothing to do. There's nothing to do." Then there won't be anything to do.

The first extract contains a lot of tokens of *you know*. While this feature is commonly used by speakers of all age groups and both genders, it is found far more frequently in the speech of older people, possibly because they pursue an interactional style that is more addressee-oriented (*you know* generally functions to signal assumed shared knowledge between the speaker and their addressee). The second extract contains a lot of tokens of *like* and *I dunno*. Again, these features are commonly used by all generations and both genders. However, recent research by D'Arcy (2007) and Pichler (2008) has shown a dramatic increase of these features in younger generations. In the extract above, *I dunno* signals hesitation while the speaker is planning her contribution. *Like* generally signals that what follows is an exemplification or illustration of the preceding statement (*The speaker is proud of being from Berwick. For example, one of the things to be proud of is Berwick's history. – Take the example of my mum who grew up in the country and learned to appreciate it.*) but also to put focus on the main point or conclusion of the argument (*How good life is depends on what you make of it.*). Use of *I dunno* and *like*, then, helps the speaker to construct her contribution on-the-go and to structure it.

Students may come up with a wide range of discourse-pragmatic features they use on a regular basis. Classroom discussions may reveal interesting gender differences in their use. The discourse-pragmatic features most sensitive to age-effects are probably quotatives and intensifiers since their forms change quite rapidly. Examples of traditional and innovative forms are provided in Sue Fox's and DECTE's materials below.

Without the insertion of discourse-pragmatic features, the texts above might seem rather unnatural. Also, omission of these features may change the nuance of meaning of some statements, or make the flow and logic of the argumentation less clear. For example, when the teenage speaker in Extract 2 above says *I think it is a nice place* (with strong emphasis on 'I'), *I think* signals that what follows is the speaker's subjective opinion and maybe not a widely accepted one. When the same speaker says *So, like, you like make it what it is*, *so* signals that what follows is the conclusion she draws from the preceding argumentation. If the discourse-pragmatic features were removed, we would still be able to gather the main facts provided, though.

Analysis of written texts: This exercise aims at introducing students to the functionality of discourse-pragmatic features. Because most students will have had some formal training in the use of discourse-pragmatic features that are typical of written texts, it may be an idea to introduce the functionality of these features through analyses of written texts. The extract above is from Deborah Cameron's (2001: 19-20) book on *Working with Spoken Discourse* (but any other well-written text will do). The students should be able to identify these linguistic features (in the order they appear in the text) and come up with similar definitions to the ones provided:

- *thus*: to signal that what follows is a result or consequence of what's been said previously
- *in other cases*: to signal that what follows is an additional and slightly different example
- *however*: to signal an upcoming contrast
- *because*: to introduce the reason for something
- *for instance*: to introduce an illustrative example
- *therefore*: to signal that what follows is a result or consequence of what's been said previously

The students may feel that some of these features are too formal for speech. More appropriate forms for speech may be *so* for 'thus', *but* for 'however', *I mean* (see the exemplifications in A.4 above) or *take* (e.g. *Take my mum, she ...*) for 'for instance', etc.

Data collection and analysis: This exercise aims at alerting students to the widespread stigmatization of discourse-pragmatic features. Negative comments about the use of *like* abound in the national and international press. The fact sheet (A.3.-A.5.) above and the arguments in D'Arcy's (2007) article on *like* in the Appendix should provide ample material to refute most of these claims.

In addition, you could also try and simulate in class Russell et al.'s (2008) experiment described in A.7. above. Do students discriminate against some speakers? Are they aware that they're doing it? Are they aware that it is certain linguistic features that trigger their reactions?

C. RECOMMENDED READING (copies of these articles are included in the Appendix)

- D'Arcy, Alexandra. 2007. *Like* and language ideology: Disentangling fact from fiction. *American Speech* 82(4): 386-419. (see also D'Arcy's homepage at <http://web.uvic.ca/~adarcy/publications.htm> for related press coverage)
- Jucker, Andreas H. & Yael Ziv. 1998. Introduction. In Andreas H. Yucker & Yael Ziv (eds.) *Discourse Markers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1-12.
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THE ORIGINS, FUNCTIONS AND SPREAD OF *INNIT*?²

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A. FACT SHEET

A.1. Rules for Standard English tag formation: Quirk et al. (1985: 811) summarize the rules for tag formation in Standard English as follows:

The general rules for forming the most common types of tag question are:

(a) The tag question consists of operator and subject in that order (enclitic *n't*, if present, is attached to the operator, cf 11.7): *is he?*, *didn't she?*, *can't I?*, *will you?*. In formal English the negative particle is placed after the pronoun: *did they not?*, *is she not?* That position is usual in informal English in Northern BrE dialects.

(b) The operator is generally the same as the operator of the preceding statement (cf Note [c] below):

I haven't seen you before, have I?

If the statement has no operator, the dummy auxiliary **DO** is used, as for *yes-no* questions in general (cf 11.5):

She knows you, doesn't she?

(c) The subject of the tag must be a pronoun which either repeats, or is in coreference with, the subject of the statement, agreeing with it in number, person, and gender.

(d) If the statement is positive, the tag is generally negative, and vice versa (but cf 11.9).

A.2. Non-standard forms: There are a wide range of non-standard tag forms, some of which are more widespread than others. Those that are found in most varieties of British English include:

host clause	tag	speaker (all White British)
He's taking them into his house,	ain't he?	67-year-old male Londoner
It's just the same,	in't it?	27-year-old female Berwicker

In Greater Manchester, we have also recorded the following forms:

host clause	tag	speaker (all White British)
My mum was,	wan't she?	47-year-old male Salfordian
Anything goes with that,	dun't it?	45-year-old female Salfordian
I done well,	din't I?	46-year-old female Salfordian

A.3. Functionality: Tag questions perform a variety of interactional functions in discourse. The most frequent ones include the following:

- to reduce speakers' commitment to their statements and to seek verification from their listeners

I've lived in Berwick all my life but I don't use all the slang words. But you can still tell I come from Berwick, can't you?
--

- to draw others into the conversation by seeking their support or corroboration of a statement or opinion

² Unless otherwise stated, all examples provided in this section are taken verbatim from recordings of speech data made between 2001 and 2011 in Berwick-upon-Tweed, north-east England; Salford, Greater Manchester; or London. Thank you to Rebecca Corrie, Jessica Morris, Rafal Rabiec, Chelsey Wallwork, Hayley Ward and Hafsa Younus for collecting and transcribing the Salford data. Thank you to Jenny Cheshire and Paul Kerswill for allowing us access to the London data.

Charlene:	Well, Highcliffe's on one side and Highcliffe's nice. But on the other side is Eastcliffe, which is a bit, I would say that's about the [roughest] [in the] town, isn't it .
HP:	uh-huh [uh-huh] [uh-huh]
(.)	
Natalie:	I'm not sure, some parts of Highfields [(.) is] [quite] (.) quite run down.
HP:	[uh-huh]
Charlene:	[Highfields] uh-huh

- to emphasize speakers' attitudinal stance towards a statement or opinion to which they are fully committed

Daniel:	And they still broad- I could tell still tell they were Scots. And I say, "Oh. You
HP:	mhm
Daniel:	= haven't (.) you haven't lost your accent." They were pleased as punch, [innit .]
HP:	[mhm] yeah
Daniel:	= They all say, "We'll no do that." Because they live amongst Scots.

A.4. *innit*: A tag form that has existed for a while but is currently increasing in frequency, innovating in distribution and functionality, and spreading across UK varieties of English is *innit*.

A.5. Origins and development of *innit*: According to Andersen (2001: 197, 201), *innit* derived from *isn't it*, with loss of [t] preceding loss of [z] & subsequent development of two formerly independent units, [ɪn] and [ɪt], into a single unit [ɪnɪt].

isn't it [ɪznt ɪt] > isn't it [ɪzn ɪt] > in it [ɪn ɪt] > innit [ɪnɪt]

Compare with: *don't know* > *dunno*; *going to* > *gonna*; *want to* > *wanna*; *because* > *cos*. Frequently used words or constructions often undergo shortening. This has nothing to do with laziness or inarticulateness. It's a natural process of language change and a natural result of language use. Often, the variation between the original and shortened form signals functional differences. For example, the fully articulated form *I don't know* is generally associated with signalling lack of knowledge, while the reduced form *I dunno* is generally associated with discourse-pragmatic functions such as hedging, topic-closure, turn-exchange. Also note the contrast between *I'm going to the supermarket* and *I'm gonna buy some bread*. Only the reduced form is allowed to mark future actions.

A.6. Syntactic distribution of *innit*: In our data from Berwick, Salford and London, *innit* is found in the following syntactic environments.

	syntax	example sentence	Speaker
1.	after clause with <i>it/that</i> + <i>is</i>	<i>Well, it's only an hour away from Edinburgh and Newcastle, innit?</i>	19-year-old male Berwicker
		<i>Cos it's a bit of a dodgy area, innit?</i>	22-year-old male Salfordian
		<i>That's a bit old, innit?</i>	17-year-old female Londoner of Congolese origin
2.	after clause with no subject or verb	<i>Most northerly place in England, innit?</i>	27-year-old male Berwicker
		<i>Six-hundred pound a year, innit, that membership of his.</i>	47-year-old male Salfordian
		<i>Every now and then, innit?</i>	18-year-old female Londoner
3.	after clause with other subjects and verbs	<i>Oh, I've answered that one before last time, innit?</i>	49-year-old male Berwicker
		<i>He was a bit of a d**k, innit?</i>	23-year-old male Salfordian
		<i>They was getting jealous though, innit?</i>	18-year-old female Londoner

The uses of *innit* in 3. above are often described as **invariant tags** because their use is no longer restricted to environments that require a tag formed with ‘is’ and ‘it’ (as is the case in the examples in 1.) but has extended to all syntactic environments. The underlying assumption is that the uses in 1. are the original uses of *innit*, reflecting its origins from the question tag *isn’t it* which generally occurs after clauses with *it/that + is*.

A.7. Innovative functional uses of *innit* in London: In the London data (recorded 2005-2008 in Havering and Hackney), *innit* is found in additional positions where it performs function other than the ones described above.

	example	distribution & function
4.	Tina: Yeah, I know. I’m a lot smaller than all of them man and who were like ”whoa.” I mean <u>the sister</u> <i>innit</i> , she’s about five times bigger than you. <i>Innit</i> , Mark? Mark: I know. I thought (?) @ Tina: Seriously, whoa.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • occurs after a noun phrase (<i>‘the sister’</i>) • signals a topic shift
5.	Alan: Or if it got too big, we used to take we we used to have a graveyard next to our school. Brian: Yeah. Alan: We used to take it there or the cage. That’s how it was now <u>if you got beef</u> <i>innit</i> , take it to the cage. Or the graveyard.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • occurs after an if-clause • foregrounds new information
6.	Tina: No, I’m not that bad though. But there is (.) <i>innit</i> , <u>there’s a scary one in the club</u> . Mark: Which one? Tina: The bi- we call him monster.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • occurs utterance-initially before the statement over which it has scope • draws attention

To date, these innovative distributions and uses of *innit* have not been reported for any varieties other than London English. The spread of *innit* to new environments and new functions is a result of its increased frequency of use and its opacity, i.e., the fact that it is processed and stored in memory as a single unit which is not necessarily associated with its origins in *isn’t it*.

