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The diachrony of quotation: Evidence from New Zealand English

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ABSTRACT

Much recent work on English direct quotation assumes that the system is undergoing rapid and large-scale change via the emergence of "innovative" forms such as *be like*. This view is supported by synchronic evidence, but the dearth of diachronic evidence forces reconsideration of this assumption. Drawing on data representing the full history of New Zealand English, this paper presents a variationist analysis of the quotative system, providing a continuous link between present-day quotation and that of the late 19th century. It reveals a longitudinal and multifaceted trajectory of change, resulting in a highly constrained variable grammar in which language-internal contextual factors have evolved and specialized, the effects of which reverberate throughout the sector.

Any stage of a language is a historical artifact, and variationist sociolinguistics, as a mode of scientific enquiry, operates overtly on this recognition. Labov has argued forcibly against the Saussurian separation of diachronic and synchronic linguistics (Labov, 1975, 1989, 1994; Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog, 1968), a case buttressed by Romaine's (1980:221–222) argument that the development of a viable theory of language change is critically dependent on the ability to link past with present. This fusion of complementary perspectives is the ultimate aim of variationist sociolinguistics, a field rooted in diachrony but often practiced in synchrony.

The emphasis on synchronic dimensions of variation and change is exemplified by recent work targeting direct quotation. Much of this work assumes (implicitly or explicitly) that the quotative system is undergoing rapid and large-scale change via the emergence of forms such as *go*, *be all*, and in particular, *be like*. This interpretation is supported by synchronic perspectives, but the dearth of diachronic ones raises the possibility of alternate scenarios. In particular, we may wonder whether ongoing change is indeed a reflex of new lexical choices to voice dialogue or whether it is emblematic of more broad, longitudinal, and systemic shifts in the ways in which dialogue is constructed.

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This paper presents a longitudinal analysis of direct quotation in New Zealand English, revealing that the entire system, from lexical and discourse-pragmatic options to the operation of the variable grammar itself, has undergone whole-scale restructuring during the past 125 years. In the 19th century, direct quotation was highly circumscribed, exhibiting little variation. This architecture has gradually and continuously reorganized as lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic constraints emerge and change over time. This work thus not only highlights the need for historical perspectives on synchronic phenomena, it also serves as a reminder that (socio)linguistic variables cannot be described apart from the grammar in which they are fundamentally situated and constrained (Labov, 2001:84).

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT QUOTATION, AND WHAT WE DO NOT

Phenomena such as inner monologue and speech reproduction have long research traditions (Blyth, Recktenwald, & Wang, 1990:215), but the past two decades have witnessed an increasing interest in the construction of dialogue, particularly as reflected in spoken narrative. The result is an extensive body of research (e.g., Buchstaller, 2006a, 2006b, 2008; Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; Blyth et al., 1990; Cukor-Avila, 2002; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; D'Arcy, 2010; Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Macaulay, 2001; Mathis & Yule, 1994; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Singler, 2001; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004, 2007; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). Much of this work is united by two trends: (1) a focus on individual verbs of quotation, and (2) synchronic perspectives on patterns of use. Both points have implications for our understanding of quotation as it functions in contemporaneous spoken discourse.

A focus on form

The literature is replete with discussions of innovative forms. In London, the periphrastic quotative *this is* + [speaker] has recently emerged (Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox, & Torgersen, 2011). California has witnessed the advent and decline of *be all* (Buchstaller, Rickford, Traugott, Wasow, & Zwicky, 2010; Rickford, Buchstaller, Wasow, & Zwicky, 2007). Suggestions that *go* is making inroads in contemporary varieties of English have also surfaced (e.g., Buchstaller, 2006a; Butters, 1980). These forms are exemplified in (1). However, the development that has received the bulk of attention is *be like*.