A.8. Spread of *innit*: As shown above, *innit* is more syntactically and functionally versatile in London English than it is in Berwick English or Salford English. This has led scholars to argue that *innit* innovates in London/the south-east of England and that innovative uses of *innit* gradually spreads from London across the UK. Ethnicity is a confounding factor in this.

A.9. Social forces driving the spread of *innit*: Two recent studies of *innit* in London English (Andersen 2001; Pichler & Torgersen 2009) have demonstrated that innovative uses of *innit*, i.e., those in examples 2-6 in the two preceding tables, are most frequent among London speakers from ethnic minority groups. A comparison of the use of *innit* in multi-ethnic, inner-city Hackney and the less ethnically diverse, outer-city borough of Havering has further demonstrated that the rate of *innit* amongst speakers who are **not** from ethnic minority backgrounds is higher in Hackney than Havering. These results suggest that while the use of *innit* is in no way restricted to ethnic minority speech, ethnicity and the ethnic diversity of a given locality or one’s friendship networks play a key role in the innovation and spread of *innit*, i.e., in its extension to new syntactic slots and new functions as well as its spread across social groups. (The importance of ethnicity in linguistic change has previously only been attested for phonology & morpho-syntax.)

B. SUGGESTED CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES (1): tag questions in British English: Exploring variation in their form

B.1. Discovering rules. The sentences in the following table constitute what are called tag questions. The part before the comma is what's called the host clause to which the tag, i.e., the bit after the comma, is attached. Using the examples below, can you work out what the rules are for tag formation in Standard English?

host clause	tag
Johnny was born in Leeds,	wasn't he?
They filmed a few castles,	didn't they?
That's not even that far really,	is it?
I don't look Jewish,	do I?

B.2. Exploring variation (1). Look at the examples below and complete them with the tag form you would most naturally use in your dialect. The forms you provide do not have to be Standard English forms. When you're done, compare your answers with that of others. Do you use the same forms? What differences can you find?

host clause	tag
He's taking them into his house,	
It's just the same,	
My mum was,	
Anything goes with that,	
I done well,	
Cos it's a bit of a dodgy area,	
Oh, I've answered that one before last time,	

B.3. Exploring variation (2). Say out loud the example sentences below and decide whether you or someone else might say sentences like this. If you think a sentence is unacceptable, be prepared to explain why you think so.

	acceptable	don't know	unacceptable
He's taking them into his house, ain't he?			
They're just storage places now, Barry, aren't they?			
It's just the same, in't it?			
It should be sorted by then, shouldn't it?			
My mum was, wan't she?			
Cos you forget, don't you?			
If you got beef, innit, take it to the cage.			
Anything goes with that, dun't it ?			
She was kissing him at the end of that one, weren't she?			
I'll get paid, won't I?			
She's got a slanted roof on it, an't she?			
But they're professionals, aren't they?			
I mean, the sister, innit, she's about five times bigger than you.			
I done well, din't I?			
You end up doing it, don't you?			
That's smart that, innit?			
There's a lot of water there, in't there?			
Better than nothing, in't it?			

B.4. Commentary.

The first exercise aims at honing students' analytical skills by encouraging them to discover for themselves the rules for tag formation in Standard English. This is also a good opportunity for introducing or revising technical terms such as auxiliary, pronoun, etc.

The second exercise aims at alerting students to the inherent variability of tag forms. It is hoped that they discover how much variation there is and that tag formation frequently deviates from the rules prescribed by Standard English grammar books. These examples are reproduced from Sections A.2. and A.5. above. You may want to let the students know who the originators of these sentences are, where they are from and how old they are.

The third exercise aims at eliciting students' grammaticality and value judgments on variable tag forms and introducing them to forms they might not use themselves. All sentences provided in this exercise are authentic examples recorded in London, Salford or Berwick over the past 10 years. If students find sentences unacceptable, it may be because of geographical or social variation in tag usage and the fact that some forms are not (yet) widespread in their own dialect.

C. SUGGESTED CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES (2): see further below

Here are the answers to the exercises provided in the separate worksheet:

- 2a. Hackney > Havering > Berwick
- 2b. Hackney > Havering > Berwick
- 2c. *innit* is more frequent and innovative in the South (especially inner-city London) than the North
- 2d. ethnic diversity of a locality promotes innovation in the use of *innit*
- 3a. young > old in London; middle > young > old in Berwick
- 3b. young > old in London; middle > young > old in Berwick
- 3c. young
- 4a. non-Anglo Havering > Anglo Hackney > non-Anglo Hackney > Anglo Havering > Berwick
- 4b. non-Anglo Havering > non-Anglo Hackney > Anglo Hackney > Anglo Havering > Berwick
- 4c. ethnically diverse
- 5a. Havering; ethnic diversity
- 5b. young in London; middle in Berwick
- 5c. non-Anglos in Havering; Anglo in Hackney
- 5d. ethnically diverse
6. young, non-Anglo, ethnically diverse communities, southern communities

D. RECOMMENDED READING (copies of these articles are included in the Appendix)

- Pichler, Heike & Eivind Torgersen. 2009. It's (not) diffusing, *innit*? The origins of *innit* in British English. Paper presented at NWAV 38, October.
- Stenström, Anna-Brita & Gisle Andersen. 1996. More trends in teenage talk: A corpus-based investigation of the discourse items *cos* and *innit*. In Carol E. Percy, Charles F. Meyer & Ian Lancashire (eds). *Synchronic corpus linguistics*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 189-203.

LANGUAGE INVESTIGATIONS IN SPOKEN ENGLISH: INVESTIGATING TAG QUESTIONS IN SPOKEN LANGUAGE

In the mid-1970s, a female scholar called Robin Lakoff argued that tag questions, as exemplified in (1) below, are typical of female speech. She associated females' use of these features "with a desire for confirmation or approval which signals a lack of self-confidence in the speaker." These claims were based entirely on observations and impressions rather than on systematic investigations of tag question usage across women and men.

(1) I've lived in Berwick all my life but I don't use all the slang words. But you can still tell I come from Berwick, **can't you?**

Subsequent empirical investigations showed that tag question usage is neither limited to female speech nor to seeking verification. Holmes (1990), for example, showed that not only did men use question tags more often than women but men used them more often than women to signal uncertainty. Women were more likely than men to use tag questions to invite the addressee to contribute to the discourse, as exemplified in (2).

(2) Charlene: Well, Highcliffe's on one side and Highcliffe's nice. But on the other side is Eastcliffe,
 HP: uh-huh
 Charlene: = which is a bit, I would say that's about the [roughest] [in the] town, **isn't it.**
 HP: [uh-huh] [uh-huh]
 (.)
 Natalie: I'm not sure, some parts of Highfields [(.) is] [quite] (. quite run down.
 HP: [uh-huh]
 Charlene: [Highfields] uh-huh

(For a brief and accessible summary of research into the relationship of tag question usage and gender, see this URL: <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/language-log/archives/000873.html>)

In recent years, scholars have become interested in the **variable form** of tags. Tag questions typically consist of an auxiliary (form of BE, HAVE, DO; *can, may, must, will, would, could, should*), optionally the negative particle *n't* (or *not*), and *there* or a pronominal subject (*I, you, he, she, it, we, they*). In Standard English, the auxiliary and pronoun in the tag are generally the same as or co-referential with those in the preceding clause. If the preceding clause is positive, the tag is generally negative, and vice versa.

- (3) a. Johnny was born in Leeds, **wasn't he?**
 b. They filmed a few castles, **didn't they?**
 c. That's not even that far really, **is it?**
 d. I don't look Jewish, **do I?**

However, there are a number of non-standard tag forms. Some forms, such as those in (4), are used across the UK; the use of others, such as those in (5), is more geographically limited.

- (4) a. He's taking them into his house, **ain't he?**
 b. It's just the same, **in't it?**
 (5) a. My mum was, **wan't she?**
 b. Anything goes with that, **dun't it?**
 c. I done well, **din't I?**

In recent years, the form *innit* has caught the attention of researchers. This form is derived from the tag form *isn't it* and its use was originally restricted to those contexts where Standard English requires the tag *isn't it*, i.e., after clauses with 'it/that' and 'is'. However, *innit* has since spread beyond these contexts. Below we will investigate empirical data to find out exactly who uses *innit*, where, when and how.

The data for investigation³



The data provided below are based on recordings made between 2003 and 2008 in the following localities:

- **Hackney:** a multi-ethnic, inter-city borough of London
- **Havering:** a less ethnically diverse outer-city borough of London
- **Berwick-upon-Tweed:** a small market town in the north-east of England whose inhabitants are virtually all White British

The recordings contain the speech of Londoners and Berwickers of different age groups, both genders and different ethnic backgrounds (broadly divided into Anglos and non-Anglos). What we want to establish is:

- the linguistic environment in which *innit* occurs in Hackney, Havering and Berwick
- the geographical distribution of different uses of *innit*
- the social groups (age, ethnicity) who use *innit* in Hackney, Havering and Berwick and

From this analysis, we will be able to draw some preliminary conclusions about the linguistic, social and geographical distribution of different uses of *innit* and provide some insights into the leaders of any innovations we may observe.

(1) Linguistic distribution of *innit*

The examples below are divided into 5 linguistic categories in which *innit* can occur. Can you identify what the differences are between the 5 categories in terms of the linguistic environments in which *innit* is used?

	example	linguistic environment
1.	<i>Well, it's only an hour away from Edinburgh and Newcastle, innit?</i> <i>Cos it's a bit of a dodgy area, innit?</i> <i>That's a bit old, innit?</i>	paradigmatic use: _____ _____ _____
2.	<i>Most northerly place in England, innit?</i> <i>Six-hundred pound a year, innit, that membership of his.</i> <i>Every now and then, innit?</i>	elliptical use: _____ _____ _____
3.	<i>Oh, I've answered that one before last time, innit?</i> <i>He was a bit of a d**k, innit?</i> <i>They was getting jealous though, innit?</i>	non-paradigmatic use: _____ _____ _____
4.	<i>Zack: But yeah when you're trying to do good, man don't wanna see that though.</i> <i>Alex: Innit.</i>	follow-up use: _____ _____ _____
5.	<i>I mean <u>the sister</u> innit, she's about five times bigger than you.</i> <i>That's how it was now <u>if you got beef</u> innit, take it to the cage.</i> <i>But there is (.) innit, <u>there's a scary one in the club.</u></i>	new use: _____ _____ _____

The contexts in (1) are generally taken to be the original contexts for the use of *innit*. The further down you go in the table, the more innovative the contexts of use are. The labels in the right-hand column may not be very transparent to you. You will need them to interpret the data in the figures below, though.

³ The London data were collected for a large-scale research project into linguistic innovators by Professors Jenny Cheshire and Paul Kerswill. The tables reproduced below are taken from an investigation into *innit* by Pichler & Torgersen (2009).

(2) Geographical distribution of *innit*

Figure 1 shows the frequency per 10,000 words with which *innit* is used in its different contexts across the localities introduced above. Examine the figure and try to answer the following questions. Note that in language variation and change research, higher frequencies of (innovative) use of a feature by a particular group are generally taken to mean that this group leads the innovation of the feature.

a. Irrespective of linguistic context, in which locality is *innit* used the most and the least?

b. In which locality are innovative uses of *innit* most and least frequent?

c. Recall that Hackney and Havering are located in the south of England and Berwick in the north of England. What do the distributions in Figure 1 tell us about the geographical distribution and spread of *innit*?

d. Recall that Hackney is more ethnically diverse than Havering and Berwick. What might the role of ethnicity be in the innovation of *innit*?

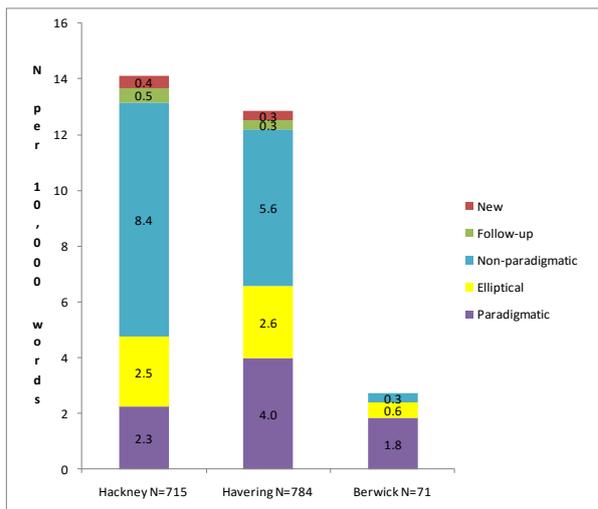


Figure 1. Frequency of *innit* per 10,000 words across localities and linguistic contexts

(3) Age distribution of *innit*

Figure 2 shows the frequency per 10,000 words with which *innit* is used by different age groups (young and old in Hackney and Havering; young, middle and old in Berwick). Examine the figure and try to answer the following questions.

a. Irrespective of linguistic context, which age group uses *innit* the most and the least?

b. Which age group(s) have the highest and lowest frequencies of innovative uses of *innit*?

c. Recall what we said earlier about frequencies of use and innovation. Which age group leads the increase and innovation of *innit*?

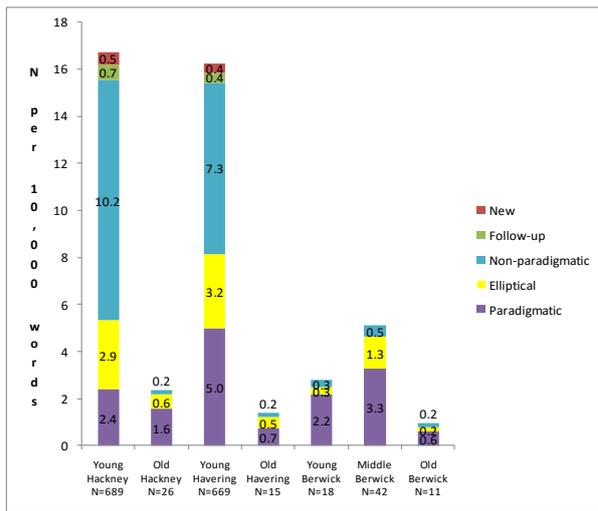


Figure 2. Frequency of *innit* per 10,000 words across localities and age groups

(4) Ethnic distribution of *innit*

Figure 3 shows the frequency per 10,000 words with which *innit* is used by different ethnic groups, broadly divided into Anglos and non-Anglos. Examine the table and try to answer the following questions. Recall that all Berwick speakers are Anglo.

a. Which ethnic groups (in which localities) have the highest rate of *innit*?

b. Which ethnic groups (in which localities) have the highest rate of innovative uses of *innit*?

c. Recall that Hackney is far more ethnically diverse than Havering (and Berwick). Do Anglo speakers in ethnically diverse or non-ethnically diverse localities have higher rates of (innovative uses of) *innit*?

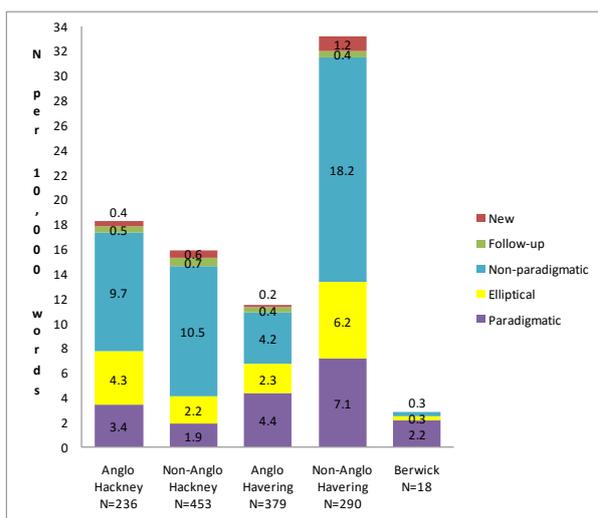


Figure 3. Frequency of *innit* per 10,000 words across localities and ethnic groups (Anglo vs. non-Anglo)



(5) Data interpretation

Now, what does all this mean? Let's pull all these findings together to establish who the innovators in the use and spread of *innit* are.

a. In which locality is (innovative) *innit* used the most? What distinguishes this locality from the other localities we've investigated? _____

b. Which age group uses (innovative) *innit* the most? _____

c. Which ethnic group uses *innit* the most? _____

d. Do speakers in ethnically diverse or mono-ethnic communities use (innovative) *innit* more often?



(6) Conclusion

The following social groups lead the spread and innovation of *innit*: _____

Well done! You've just concluded a systematic analysis of *innit* in contemporary British English and thrown some light on the social mechanisms of language change.

SUGGESTED READING:

Pichler, Heike & Eivind Torgersen. 2009. It's (not) diffusing, *innit*? The origins of *innit* in British English. Paper presented at NWA V 38, October.

Stenström, Anna-Brita & Gisle Andersen. 1996. More trends in teenage talk: A corpus-based investigation of the discourse items *cos* and *innit*. In Carol E. Percy, Charles F. Meyer & Ian Lancashire (eds). *Synchronic corpus linguistics*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 189-203.

REPORTING SPEECH: THE USE OF QUOTATIVES IN SPOKEN LANGUAGE⁴

Dr Sue Fox (Queen Mary, University of London)

A. FACT SHEET

A.1. Definition: The **quotative verb system** refers to the range of expressions used to introduce direct speech in spoken language. This is something that all speakers do almost every day of their lives when they want to tell somebody something that another person said.

A.2. Function: Often, the direct quotation is the creation of the person reporting the event. Using direct speech creates drama and involves the listener. It also conveys the emotions of the characters in the event and this is important, since speakers often use direct speech as a way of putting across their own viewpoint or emotion in the form of the speech of others. This is referred to as **constructed dialogue** (Tannen, 1989) to reflect the fact that much of what we claim to have been said by others has, in fact, never been uttered by anyone, or, if it has, not in the way that it has been reported. Think about this in relation to representing our own thoughts with the use of direct quotation e.g. I thought "oh no, not again", it is unlikely that those are the exact words that we would have said to ourselves (if indeed we would even think in words on those occasions).

A.3. Variation in form: In traditional grammar usage books we are told that the standard English way to introduce quoted speech is to use the verb SAY, as shown in the following example:

UNIT 46 Reported speech (1) (**He said that...**)

A Study this example situation:



You want to tell somebody else what Tom said. There are two ways of doing this:
 You can repeat Tom's words (*direct speech*):
 Tom said 'I'm feeling ill.'
 Or you can use *reported speech*:
 Tom said that he was feeling ill.

Compare:

<i>direct:</i>	Tom said 'I am feeling ill.'	
<i>reported:</i>	Tom said that he was feeling ill.	<i>In writing we use these to show direct speech.</i>

(source: Murphy, 1994)

However, in reality, speakers use a range of quotative expressions, as shown in the following table. Note also the range of tenses used to report quoted speech.

form	Example
SAY	(i) I said "if you wanna find out" I said "you better phone the Salvation Army"
	(ii) I says "I'm sorry I can't tell you that"
	(iii) I was saying "god it was only a bag of crisps"
THINK	(i) I'm just thinking "when did I get this?"
	(ii) you come from like this age now and you're thinking "oh my mum and dad are gonna say no"
	(iii) and I just thought "oh my god I'm gonna die"
GO	(i) he goes "no man I'll let you off this time"
	(ii) I go "yeh mum I am still"
	(iii) she was going "what you looking at?"

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all examples are taken from recordings made between 2005 and 2008 in London.

	(iv) yeah and I went "oh look who it is"
ZERO form	(i) he said "I hear you had a bit of trouble last night" (zero) "yeah. police picked me up"
TELL	(i) so they just tell me "whagwan why did you do?" (ii) I told my olders "I don't like this boy"
BE LIKE	(i) I met her on the bus and we was like "oh I'm going (college)" and she was like "so am I" I was like "I'm doing hairdressing" and she was like "so am I" (ii) I'm like "I. I didn't do nothing innit .flippin ask your son yeh" (iii) it's been a couple of times where I've been like "uuurr can't smoke no more"

There are also forms which are not used across the English-speaking world.

form	example	geographical distribution
HERE'S ME	(i) Here was I: "Then I must be hard of hearing or something – you rapped the door and I didn't hear you" (ii) Here's me: "Have youse took leave of your senses?"	Northern Ireland (examples taken from Milroy and Milroy, 1977)
GEET/GIT	(i) I was geet "ahh" (ii) Stacey was git "where's me burger then"	north-eastern England (examples taken from Pearce 2011)
THIS IS + SUBJECT	(i) this is them "what area are you from . what part?" (ii) this is me "I'm from (name of place)" (iii) this is my dad "hmm so you want to go mixed school yeh and mess about with girls"	London

A.4. Multifunctionality: It should be noted that quotatives are not only used to report direct speech. Researchers usually analyse not only the quotative expression that's used but also the **content of the quote**, which can be:

- reported **direct speech** e.g. *they said "move away"*
- **reported thought** (sometimes termed **internal dialogue**): *I was thinking "move away!"*
- **non-lexicalised sound**: *I was like "ugh"*
- **gesture**: *I went <shrugs shoulders>*

A.5. New quotatives: are "*a good place to catch language change in action*" (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004:493). Quotative systems have been examined in the US, Australia, Canada and some British varieties and, in each case, the research studies have shown that a new way of introducing speech has emerged in competition with the more common quotatives of *SAY*, *THINK*, *GO* and the *ZERO* form. The new quotative in question has been the rapid rise and spread in the use of *BE LIKE*.