(1) a. *This is him,* "Don't lie. If I search you and if I find one I'll kick your arse." (London, England; Cheshire et al., 2011)
b. She'*s all,* "What do you mean, gum?" (California, USA; Rickford et al., 2007)
c. ...later on we just *go,* "Oh man, you shut your old prune face." (Wilmington, North Carolina; Butters, 1980)

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By their very nature, innovations are interesting. This partly explains the tendency to focus on change rather than stability, as well as the tendency for the diachronic dimension of variation to be identified with change (Labov, 1989). Innovations are also useful. *Be like* has proven a robust heuristic in the effort to develop an empirical theory of language change, providing key insights into such issues as age-grading, lifespan change, and the incrementation of change, as well as allowing detailed exploration of linguistic, social, and geographic facets in the diffusion of change. Replicability is a sign of good science, and it follows that research on *be like* should lead to more research on *be like*.

No individual form (or select subset of forms) can be the sole focus of variationist analysis. The Labovian framework is defined by what gets counted. All variants must be included in the quantitative model (Labov, 1966, 1972a). In the case of constructed dialogue, the variable context is defined not by form (e.g., *be like*) but by function (i.e., direct quotation). However, because individual verbs of quotation are defined as dependent variables, the quantitative procedure can foreground forms and background broader systemic considerations.

What we gain in viewing quotation from this perspective is a strong understanding of how a particular verb functions at a particular stage of the language. What we risk losing sight of is how the system itself operates. Though we may see strong probabilistic effects of contextual factors, we tend not to ask why those constraints operate as they do, let alone why they operate at all. What is their role within the quotative system more generally, and how is direct quotation (as a discursive mode) constrained? To move further in our understanding of quotation in spoken narrative, a broader interpretive context is required.

Synchronicity

Early work on *be like* was often restricted to younger speakers, as they were the only ones to use this form. More recent work has redressed this imbalance, targeting a broader age spectrum, but, as is well acknowledged, the primary shortcoming of apparent time is that it is insufficient for disentangling age-grading from generational change (Labov, 1984:84). The persistence of *be like* among adult speakers, its increasing rates of use, and evidence for lifespan change have all served to dispel the question of age-grading (Buchstaller, 2006a; Cukor-Avila, 2002; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007). No longer an "innovative fad," *be like* is well entrenched within the quotative repertoire and its apparent time trajectory has been corroborated by real-time analyses (Barbieri, 2009; Buchstaller, 2006a; Buchstaller et al., 2010; Cukor-Avila, 2002; D'Arcy, 2010; Durham, Haddican, Zweig, Johnson, Baker, Cockeram, Danks, & Tyler, 2011; Ferrara & Bell, 1995).

These real-time perspectives on *be like* have narrow time depths, ranging from just 2-year increments to 15-year increments. In targeting particular forms, it is both sufficient and logical to restrict the analytical window to one that provides insight to the phenomenon in question. Because *be like* is relatively new, short periods are

more than sufficient for establishing ongoing shifts in use and constraint patterning; they also allow examination of the overall functioning of the major verbs of quotation immediately before and after *be like*. These comparisons reveal what appear to be recent, sudden, and catastrophic shifts within the overall configuration of the quotative system, yet they are constrained in their ability to address questions concerning the nature and causation of change.

Linguistic change is known to proceed somewhat chaotically in fits and starts (see Janda, 1999:329; Joseph & Janda, 2003:20; Lass, 1997:304), but evolutionary "realignments" are rarely confined to a few frenetic years. Neither synchronic nor real-time analyses of direct quotation have illuminated what its substantive nature may have been at more distal stages in the recorded history of spoken English. We cannot assume that the system was stable immediately prior to the incursion of *be like*, or that the rise of new forms has shifted the distributional, functional, and/or pragmatic workloads of traditional verbs for direct quotation. Until synchronic aspects of constructed dialogue become informed by diachronic perspectives, our understanding runs the risk of being fundamentally teleological.

Buchstaller (2011) is the only research published to date in which the longitudinal development of the English quotative system is scrutinized. Drawing on data from five decades of conversational recordings from the North-East of England, Buchstaller ascertained that change has not been abrupt; "continuous restructuring" has occurred over several generations, sparked, she argued, by the "intrusion" of *be like* and *go*.