BE LIKE again:

- The use of quotative *BE LIKE* was first reported in the US in the 1980s.
- It was initially used mainly for expressing internal dialogue/thought in expressions such as 'I'm like "Oh my God"'
- By 2001, it was reported that *BE LIKE* had established itself as the primary introducer of speech (including the speech of others) in vernacular American English.
- Between 1995 and 2002/2003 the use of *BE LIKE* increased over four and a half times among young Canadians.
- In British varieties, it is reported that *BE LIKE* started to appear in the 1990s (Buchstaller 2006).

- In many present day British varieties, *BE LIKE* is used extensively, particularly among younger people. It is used to report thought/internal dialogue and also what has been said, both by the speaker and other people.
- *BE LIKE* is also used with a wide variety of tenses (as shown in the examples above)

A recent study of London English has shown that an even newer quotative has emerged in competition with all of the above (including *BE LIKE*); the use of *THIS IS + SUBJECT*.

THIS IS + SUBJECT again:

- First reported among speakers recorded in 2005 in a study of London English (Fox 2012)
- It is likely to have been in existence prior to this date – a few examples are found in the Corpus of London Teenage Speech (COLT), data for which was collected in 1993 – but had perhaps laid dormant in the system.
- It is currently used mainly with the **conversational historical present** (the use of the present tense to talk about something in the past) which suggests that narratives play an important role in the introduction of new quotatives.

B. SUGGESTED CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES (1): Changes in speech style: Exploring dialogue in ‘small stories’

What does it mean to tell a story? Most people would not think of themselves as storytellers but the fact is that telling stories and anecdotes is an everyday part of our lives. Just think of the times when you have met your family or friends and said, ‘Guess what happened to me today?’ or when someone you know says ‘I just saw something funny’ and proceeds to ‘tell the story’ as they recall the event. No matter how big or small, or how dramatic or insignificant an event might be, you are sure to retell an event to another person at some point during the day. These are the kinds of ‘stories’ that we will focus on here.

B.1. Thinking points: Read the following two extracts. The speakers were recorded during the period 2005–2008.

Extract 1

yeah I was in the home guard.. I'll tell you another little story about that . I came out the whatsname and my mother worked for the Salvation Army and er up in Victoria Street the insurance people they were then and I had to . they got me as a messenger well what I had to do I had to get to Paddington and catch a certain train to go down to Surrey . catch that and had to get back by just after four o'clock or try to get back by four o'clock to catch one coming back to London . well this particular time they were behind . with their work and I had to hang about . anyway about six o'clock they got finished and got out and I hung about for a train there and as I got into Paddington got a bus into Hackney . I was walking along the road to going home . . and . there I got picked up by the police . two detectives come up "what you got in that case" I says "I'm sorry I can't tell you that" . I said "its confidential" "you'll have to come to the police station" and I had to go to police station I said "I can't open it . cos its under their you know their erm . numbers . so I wouldn't know how to" . I said "if you wanna find out" I said "you better phone the Salvation Army" . anyway this sargeant "oh I don't think its necessary to do that" any old how they must have phoned in the morning cos when I got in there whatsname er he said "I hear you had a bit of trouble last night" "yeah . police picked me up" he said "what time did you get back?" I said "well they were late getting out " I said "and I never got into London well after seven eight o'clock at night"

Extract 2

he grabbed me on my shirt innit . this is me "man get off me" cos like that boy people used to be scared of him though cos like he's one of the . the baddest boy in that school . he must have tried it yeh . he . no he must have punched me in my face innit . this is me "come man look how big you are I'm in year nine and you in. you in flipping year eleven innit what you bullying me for?" he was like "shut your mouth give me your phone" I'm like "no are you stupid like. you slapped me innit" then like all the boy's mans they're like "no don't mess with T don't mess with him like . cos like . he does martial arts like he used to get bullied now he's

good at it innit . don't mess with him" . this boy must have kicked me innit .I kick him back yeh . he caught my leg innit . started grabbing. this is me "oi better get off my leg innit" the boy said "no what you gonna do?" . must have like jump and one leg kicked him in his mouth innit . boy started bleeding innit . then like . yeh . chasing me round the school . had a mad fight . then the boy's been after me innit . for like two weeks in school every time I come school I had to hide from that boy innit I didn't like trouble . I was one the strongest in school yeh but I didn't like fighting no. just like didn't wanna be like in trouble

- a. What age would you estimate the speaker to be in each case? What are the clues?
- b. What effect does the use of dialogue have on these stories?
- c. Look carefully at the ways in which the narrators of these stories introduce the dialogue (direct reported speech). The variety of ways that speakers introduce dialogue is known as the **quotative system**. Go through the text carefully and make a note of the different quotative expressions used by these speakers. What differences do you notice? (This provides us with another clue about the age of the speakers.)
- d. Can you think of other ways of introducing quoted speech?
- e. Can you guess which part of the UK the speakers are from?

B.2. Commentary:

a. Estimating the age of the speaker. The most obvious clues are the topics of the extracts. In the first extract the speaker talks about being in the Home Guard and this immediately alerts us to the fact that this is a wartime story; the speaker is therefore likely to be elderly – someone over 75 years perhaps. In the second extract the topic of fighting is commonplace among teenage boys. The speaker in this instance is a 17-year-old boy who was recalling an incident which happened when he was in year nine at school, at around 14 years old. There are, though, many other clues that tell us that the speaker in extract 2 is a young person and you might have noticed the extensive use of the discourse marker ‘innit’, the use of discourse marker ‘like’, the use of ‘man’ as an address form, the use of ‘mans’ to mean the boy’s friends and the use of ‘must have’ to describe a past action.

b. Using dialogue. The telling of stories often involves representing what others have said in the form of direct quotation rather than simply reporting the speech. Think about the directly quoted speech from Extract 2 in the short excerpt below compared to if the speaker had chosen to use indirect reported speech:

this is me "come man look how big you are I'm in year nine and you in. you in flipping year eleven innit what you bullying me for?" he was like "shut your mouth give me your phone" I'm like "no are you stupid like. you slapped me innit"

I told him to look at how big he was and that I was in year nine compared to him in year eleven and I asked him why he was bullying me. He told me to shut my mouth and to give him my phone. I asked him if he was stupid and told him that he had slapped me.

The effect of using direct speech is that it makes the story come alive and creates characters that the listener can picture in their mind. The direct quotation is, however, entirely the creation of the person telling the story and is designed to add drama and to involve the listener. It conveys the emotions of those characters and this is important because, often, we use direct speech as a way of putting across our own evaluation of or emotion about someone or something in the form of the speech of others. This is sometimes referred to as **constructed dialogue** (Tannen 1989) to reflect the fact that much of what we claim to have been said by others has, in fact, never been uttered by anyone or, if it has, not in the way that it is reported. In the example above, it is unlikely that the speaker would have been able to remember the exact words that were spoken at the time of the event. Nevertheless, the listener is able to recreate the dramatic scene between the two characters.

(Note: We also use direct quotation to represent our own thoughts as in ‘I thought “Oh no! What have I done?”’ In these cases it is even less likely that those are the words that we would have actually been saying to ourselves (in fact, do we even think in words on such occasions?).

c. Speaker differences. The elderly speaker uses a narrow range of expressions to introduce the direct speech. He uses the verb *SAY* mainly (*I says, he said, I said*) and sometimes uses a *ZERO* form, where the listener has to rely on intonation to know that there has been a change of speaker in the story (*'you'll have to come to the police station'*). The young speaker also uses *SAY* but in addition uses *BE LIKE* (*I'm like, he was like, they're like*) and *THIS IS +SUBJECT* (*this is me*)

Research point: The young speaker highlights the use of the new quotative *BE LIKE*, which was first reported in the US in the 1980s and has spread rapidly across English varieties. By 2001 it was reported that *BE LIKE* had established itself as the primary quotative verb in vernacular American English, particularly among younger generations (Singler, 2001). As far as British English is concerned *BE LIKE* started to appear in the early 1990s (Buchstaller 2006) and is now used extensively, particularly by young speakers.

d. Other ways of introducing quoted speech. Speakers often use other verbs such as *GO, THINK, TOLD* (and local forms)

e. Where are the speakers from? The elderly speaker explicitly mentions London but we can also tell that the younger speaker is from London, too. How? Note that the young speaker uses *this is me* to introduce direct quotation and this is a new quotative expression which has emerged in London (Fox 2012). In this extract it serves to introduce the person narrating the event but it can also be used with pronouns (*this is her, this is him*) as well as with full noun phrases (e.g. *this is my mum's boyfriend*).

C. SUGGESTED CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES (2): see further below

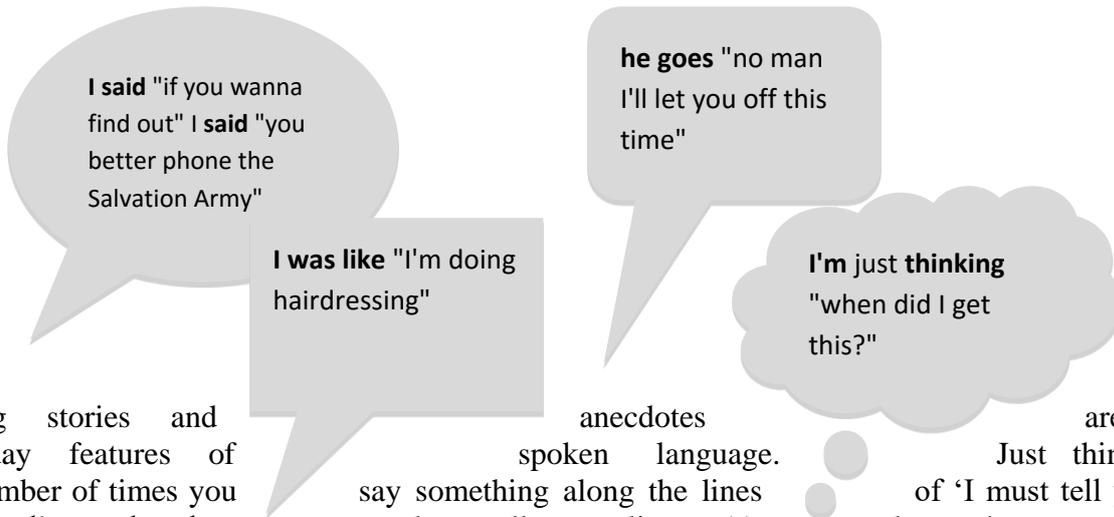
D. RECOMMENDED READING (copies of these articles are included in the Appendix)

- Levey, Stephen. 2003. *He's like 'Do it now!' and I'm like 'No!'* Some innovative quotative usage among young people in London. *English Today* 19(1): 24-36.
- Pearce, M. 2011. 'It isn't geet good, like, but it's canny': A new(ish) dialect feature in North East England. *English Today* 27(3): 3-9.

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- Buchstaller, Isabelle. 2011. Quotations across the generations: A multivariate analysis of speech and thought introducers across 5 decades of Tyneside speech. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 7(1): 59-92
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LANGUAGE INVESTIGATIONS IN SPOKEN ENGLISH: INVESTIGATING QUOTATIVES IN SPOKEN LANGUAGE



Telling stories and everyday features of the number of times you happened' and then proceed to tell your listener(s) about the event. In the process of telling your 'story' you might also want to repeat the words that somebody else has said or you might want to convey your thoughts or emotions by using direct speech. Linguists refer to the expressions used to introduce such speech or thought (or even sounds and gestures) as the **quotative system**. Researchers usually analyse not only the quotative expression that's used but also the **content of the quote**, which can be:

- reported **direct speech** e.g. *they said "move away"*
- **reported thought** (sometimes termed **internal dialogue**): *I was thinking "move away!"*
- **non-lexicalised sound**: *I was like "ugh"*
- **gesture**: *I went <shrugs shoulders>*

Research has shown that among older speakers, the most commonly used quotatives are **SAY**, **THINK**, **GO** and a **ZERO** form (an unframed quote with no introduction), as in examples 1-4 below. Younger speakers tend to draw on a wider range of quotatives, including **TELL** and **BE LIKE**, as in examples 5-6.

1. **the boy said** "no what you gonna do?"
2. **I'm just thinking** "when did I get this?"
3. yea and **I went** "oh look who it is"
4. he said "I hear you had a bit of trouble last night" (**zero**) "yeah . police picked me up"
5. **I told** my olders "I don't like this boy"
6. **I was like** "I'm doing hairdressing"

There are also regional variations, for example **HERE'S ME/HERE'S YOU** in Northern Irish English, **GEET/GIT** in north-eastern England and **THIS IS + SUBJECT** in London English, see examples 7-9 below.

7. (i) **here's me**: "Have youse took leave of your senses?"
(ii) **here was I**: "Then I must be hard of hearing or something – you rapped the door and I didn't hear you"
8. (i) **I was geet** "ahh"
(ii) **Stacey was git** "where's me burger then"
9. (i) **this is them** "what area are you from . what part?"
(ii) **this is me** "I'm from (name of place)"

Getting material to investigate



You could investigate the quotatives that people in your area use. Are quotatives used differently according to the age of the speakers or perhaps the gender of the speakers? Here are a few ideas for collecting your own data.

(5) A case study of two people from the same family

You could interview one older member of a family (somebody over, say, 50 years old) and a younger member of the same family (perhaps a teenager), asking them to recall family events or occasions. Make a one-hour (approx.) recording for each of the interviews and then go through the recordings later, keeping a record of the type of quotative used, the form of the quotative (e.g. *I said, he was saying, she says*) and the **content of the quote**. **Remember to get the consent of your interviewees before you record them!**

(6) A systematic record for a period of time e.g. one full day or 1-2 hours per day over a one-week period

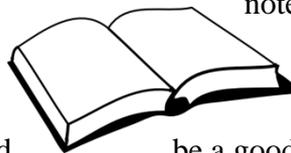
Set aside a specific time and listen out for quotatives being used by the people around you – you’ll need to choose your time carefully to ensure that you collect enough material. Keep a notebook handy and record your data in a table similar to the one below:

What was said e.g. <i>I’m like ‘let go’, he was like ‘I love that car’, she went ‘I don’t believe it’ etc.</i>	Content of the quote e.g. direct speech, thought, non-lexicalised sound, gesture	Male	Female	Age (approx)
she was going "what you looking at?"	Direct speech		X	16-19

Before you start you might want to divide the age of the speakers into age groups. Remember that this will be an anonymous survey so you’ll have to guess!

(7) Compare quotatives used in a novel with data collected from spontaneous speech

Novelists try hard to capture the living quality of speech. Collect an hour of recorded speech of yourself with two of your friends talking about things you’ve done in the past together. Listen to the recording later and make a note (as above) of all the quotatives used, as well as the content of the quote. Then look at a chapter in a novel that relies heavily on dialogue – perhaps you know of a novel that uses your local dialect/accents? (For Londoners, Zadie Smith’s *White Teeth* would be a good choice).



Questions to investigate



Once you have your list of quotatives you could see whether the way they are used in your material is the same or different to what other researchers have found.

(1) Which quotatives do you find in your data?

Recent research has suggested that older speakers are likely to use mainly *SAY*, *THINK*, *GO* or the *ZERO* form, whereas the dominant form for young people is likely to be *BE LIKE*. Do your findings confirm this pattern or not? Do you find any local or unexpected forms in your area?

(2) What patterns do you find with respect to the content of the quote?

Recent research suggests that older people use *THINK* to introduce thought/internal dialogue but that young people also use *BE LIKE* and sometimes *GO* in order to fulfil this function. Do your findings support the previous research? Other things related to the content of the quote that you could look for are:

- (i) Look carefully at each quotative and its use according to the content of the quote. Do you find that speakers are more likely to use one quotative form if it is to report directed speech and another form for introducing non-lexicalised sound or gesture?
- (ii) Do you find any differences according to gender? For example, are females more likely to use *BE LIKE* for reporting thought/internal dialogue than males? Are males more likely to use a different quotative in your data for reporting thought?

(3) Comparing the quotatives used in a novel to those used in spontaneous speech

What differences do you find in the types of quotatives used and how do you account for those differences?



TIP:

Novelists cannot portray pitch, loudness and timbre of voice in their writing and consequently sometimes use quotatives to indicate these things. Look carefully at what you think the writer is trying to achieve with the use of quotatives in the novel and consider whether or not they capture the flow of natural speech.

In conclusion

What are your findings with respect to quotatives used in your area? Do your results confirm previous research findings or have your data yielded surprising results? If so, what might account for the findings in your data?

SUGGESTED READING:

Buchstaller, Isabelle. 2011. Quotations across the generations: A multivariate analysis of speech and thought introducers across 5 decades of Tyneside speech. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 7 (1): 59-92 (for a summary of this paper go to <http://linguistics-research-digest.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/Quotatives>)

LINGUISTIC IRRITANTS OR INDICATIONS OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE?

Dr Stephen Levey (University of Ottawa)

A. FACT SHEET

A.1 Children's acquisition of discourse-pragmatic features. Sociolinguistic development and the acquisition of structured patterns of linguistic variability are processes that have their roots in infancy. Yet, surprisingly, there is still a lack of information about the development of patterns of variation in childhood (Eckert 2000:8). This is particularly true in the case of discourse-pragmatic features such as *like*, *and all that*, *and things*, as in (1)-(3) below taken from recordings of preadolescents aged between 7 and 11:

- (1) She started hitting him with this *like* crowbar
- (2) They go to church *and all that*
- (3) We've been playing with the skipping ropes *and things*

Children are popularly perceived to use these features frequently in speech, especially the discourse feature *like*, which appears to be inserted anywhere in a sentence. Teachers frequently react negatively to these features because they are commonly believed to be superfluous 'fillers', 'fumbles' or 'verbal tics' which contribute nothing to the meaning of an utterance. But a closer look at some of these features shows that they exhibit 'structured variability', patterning with social factors such as gender and age, and are used to accomplish a number of referential, textual and interactional functions in discourse.

A.2 Functions. Contrary to popular associations of *like* with inarticulacy or conversational dysfluency, an analysis of *like* in children's speech showed that it only occurred in a minority of cases with hesitations, aborted sentences and other production difficulties (Levey 2006). The fact that *like* frequently precedes noun phrases suggests that it may have a focusing function, possibly linked with the introduction of new information into discourse. It additionally seems to function textually to connect units of discourse with one another.

Discourse-pragmatic features such as *and all that*, *and things*, *and stuff*, *or something*, *or anything*, etc., are traditionally referred to in the literature as 'set-marking tags' because they imply the existence of a larger superset when they are appended to a phrase or clause. Thus, in an utterance such as *she bought apples, pears, and stuff*, the use of *and stuff* appended to *apples* and *pears* implies the existence of a larger superset, 'fruit', of which *apples* and *pears* are illustrative examples. However, closer inspection of spontaneous discourse, including children's speech, suggests that these linguistic features are often **not** used to indicate a superset at all, and may be recruited to accomplish a range of other functions associated with the expression of tentativeness, intensity, etc., as well as perhaps indexing solidarity with other speakers. Because forms such as *and that*, *and stuff*, *and everything* are multifunctional, they now tend to be called 'general extenders' rather than 'set-marking tags' to avoid the implication that they have one specific function only. One of the exciting things about general extenders is that they appear to be changing in English (and other languages). Children, for example, tend to use shorter variants such as *or something*, *and everything* rather than the longer variants *or something like that*, *and everything like that*. Furthermore, they often use forms such as *and that* without a set-marking function, suggesting that they are putting these forms to new uses in discourse (Levey 2012).

Functions of general extenders in children's speech illustrated:

	example	function
1.	There's like other animals lives there (.) a duck <i>and all that</i>	<i>and all that</i> implies that 'a duck' belongs to a broader category of animals
2.	<i>I don't know</i> even if it was even when I was	<i>or something</i> , in conjunction with other

	born <i>or something</i> (.) my grandad died (.) he had a heart-attack	markers such as <i>I don't know</i> , appears to hedge the speaker's degree of commitment to the precise time of his grandfather's death
3.	He kept swearing at me <i>and everything</i> and kicking me <i>and everything</i>	<i>and everything</i> indicates that 'swearing' and 'kicking' are exemplars of a general set of activities associated with a fight; <i>and everything</i> may also 'scale up' the preceding information, functioning like an intensifier (Overstreet & Yule 2002)

A.3. Variation in form. General extenders exhibit extensive variation in form. Figure 1 below shows the frequency of general extender variants extracted from a corpus [60, 000 words] of speech recorded from 48 primary school children (7-11 years old) in East London. What is also interesting in this dataset is that girls and boys tend to use certain variants to differing extents: girls make greater use of *and everything* whereas boys use *or something* more frequently. Whether these differences are linked to different stylistic preferences of girls and boys is the subject of ongoing research.