DATA AND METHOD

Shifts in the operation of the constraints on variation can be used to elucidate pathways of change (e.g., Poplack, 2011; Torres Cacoullos, 2009, 2011).[1] In assessing the operation of the system of direct quotation across time, the current analysis traces the (recent) evolutionary trajectory of this grammatical function in speech. The data come from the Origins of New Zealand English Archive ([ONZE] see Gordon, Campbell, Hay, Maclagan, Sudbury, & Trudgill, 2004; Gordon, Hay, & Maclagan, 2007); its three collections cover the history of New Zealand English from 1850 to the present.

The Mobile Unit

The Mobile Unit (MU) recordings were made between 1946 and 1948 by members of the Mobile Disc Recording Unit of Radio New Zealand. The primary aim was to collect personal reminiscences of life in rural towns at the beginning of British settlement. The speakers were the children of the first European colonizers. The oldest were in their 90s at the time of recording, but the median age is about 75 years (years of birth: 1851–1910).[2]

The Intermediate Archive

The Intermediate Archive (IA) consists of oral history projects and, to provide continuity of data, interviews with some of the descendants of the original MU speakers. The various IA materials were recorded between 1990 and 1996 (years of birth: 1890–1935).

The Canterbury Corpus

The Canterbury Corpus (CC) is a sociolinguistic monitor corpus, growing annually since 1994 (speaker years of birth: 1926–1985). Because the sample does not include speakers over the age of 60 years, these data are supplemented by recordings of older speakers from the Darfield Corpus (DC), a regional sociolinguistic corpus compiled in 2006 (years of birth: 1918–1935).

The intersection of corpus and historical development

The ONZE collections were assembled for distinct purposes; their formats are not consistent. Methodological discontinuities of this nature pose an unavoidable challenge when constructing longitudinal collections, even when the framework is held constant (e.g., Buchstaller, 2011). Field methods, sample designs, and topics of conversation all affect comparability, and yet using composite corpora as windows on diachrony presupposes that the materials are in fact (sufficiently) analogous.

What unifies the ONZE collections is the type of talk they represent, which on the whole is dialogic. ONZE has proven an invaluable resource for the documentation of variation and change in New Zealand English (e.g., Gordon et al., 2004; Hay & Schreier, 2004). It has also enabled key insights to a number of theoretical statements about language more generally (e.g., Hay & Sudbury, 2005; Langstrof, 2006; Trudgill, 2004). In the case of direct quotation, the ONZE data are constrained by type of dialogue (Blyth et al., 1990; Tannen, 1986). They are largely restricted to narrative complicating action (Schiffrin, 1981:58; see also Hymes, 1977; Wolfson, 1978).[3] Because narratives are a naturally bound unit of discourse (Schiffrin, 1981:45), they present an ideal site for quantitative analysis. Their privileged status as the primary locus of direct quotation functions to further level methodological discrepancies between the ONZE collections.[4] Drier, more stilted recordings will feature little in the current analysis as they do not tend to contain direct quotation, creating comparability with respect to the overarching discourse genre from which the data were extracted.

Method

Following well-established traditions in variationist analysis of constructed dialogue (e.g., Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004, 2007; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), the variable context is defined functionally as direct quotation—the recreation of speech, thought, action, sound, or gesture. Delineating the envelope

TABLE 1. *The ONZE quotative sample*

Corpus	Collection Years	Years of Birth	Speakers, *n*	Tokens, *n*
MU	1946–1948	1860–1894	43	552
IA	1990–1996	1891–1935	65	809
DC	2006–2006	1918–1936	8	128
CC	1994–2006	1926–1985	318	3172
Total			434	4661

in this way resulted in over 4600 tokens. As detailed in Table 1, the analysis is based on data from 434 speakers with birthdates spanning 125 years.[5]

Due to the nature of the historical materials, the only social factor that can be examined is speaker sex, though fewer women than men were interviewed by the MU. To maintain constancy across the collections, the analysis focuses on speaker age as an external correlate of variation and change in the quotative system.