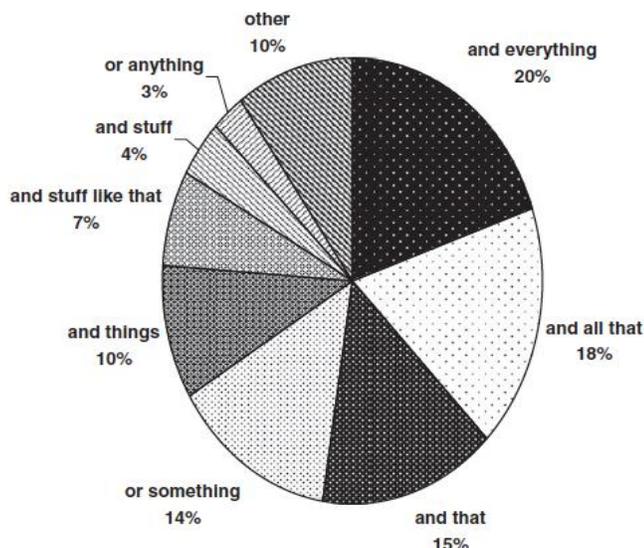


Figure 1. Distribution of variants (source: Levey 2012: 270)

B. SUGGESTED CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

B.1. Exploring attitudes to discourse *like* & general extenders and variation in the use of these features. Read the sentences in the table below out loud, and use a tick or a cross to indicate whether or not you think each example is:

- used more by a younger male
- used more by a younger female
- used more by an older male
- used more by an older female
- more typical of speech
- more typical of writing
- something you would say when speaking to your friends
- something you would say when speaking to the head teacher

Be prepared to discuss your answers!

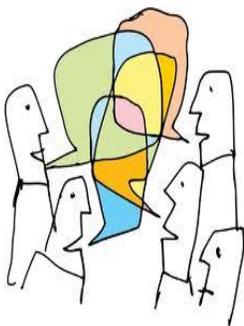
	<i>Used more by a younger male</i>	<i>Used more by a younger female</i>	<i>Used more by an older male</i>	<i>Used more by an older female</i>	<i>More typical of speech</i>	<i>More typical of writing</i>	<i>Something you would say when speaking to your friends</i>	<i>Something you would say when speaking to the head teacher</i>
1. I saw this <i>like</i> crazy man coming towards me.								
2. I like swimming, jogging <i>and that</i> .								
3. To make this, you need scissors, glue, card <i>and so on</i> .								
4. When I was coming out of the house, I saw this woman staring at me <i>like</i> .								
5. In Jurassic Park III, there's <i>like</i> big <i>like</i> dinosaurs <i>and things</i> .								
6. There's a lot of violence <i>and such like</i> in the town centre on Saturday night.								
7. When I had my hair cut, my mum laughed at me <i>and everything</i> .								
8. When you go camping, you need to take a tent, food, blankets <i>and things of that nature</i> .								

B.2. Commentary.

- Teenagers are more likely to associate discourse *like* with the speech patterns of their own age group (i.e. they would use it spontaneously when speaking to their friends).
- There is some evidence which indicates that speakers perceive discourse *like* to be associated with young female speech, although results vary depending on geographical location.
- Clause-final *like*, as in example 4, is a feature of traditional working-class dialects used by older speakers. Teenagers are unlikely to view this particular usage as a regular feature of their own speech, although they may have noticed it in the speech of their parents or grandparents.
- As a vernacular feature, teenagers are more likely to identify discourse *like* with speech rather than writing, and with informal settings rather than formal ones.
- There is some evidence to suggest that in British English, *and that*, as in example 2, is associated with young, working-class male speech.
- Teenagers are likely to associate *and that*, *and things*, and *everything* with the speech patterns of their own age group, although these variants are also used by older speakers.
- Note that some variants such as *and things of that nature*, and *such like* are more likely to occur in careful speech styles, or in writing rather than speech.

C. EXTENSION ACTIVITIES

Discourse *like* and general extenders can also be examined from many other standpoints. For example, questionnaires could be designed to elicit different dimensions of people's attitudes towards these features.



Sample questions:

- Do you think that a person who uses these features is friendly/unfriendly?
- Do you think that a person who uses these features is educated/uneducated?
- Do you think that a person who uses these features expresses herself well/expresses herself badly?
- Do you think that a person who uses these features is easy to understand/is difficult to understand?
- Do you think that a person who uses these features in a job interview is likely to be judged favorably/unfavorably?

D. RECOMMENDED READING (copies of these articles are included in the Appendix)

Levey, Stephen. 2003. *He's like 'Do it now!' and I'm like 'No!'* Some innovative quotative usage among young people in London. *English Today* 19(1): 24-36.

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- Levey, Stephen. 2006. The sociolinguistic distribution of discourse marker *like* in preadolescent speech. *Multilingua* 25: 413-441.
- Levey, Stephen. 2012. General extenders and grammaticalization: Insights from London preadolescents. *Applied Linguistics* 33: 257-281.

THE DIACHRONIC ELECTRONIC CORPUS OF TYNESIDE ENGLISH (DECTE) AND THE TALK OF THE TOON

Prof. Isabelle Buchstaller (University of Leipzig), Prof. Karen P. Corrigan (Newcastle University),
Dr Adam Mearns (Newcastle University) & Dr Hermann Moisl (Newcastle University)

- **DECTE Research Website** — <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/decte>
- **The Talk of the Toon** — <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/decte/toon>

DECTE is a set of interviews with a range of people from the North East, dating back to the 1960s. Sections below cover: (A) ways of using DECTE's *Talk of the Toon* website to explore the interviews; (B) ways of searching the DECTE interview text files with a simple, freeware text analysis program; and (C) suggestions for various student activities using the methods described in sections A and B.

A. The Talk of the Toon

The *Talk of the Toon* site presents the DECTE interviews in the form of a multimedia online archive, by linking the recordings and transcripts, and combining them with thematically related pictures and video clips. It also offers resources for teachers and students, interactive quizzes, and links to other websites concerned with similar collections of interviews and with the study of language in general.

A.1. Theme Searches

The *Talk of the Toon* THEMES page is accessed by clicking 'More' in the THEMES panel on the website's homepage, or selecting 'Themes' in the navigation menu under the banner at the top of the page. The menu on the left of the THEMES page lists the seventeen available themes. Clicking any one of these will bring up the results summary for that theme, indicating the number of pictures and video clips associated with it, and the number of interviews that contain key words related to that topic.

- Click 'Expand photo results' or 'Expand video results' to view the pictures and clips respectively.
- The interview list can be filtered (by time period, and by informant age and gender) using the selection menu and 'Filter results' button under the results summary window.
- Click 'Text & Audio of full interview' to go to any interview's Text/Audio page (see below). The theme's key words will be highlighted, and the transcript will show the first example in the text.

A.2. Interviews: the Text/Audio Interface

As indicated above, you can access the main Text/Audio interface for any interview listed in a THEME results panel by clicking 'Text & Audio of full interview'. You can also view an index of all the interviews in the archive by clicking 'View list of all interviews' at the top of the THEMES menu, or by choosing 'Interview Index' from the navigation menu under the banner at the top of a page. The INTERVIEW INDEX page lists files in sets according to interview date, and gives details of the gender and age of the informant(s). Click on an interview link to go to the relevant Text/Audio interface page.

As indicated in the instructions at the top of each interview page, the interface allows you to:

- Click any section of the transcript to begin playback of the audio at that point in the interview.
- Select a point in the audio timeline to jump to that part in both the recording and transcription.
- Highlight key words in the interview belonging to one of the seventeen themes listed in the THEMES panel next to the transcription window.

B. Exploring the DECTE interview text files with a simple freeware concordance program

As well as forming the core of *The Talk of the Toon* website, the DECTE interviews are available for download as text files (see the 'Corpus Files' section of the DECTE website for details). These files can of course be read and searched individually, using any standard word processor or text editor program. However, they can also be searched in batches or as a complete set using dedicated text analysis software, for example through the generation of concordances.

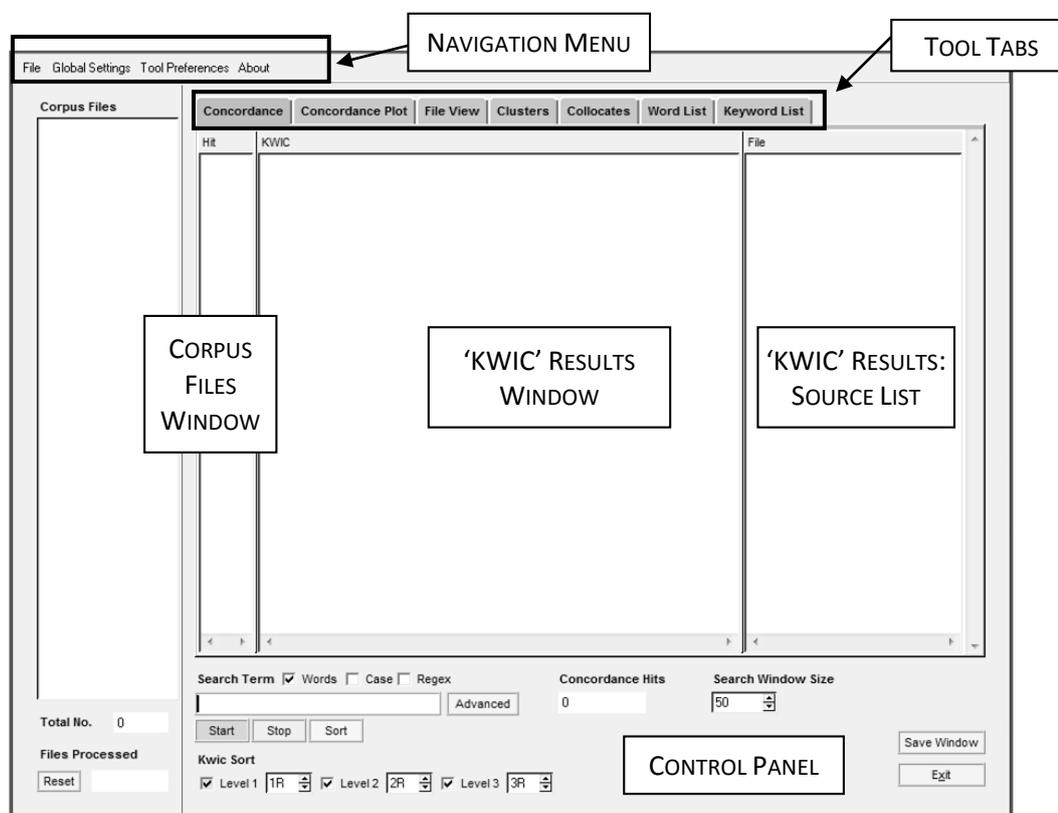
A **Concordance** is a list of target words extracted from a given text, or set of texts, often presented in such a way as to indicate the context in which the word is used. This format of presenting information is called ‘KWIC’: Key Word In Context. Concordance software can usually extract and present other types of information too, e.g. identifying the words that most commonly appear near a target word (its ‘common collocates’).