A number of linguistic factors are implicated in synchronic variation among verbs of quotation. The two "classic" ones are grammatical person (of the matrix subject) and content of the quote (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007:203). They relate in particular to *be like* (believed to have entered the repertoire in response to the developing niche for the reporting of first-person inner states through monologue; see Ferrara & Bell, 1995:283; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007:212), but have been examined for other quotatives as well. *Say* and *go* are associated with third-person speech; *go* is also predicted to occur with nonlexicalized sound (Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007).

Another much discussed linguistic effect concerns the intersection of tense and temporal reference (Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; D'Arcy, 2010; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Singler, 2001; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007). *Be like* tends to encode the Historical Present (HP), present tense morphology with past temporal reference. The HP is a well-known feature of English narrative more generally (Schiffrin, 1981; Wolfson, 1981, 1982) and has been reported to coincide with verbs of direct quotation in particular (Schiffrin, 1981).

Dialogue can be constructed using a regular speaking voice, but quotation can also report sounds and gestural content, as well as lexical material that is rendered expressively through changes in pitch, intonation, rhythm, and accent (e.g., Buchstaller, 2008; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999). Examples are given in (2). *Be like* has been linked with mimetic effects since the outset (Butters, 1982; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tannen, 1986); the role of mimesis within the broader repertoire is less studied.

(2) a. And it'*s like* "[grunts]." (CC, fyn99-11a, b. 1968)[6]
b. ...they *said,* "[raises pitch] Oh my hands, my hands." (DC, fe1, b. 1936)
c. The old lady *said,* "[lowers pitch, slows rate] I'm not a robber." (MU, Annie Hamilton, b. 1877)

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Grammatical person, content of the quote, tense/temporal reference, and mimesis are the primary system-internal constraints on direct quotation. Their operation across time provides the foundation of the analysis presented here. Two additional quotative resources are also considered: specification of an addressee and verb placement.

For many verbs of quotation, valency is categorically invariant. *Ask* and *tell* are generally verbs of indirect speech (*She asked me whether she*), but they sometimes introduce speech directly. When used in the active voice, they require an indirect object (*ask John, tell her*). In contrast, the null form cannot be specified for addressee, and early literature discussed the inability of *be like* and *go* to specify an object (Butters, 1980; Schourup, 1982). A single instance of each occurs in the ONZE materials, shown in (3), but as these constructions do not (yet) appear productive in New Zealand, they will not be discussed further (though see Buchstaller [2008] for British English). However, there is a handful of verbs for which valency is variably marked (*say, think, call/cry/yell [out], remark, suggest*).

(3) a. I *was like* to people "Just stop taking photos of me." (CC, fyn99-22a, b. 1979)
b. I *went* to my mum, "Mum, he did it to me." (CC, fyn97-13a, b. 1968)

Finally, the canonical English position for quotative verbs is immediately before the quoted material (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Schiffrin, 1981). The main clause may be postposed, however, such that it follows the quoted material, as exemplified in (4). In speech, this strategy is restricted to *say*.

(4) a. "Oh I'll take thirty shillings for it," the blacksmith *said*. "Right-oh," *said* the engineer. (MU, Vivian Young, b. 1885)
b. "Oh," she *says*. "You're not drunk," she *says*. (IA, Harvey Summers, b. 1905)
c. I had a three-pence up my nose. "Well, pull it out then," she *said*. (CC, mop97-20, b. 1942)

The questions this research seeks to address are straightforward. English speakers have a number of resources on which they can draw when constructing dialogue. Is the system in which these resources operate consistently constrained across time, or has it undergone change? Is synchronic change restricted to the number of lexical options available to speakers, or have other changes affected the construction of dialogue?

THE DIACHRONY OF QUOTATION

The nineteenth century, 1860–1894

Contemporary perspectives of direct quotation reveal a system that is robustly variable, both lexically and internally, via the operation of a number of constraints that function in tandem as a "choice mechanism" (Poplack, 2011:213). The MU data provide no such perspective. The system can best be

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TABLE 2. *Overall distribution of forms in the MU*

	%	*n*
Say	89	490
Zero	8	42
Think	1	6
Other	3	14
Total	100	552

Note: Here and elsewhere, total percentage may not equal 100 due to the effects of rounding.

described as "contained": What variability exists is highly circumscribed. The passages in (5) are exemplary of direct quotation in the MU.