AntConc is a freeware concordance program developed by Prof. Laurence Anthony, Director of the Centre for English Language Education, Waseda University (Japan). There are versions available for Windows, Mac & Linux. The program can be downloaded at the following page, which also contains links to online guides and video tutorials — http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html

AntConc does not need to be installed. The program is downloaded as a single .exe file (with an additional PDF ‘ReadMe’ guide available). It can be run simply by double-clicking this file, from wherever the user chooses to store it on the computer. It can also be run from a USB memory stick.

Getting Started with AntConc

1. Double click on the ‘AntConc’ icon. (You may also need to click ‘Run’ / ‘Yes’ on any dialogue box that subsequently appears.) You should now have the **AntConc** window (see below). You can reposition, resize or maximize the window in the normal way.



2. To load the DECTE interview text files, select ‘File’ in the navigation menu at the top of the window and then ‘Open Files’ from the resulting drop-down menu — OR — press CTRL+F.
3. In the ‘Open Files’ dialogue window, navigate to the folder location where you have saved the DECTE .txt files. Select the files that you want to include in your search — for example, press CTRL+A to select all of the files; or you may want to search only the interviews from a particular period, or which involve a particular type of informant. (Background details for the informants are recorded at the beginning of each text file. Summaries of the details of all informants can be found in the ‘About’ section of *The Talk of the Toon* website, or the ‘Documentation’ section of the DECTE website – see above.)

4. When you have selected the files you want, click ‘Open’ at the bottom of the ‘Open Files’ window. The chosen files are now listed in the ‘Corpus Files’ panel on the left side of the AntConc window. The ‘Total No.’ box under the panel shows how many files you have selected. (To clear the selection at a later stage, go back to the ‘File’ menu and select ‘Clear All Files’.)
5. **Concordance:** To create a concordance, first make sure the ‘Concordance’ Tool Tab is selected. (The Tool Tabs are located at the top of the AntConc window. When the Concordance tool is selected, the results window and control panel will look as they do in the screen-shot above.)
 - a. To run a simple concordance using a single search term, enter the term in the search box on the left-hand side of the control panel, and click ‘Start’.
 - For example, entering **canny** in the search box will generate a list of all occurrences of that word form in the interview text files you have chosen to search. The results will appear as a list in the KWIC results window, showing the word in the context in which it appears in the text. The interview in which each result can be found is indicated by the file name in the ‘File’ source list window to the right of the KWIC results window. The total number of results is indicated in the ‘Concordance Hits’ box in the control panel.
 - In the KWIC results list, the key words (e.g. **canny** in the example above) appear in blue. Clicking on an instance of the key word takes you to the ‘File View’ for the text file in which it occurs, showing the term in its wider context. To return to your concordance results list, click the ‘Concordance’ Tool Tab at the top of the AntConc window.
 - There are two ways of searching for longer words (e.g. inflected forms or compounds) that contain the search term: (1) before clicking ‘Start’, uncheck the ‘Words’ option above the search box so that the search is not limited to whole words; (2) add the asterisk symbol before and/or after your search term, to allow for additional letters, e.g. **house*** will find both *house* and *houses*, ***house** will find both *house* and *greenhouse*, and ***house*** will find *house*, *houses*, *greenhouse* and *greenhouses*.
 - b. *Searching for phrases and sets of key words:* To search for a phrase, simply enter the phrase (e.g. **do you know**) in the main search box and click ‘Start’. For sets of words, click on ‘Advanced’ next to the search box. In the resulting dialogue box, select ‘Use search term(s) from list below’ and then enter your search terms (one to a line) in the box. Then click ‘Apply’. To run the search, click ‘Start’ in the control panel. (You will need to return to the Advanced Search dialogue box and deselect ‘Use search term(s) from list below’ if you want to return to a simple search using the main search box.)
6. **Collocates:** To generate a list of the most common collocates of a search word, first click the ‘Collocates’ Tool Tab at the top of AntConc window.
 - When generating a collocation list, it is a good idea to make sure that AntConc is set to ignore any tags in the text (e.g. those that identify line numbers or speakers). To do this, click on ‘Global Settings’ in the navigation menu at the top of the AntConc window. In the resulting dialogue box, choose ‘Tag Settings’ from the menu on the left-hand side. By default, ‘Show Tags’ will be selected. Select ‘Hide Tags’ instead, and click ‘Apply’.
 - Next, choose the span of words that you wish to include by altering the ‘Word Span’ settings in the control panel, e.g. setting ‘From’ to ‘5L’, and ‘To’ to ‘5R’ will search for collocates in a span of five words to the left and five to the right of the key word.
 - Now enter your search term in the search box, and click ‘Start’. In the latest version of AntConc (3.2.4), a message box will appear telling you that the program must first generate a word list. Click ‘OK’. When the word list has been generated, the program will automatically return to the ‘Collocates’ tool and generate the requested collocate list.
 - The Collocates results window lists words by the frequency with which they appear in the contexts centred on your search term. The list also indicates the frequency with which the collocates occur to the left or right of the key word. (By default, the ‘Stat’ column records a

‘Mutual Information’ score, which is a measure of the probability that the collocate and key word occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total.)

7. **Saving your results:** To save one of your results windows, select ‘File’ in the navigation menu at the top of the AntConc window. Then select ‘Save Output to Text File’ — OR — press CTRL+S.
8. For further guidance, consult the AntConc ‘ReadMe’ file (available from the same link as the program), or visit the following page and scroll down for links to online help pages, video tutorials and step-by-step guides: http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html

C. Example Activities — see also the ‘Schools’ section of The Talk of the Toon website

C.1. Comparing Attitudes and Experiences

Speakers represented in DECTE naturally have different opinions and experiences. One way of comparing them is to use *The Talk of the Toon* interface to highlight a THEME (see A.2. above) in interviews that involve different kinds of informants, or come from different periods. For example:

- Compare what the informants say about e.g. ‘HOLIDAYS’ and ‘ENTERTAINMENT & CULTURE’ in interviews **TLSG11** (1960s; 31-40 year old female) and **TLSG37** (1960s; 41-50 year old female).
- Now compare **TLSG11** and **TLSG37** with e.g. **PVC13** (1990s; two 16-20 year old females).
- You can also compare what informants have to say on a given topic with the views expressed in the news reports found among the video results for the various THEMES (see A.1. above).

C.2. Language & Gender

Andrew Moore outlines some of the claims that various scholars have made about the distinctive characteristics of male and female speech (www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/gender.htm). Select some DECTE interviews that involve mixed and same gender pairs (see the ‘About’ page on *The Talk of the Toon* site for details of interview informants). Using AntConc, search for appropriate words and phrases to investigate some of the claims about male and female speech. For example:

- Lakoff 1975: women use more hedges (*sort of, kind of, seems like*) and apologise more (*sorry*).
- Dominance Theory: men interrupt more than women. To investigate this, you can search the text files for the interruption tag: *<interruption>*. Consider also the distinction that Tannen makes between ‘competitive overlap’ (i.e. interruption) and ‘cooperative overlap’.
- Coates 1998: ‘Lexical items such as *perhaps, I think, sort of, probably ...* are used in English to express epistemic modality ... women use them to mitigate the force of an utterance in order to respect addressees’ face needs.’

C.3. Intensifiers and Quotatives

- a. Barnfield & Buchstaller (2010) traces changes in the frequency and usage of various words that are used as intensifiers in the DECTE interviews (*really bad, very good, dead posh*, etc).

(Barnfield, Kate & Isabelle Buchstaller. 2010. Intensifiers on Tyneside: Longitudinal developments and new trends. *English World-Wide* 3(3): 252-287.)

- Use AntConc to search for different intensifier forms in the DECTE files, e.g. *very, really, dead, so, pure*. Which are most common in each of the three periods represented in DECTE?
- Are there any problems involved in searching for contexts in which these and other terms are used as intensifiers?

- b. Research on DECTE has shown how the quotatives BE LIKE (*she was like “why?”*) and GO (*I went “oh typical”*) emerged in the 1990s interviews, and became increasingly frequent in the 2000s.

(Buchstaller, Isabelle. 2011. Quotations across the generations: A multivariate analysis of speech and thought introducers across 5 decades of Tyneside speech. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 7(1): 59-92.)

Summary:<http://linguistics-research-digest.blogspot.co.uk/2012/03/quoting-across-generations.html>

- Use AntConc to search for different quotative forms, e.g. **I’m like / I was like / *he’s like / *he was like** (*he will find both he and she) and **I went / I goes / *he went / *he goes**, etc.
- How do the quotatives pattern for speaker age/gender, and the kind of quote they introduce?

C.4. Miscellaneous

- a. In the 1960s-70s DECTE interviews, the interviewer often asks people about their political views.
- Use AntConc to search the DECTE interviews for **vot*** (which will find *vote, votes, voted, voting, voter, voters*) and **politic*** (*politics, political, politically, politician, politicians*).
 - Is politics also a frequent topic of conversation in the 1990s and 2000s? How do the conversations and/or the use of the key terms differ across time?
 - What other key terms could you search for to extend your study of this semantic field?
- b. David Bellos notes that ‘when we say ‘It was literally raining cats and dogs last night’, we mean the adverb ‘literally’ in a figurative sense. Studies of large corpora of recorded speech have shown that the majority of the uses of ‘literal’ and ‘literally’ in English are figurative.’ (Bellos, D. 2011. *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? Translation and the Meaning of Everything*. Penguin: London. Page 110.)
- Use AntConc to search for **literal*** (*literal, literally*). Do the occurrences of these words in the DECTE interviews support the point that they are mostly used in a figurative way in English?