(5) a. I *said,* "Oh I think I'd better get home."
And so Mrs. Hawkins *said,* "Have all the soldiers gone to bed?"
And I *said,* "Oh I don't know." (Mary Ann Turnbull, b. 1875)

b. He *said,* "You'd shoot a man? You've got a gun?"
So Peter *says,* "Come on then now."
He *says,* "I've got no gun now." (Robert Templeton, b. 1887)

The overall distribution of forms is provided in Table 2. A single form, *say*, accounts for nearly 90% of direct quotation. The second most frequent strategy, the null form, is marginal, accounting for less than 8% of the data overall. Quotative *think*—widely considered a "conservative" variant—is virtually nonexistent. It occurs just six times. The remainder, comprising a mere 3% of the data, consists of a handful of forms (eight to be exact), none of which occurs more than three times. In short, the repertoire is minimal, and it is dominated by *say*.

This lexical restraint is striking. Putative functions of direct quotation include increasing the dramatic element of a narrative and adding authenticity to evaluative claims (e.g. Schiffrin, 1981:60). Speakers thus "emphasize various aspects of the report" (Romaine & Lange, 1991:234) through the use of a range of speech reporting verbs. The historical materials contain more than one verb of saying, but such occurrences are exceptional.[7]

Moreover, the pragmatic content of direct quotation is virtually invariant. The instances of *think* reported in Table 2 are the only cases of quoted inner dialogue (i.e., thought/attitude); writing is quoted just two times. In other words, the quotidian function of constructed dialogue in the MU is speech encoding (99%; $n = 544$). Other types of content are exceedingly rare.

Despite the lexical and pragmatic uniformity of quotation in the MU, narrators had other strategies available to them. As the most robustly variable of the internal constraints, the primary mechanism is mimesis. A full third of direct speech is rendered with voice effects (34%). Another strategy used by these speakers is tense variation, yet the available choices are limited. Past-tense encoding is the most frequent overall (69%), followed by the HP (25%); this latter configuration

TABLE 3. *Multivariate analysis of factors conditioning the use of* say *in the MU (speech only) Input .900*

	FW	%	*n*
Speaker sex			
Female	[.552]	92	202
Male	[.469]	89	342
Decade of birth (Age)			
1860–1879 (71–84 years)	.546	92	379
1880–1894 (54–68 years)	.395	86	165
Range	15		
Voice effects			
None (nonmimetic)	[.550]	92	360
Mimetic	[.403]	86	184
Total			544
Summary of Factor Groups Not Included in the Multivariate Analysis			
Grammatical person			
First		99	098
Second		100	002
Third		97	401
Tense/temporal reference			
Past		97	348
Present		89	26
HP		100	127
Past progressive		100	1
Addressee			
Not overtly specified		98	463
Overtly specified		94	35
Verb placement			
Before quotative frame		97	465
After quotative frame		100	37

Note: Factors not selected as significant appear in square brackets.

is categorically restricted to *say*. Use of the simple present is an absolute minority option (5%), and the past progressive occurs once. No other aspectual or modal distinctions are attested.

Grammatical person also fails to have a discernible effect. The system operates along a binary contrast skewed in favor of third persons. Quotation is largely a tool for the speech of others (80%). Speakers are less likely to quote themselves (20%), and second persons are virtually unattested ($n = 2$).[8]

Another little used strategy is the specification of an addressee, which is variably employed just 35 times (7% overall). The majority of these instances occur with *say*. Other verbs with prepositional objects in the MU are *suggest* and *remark*, but each occurs just once.

Finally, speakers in the MU rarely place the main clause after the quoted material (7%), and when they do, only clauses with *say* are postposed.

Table 3 presents the results of a multivariate analysis. In this case, the analysis is concerned not with constructed dialogue as broadly construed in the

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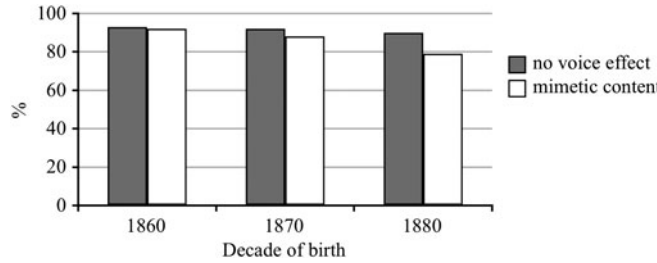

FIGURE 1. Quotative *say* and mimesis across apparent time in the MU.

methodological discussion but specifically with the phenomenon of constructed speech, as this is the function of quotation in the 19th-century ONZE materials. The application value is *say* (overall distribution in speech, 90%; $n = 544$). Only three factors can be modeled: speaker sex, speaker decade of birth, and mimesis. The remaining groups cannot be included because there is simply too little variation. Most if not all factors in each group have (near-) categorical distributions (see Guy, 1988).[9]

Speaker age (reflected through decade of birth) has a significant main effect. Speakers born in the final two decades of the 19th century disfavor *say*. This result is largely attributable to increasing use of the null form, rising from just 4% overall among speakers born in the 1860s ($n = 193$) to 12% overall among those born in the 1880s and early 1890s ($n = 165$) (χ^2 $p = 0.032$).

In contrast, there is little evidence for grammatical conditioning. Historically, direct quotation in this variety appears fundamentally to have been a means to an end: the reporting of speech, with little elaboration of the quotative context (through voicing effects, tense, and aspectual nuances, verb movement, etc.). However, this aggregated model masks a difference in the operation of the variable grammar in apparent time. Though not significant, mimetic quotes are assigned a lower factor weight than are nonmimetic ones (.40 versus .55). As shown in Figure 1, the rate of *say* in nonmimetic contexts is fairly constant across the MU. In mimetic contexts, however, use of *say* declines slowly yet steadily.[10] Among speakers born in the final decades of the 19th century, a weakly significant contextual effect is manifest (χ^2 $p = 0.0467$). In other words, the effect of mimesis is emergent in the MU.

To summarize, the MU data exhibit a constricted quotative ecology, with variation confined to small sectors within the system. Nonetheless, subtle shifts were taking place. Mimesis was developing a more active role as a systemic constraint and the lexical restriction to *say* was weakening.

Turn of the century, 1891–1935

The overall perspective from the IA both resembles and differs from that of the MU in critical respects. Shared characteristics include a restricted lexical repertoire and a restriction to speech encoding; *say* again preponderates. The overall distribution

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TABLE 4. *Overall distribution of forms in the IA*

	%	*n*
Say	83	675
Zero	9	73
Think	6	49
Other	2	12
Total	100	809

of forms is given in Table 4. The lexical containment of the historical data is replicated here, and the "other" category remains distributionally marginal and compositionally restricted, consisting of just seven forms. Notably, however, the repertoire includes quotative *go*, which occurs four times in total. All instances are provided in (6).

(6) a. You would hear him *going* "clank clink clink" down the hill. (Dorothy Hagitt, b. 1896)
b. There would be all old ladies with their knitting needles *going* "click click click." (Will Oliver, b. 1907)
c. He said to me, "You know how much they cost?" And I *went,* "Yeah, about so and so and so and so." (IA, Ivy Thomas, b. 1912)
d. The kids would all *go,* "Ha ha, water works is on again." (John Johnson, b. 1922)

These examples are important in two respects. *Go* is long attested for introducing lexicalized sounds and gestures (first *Oxford English Dictionary* attestation: 1791). This is precisely how *go* functions in (6a, 6b). In (6c, 6d), however, it unambiguously introduces spoken content. These tokens thus capture the extension of *go* to a new pragmatic context, marking the transition point to the contemporary system in which *go* is used to introduce a wide range of content types. Moreover, *go* is often considered an innovative form. This is true only in so far as it has yet to be attested for speech encoding before the 20th century. These data clearly illustrate, however, that it is not a contemporary of *be like* with respect to its temporal genesis in speech (see also Buchstaller, 2006a).[11]

Lexical choices remain restricted in the IA, but use of *think* has increased markedly (1% in the MU versus 6% in the IA). The IA speakers thus appear to use direct quotation for reporting internal states more frequently than did those of the MU. I will return to this point. The critical observation at this point concerns pragmatic encoding in these early 20th-century data.