D. RECOMMENDED READING (copies of these articles are included in the Appendix)

Barnfield, Kate & Isabelle Buchstaller. 2010. Intensifiers on Tyneside: Longitudinal developments and new trends. *English World-Wide* 3(3): 252-287.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING: LINGUISTIC RESOURCES

Dr Sue Fox (Queen Mary, University of London)



<http://www.sllf.qmul.ac.uk/englishlanguage teaching>

A. THE SITE

A.1. Background: The study of spoken English has acquired great importance in the secondary school curriculum. At GCSE level, where English is a compulsory subject, students may choose GCSE English or both GCSE English Language (a new exam) and GCSE English Literature. Both routes include the study of spoken English, and the new English Language (EngLang) specifications have a separate ‘Spoken Language Study’ section that accounts for 10 per cent of the examination. At A Level, English Language is one of the fastest growing subjects. It gives equal weight to the study of spoken English and written English. At both GCSE and A Level, students are required to study sociolinguistic aspects of spoken English, especially language variation and change.

The increased focus on spoken language places heavy demands on schoolteachers. Many English teachers have a background in literature rather than language, and so have little or no training in linguistic analysis, especially as applied to spoken language. However, our consultations with a panel of A Level English language teachers suggested that the most severe problem is a lack of classroom materials on spoken English. Our project was designed to address this problem.

A.2. The people: The English Language Teaching website and the Linguistics Research Digest were set up by Jenny Cheshire (Queen Mary, London), Sue Fox (Queen Mary, London) and Paul Kerswill (Lancaster).

A.3. Databank of spoken London English: There are currently 12 sound bank folders. Each folder contains:

- a short sound clip
- a transcript of the speech in the sound clip
- suggested discussion points based on spoken English features heard in the sound clips
- (where relevant) links to relevant summaries in the Linguistics Research Digest

A.4. Description of spoken English features (including those illustrated in the sound bank folders): Features discussed include:

- Backchannels
- Deixis
- Conversational historical present
- Discourse markers
- Quotatives

A.5. Language Investigations: There are currently 7 language investigations on the following topics:

- Giving place directions
- Call Centre speech style
- Language Brokering
- Compliments
- General extenders
- Second person plural forms

The language investigations aim to give clear directions for data collection and try to make links to specific areas of the A Level specifications e.g. Accent and Dialect, Language and Gender. There is also often a link to a summary on the topic which has been posted on the Linguistics Research Digest and which provides background research information.

B. THE LINGUISTICS RESEARCH DIGEST



<http://linguistics-research-digest.blogspot.co.uk>

The Digest aims to provide up-to-date reports on the latest research papers on language issues in an engaging, jargon-free way. We check the many scientific journals for articles that are interesting, thought-provoking and/or use innovative methods.

In addition to the summaries the digest includes:

- Links to other sites relevant to GCSE and GCE A Level English language study
- Links to other language blogs
- A searchable tool for browsing the digest by category
- English language events of interest to teachers and students
- An option to receive regular Digest postings by email

We would be pleased to receive your feedback and suggestions for improvement to our website or the Linguistics Research Digest. You can contact us at linguisticsresearchdigest@gmail.com

ON-LINE RESOURCES AND DATABANKS FOR A-LEVEL ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS

list compiled and annotated by Dr Sue Fox (QMUL) & Dr Heike Pichler (Newcastle)
last up-dated: 16 June 2012

A. DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FEATURES

Stacia Levy's (Stockton) *As I Was Saying: How and Why to Teach Discourse Markers*

<http://busyteacher.org/10076-how-and-why-to-teach-discourse-markers.html>

This site offers some ideas on how to raise students' awareness of discourse markers and their interactional importance. (Some exercises may be more suitable to teaching non-native speakers of English.)

B. SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE VARIATION & CHANGE

Emma Moore's (Sheffield) *Language and Identity in the National Curriculum*

<http://school-of-english.dept.shef.ac.uk/langworkscheme/index.html>

The materials on this site were designed to introduce Year 10 students to issues related to language & identity. They include power-point presentations to be used in class as well as accompanying handouts and audio files. They prepare students for producing reports or presentations on language & identity in their own communities which can then be assessed as part of their coursework.

Deborah Cameron's (Oxford) *Research Update for Teachers*

<http://www.englishandmedia.co.uk/emag/debcamemag.pdf>

Unlike other sites listed here, this site doesn't provide exercise materials but instead contains a short article with reading suggestions that will get A-level English Language teachers up-to-date with the latest research on language and gender.

Kirk Hazen's (West Virginia) *Teaching About Language Variation*

http://dialects.english.wvu.edu/outreach/language_variations

http://dialects.english.wvu.edu/outreach/dialects_in_schools

<http://www.cal.org/resources/digest/0104dialects.html>

These sites offer excellent resources for teaching various issues related to language variation, particularly geographical dialect variation. Specific lesson plans with power points and background reading materials are also included. While some resources are specifically targeted at the Apalachian dialect spoken in West Virginia, the materials can be modified for application to other dialect areas.

Andrew Moore's *Teaching Resource Site*

<http://www.universalteacher.org.uk/contents.htm#langua>

<http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore>

This site is an archive of resources for English Language and Literature teachers. It covers a wide range of topics in sociolinguistics, including, amongst others, English varieties of the British Isles, Language & gender, Features of spoken English (all by Andrew Moore), Researching dialect (by Barrie Rhodes), and Dialect levelling and RP (by Paul Kerswill). The site also contains a wide range of resources for teaching the structure of English and language acquisition as well as topics in English Literature.

C. ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The Lancaster University's *A Level English Language Website*

<http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/alevel/>

This site contains links to a range of other English Language resources as well as a Q-A facility covering topical issues in the study of English Language such as the origins of English, the development of creole languages, English dialectology and language acquisition.

The Open University's *The History of English in Ten Minutes i-tunes*

<http://itunes.apple.com/itunes-u/the-history-english-in-ten/id446081667>

This site hosts a series of 10 one-minute audio-bites which cover 1600 years of the history of the English language, discussing its sources and development, its current state as a major global language and its future in the internet age.

Christian Kay & John Corbett's (Glasgow) *Word Webs*

<http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/fundedresearchprojects/wordwebs/>

This site was created for students of English Language and Literature to develop their skills in analysing language use in literary and non-literary texts. The first two units (the growth of the English vocabulary; using on-line corpora) introduce resources for analysing the history of English and literary texts; the second two units guide students through the analysis of specific topics (Shakespeare's vocabulary; issues of gender). The site includes demonstrations, interactive activities and suggestions for further study.

All Talk

<http://www.btplc.com/Responsiblebusiness/Supportingourcommunities/Learningandskills/Freeresources/AllTalk/default.aspx>

This site supports English GCSE and A Level students in the study of spoken language and speaking and listening. The site includes interaction with all forms of digital media and includes a free downloadable workbook with accompanying video clips and a range of classroom activities.

iGE: the interactive Grammar of English

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/apps/ige/>

This is a complete grammar of the English Language specifically designed for mobile devices. It includes a glossary of grammatical terms, a guided course and interactive exercises. The iGE Lite is free.

Valuable Voices

<http://charityhudleymallinson.com/resources/>

This is a US-based site written by two linguists with extensive experience of working with educators. There is a lot of useful information about language variation, with a link to the Popular Linguistics magazine. There is also an accompanying ValuableVoices YouTube Channel featuring many clips on language issues that can be applied to UK contexts.

D. ENGLISH ACCENTS AND DIALECTS

DECTE's (Newcastle) *The Talk of the Toon*

<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/decte/toon/>

This is a multi-media website containing audio recordings and transcriptions from dialect speakers of different ages, socio-economic backgrounds and localities in the North East of England. These recordings have been combined with still and moving images relating to themes relevant to subject areas in the National Curriculum including English but also History, ICT and Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education.

BBC Voices: Voices from around the UK

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/>

This site is a resource for exploring language diversity in the UK and features many voice recordings of social and regional accents and dialects. The site includes a Word Map which explores differences in words used across regions, a News archive of language-related articles, a Webguide which lists useful sites about language and linguistics, and lessons plans for teaching about accent and dialect.

The British Library's *Sounds Familiar? Accents and Dialects of the UK*

<http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/index.html>

This is another site that captures the diversity of spoken English across the UK. The site features interactive maps and explores lexical, phonological, grammatical and social variation. There is also a section which offers students and schools the opportunity to contribute their own recordings and language surveys to the site, as part of the British Library Sound Archive's ongoing survey of speech patterns across the UK.

McMahon et al.'s (Edinburgh) *Accents of English Around the World*

<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/research/gsound/Eng/Database/Phonetics/Englishes/Home/HomeMainFrameHolder.htm>

This site provides an overview of the sounds of English across time, space and social groups.

John Wells's (UCL) *Estuary English*

<http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/home.htm>

This site is dedicated to anything that's ever been written about Estuary English, the name given to the form(s) of English spoken in and around London and, more generally, in the south-east of England. The site includes listings of books that focus solely on the topic, books which contain chapters on the topic, lecture handouts, journal articles, newspaper articles and many other items of related interest.

E. LINGUISTIC THEORIES

Matthew Richardson's (Utah State) *Theories Central*

<http://theoriescentral.wordpress.com/>

This site offers accessible summaries of some key theories in linguistics and communication research, including politeness theory, social exchange theory and genderlects. It comes with lesson plans, videos and exercises.

F. MORE GENERIC SITES

Linguistics Research Digest

<http://linguistics-research-digest.blogspot.co.uk/>

This site aims to provide up-to-date reports on the latest research papers on language issues in an engaging, jargon-free way. It is particularly aimed at helping teachers and students of GCSE and A Level English Language to keep abreast of cutting edge research.

The UK Linguistics Olympiad

<http://www.uklo.org/>

The UK Linguistics Olympiad is a competition for secondary school students, which involves solving linguistic data problems at different levels of difficulty. The site includes links to problems used in past Olympiads (support > practice) which can be used in the classroom to develop and apply students' analytical skills to linguistic data. A detailed educational rationale for incorporating these exercises in the classroom is also outlined on the site (about > educational rationale).

G. OTHER

Committee for Linguistics in Education (CLIE)

<http://clie.org.uk/>

CLIE was set up to establish how (applied) linguistics can contribute towards the school curriculum and the professional training of teachers. The site contains links to teaching resources (actions > resources) as well as accessible articles about linguistics and (English/foreign) language teaching.

Dick Hudson's (UCL) *A level English Language site*

<http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/ec/gce.htm>

Lots of facts and figures here about the history of A Level English Language, various exam boards' specifications, and discussion of assessment objectives. Of importance to students thinking of entering HE, there is a section which discusses how English Language is regarded by HE admissions tutors.

Dick Hudson's (UCL) Educational linguistics site

<http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/education.htm>

This site contains lots of relevant information pages, all concerned with raising awareness of knowledge about language in schools. There is a lot of very useful information for teachers about teaching grammar here (> a weekly grammar column for school teachers).

H. BLOGS AND E-MAGAZINES

<http://englishlangsfx.blogspot.co.uk/>

<http://emagazinelanguage2012.blogspot.co.uk/>

<http://languagelog ldc.upenn.edu/nll/>