Summarized in Table 5, a broader range of content types are attested in the IA than what is found in the MU. Moreover, these content types are less restricted in terms of the verbs by which they are introduced. Two content types not attested in the MU are lexicalized sound, as in (6a, 6b), and hypothetical speech (*she's going to say* ". . ."; *we couldn't say* ". . ."). Quoted writing occurs more frequently overall

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TABLE 5. *Content and verb collocations in the IA*

	Speech	Speech (Irrealis)	Thought	Sound	Writing
Say	✓	✓	✓		✓
Zero	✓		✓	✓	✓
Think			✓		
Other	✓			✓	

(0.3%, $n = 2$ versus 3%, $n = 21$). *Say*, strictly a speech verb in the MU, also introduces inner monologue in the IA (*I said to myself* ". . ."). And the null form, likewise restricted to speech in the MU, introduces most content types attested in the IA. Thus, whereas direct quotation remains a fundamentally speech-oriented activity (90%), a functional expansion is evident in the increase in content types and by the generalization of most verbs across multiple content types.

The continued emphasis on speech reporting, however, again necessitates that exploration of the variable grammar be confined to this content type. Table 6 reports the multivariate results.

As with the MU, the only factor groups that can be included are speaker sex, speaker decade of birth, and mimesis. With the remaining groups, individual cells again display nearly categorical distributions and, in some cases, extremely low token numbers (second-person subjects, simple present tense, postposed clauses). Nonetheless, some important shifts have occurred. Where in the MU the majority of quotation was third-person speech, in the IA there is a marked increase in first-person reporting (MU 19% versus IA 34%; $p < .0001$), in part a reflex of the increased ability to quote inner monologue (primarily, though not exclusively, a first-person mode). The use of tense and temporal combinations beyond simple past, simple present, and HP is also noteworthy. A number of modal, aspectual, participial, and infinitival constructions, including a range of habitual collocations (*would say, used to say, used to go around saying;* $n = 92$), are used.[12] This qualitative difference suggests that the scope of tense and aspect distinctions is broadening.

Overt addressees and main clause postposing remain minority options overall. Both phenomena continue to be (largely) restricted to *say,* but postposing, already infrequent in the MU, has decreased markedly and appears obsolescent in the IA (7% versus 2%; χ^2 $p < .0001$).

Corroborating the trajectory in Figure 1, mimesis exerts a significant and strong main effect in the IA, disfavored with *say* (FW: .33, range: 20). Additionally, speaker sex is selected as significant. The internal factor explains more of the variation, but the variable grammar now includes a nontrivial social condition. Women favor *say;* men disfavor it. The explanation lies in the rise of the null form. Still a minority contender in the system, its overall frequency has increased, albeit marginally (cf. Tables 2 and 4), and it is men who are primarily responsible (men: 12%, FW: .584; women: 8%, FW: .457).[13] In fact, given that *say* and zero together account for 99% of quoted speech in the IA, it follows that

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TABLE 6. *Multivariate analysis of factors conditioning the use of* say *in the IA (speech only)*
Input .899

	FW	%	*n*
Speaker sex			
Male	.410	86	247
Female	.546	91	484
Range	14		
Decade of birth (Age)			
1890 (93–99 years)	[.374]	83	96
1900 (83–90 years)	[.522]	90	164
1910 (77–86 years)	[.523]	91	301
1920–1935 (58–76 years)	[.512]	89	170
Voice effects			
None (nonmimetic)	.525	91	642
Mimetic	.329	82	89
Range	20		
Total			731
Summary of Factor Groups Not Included in the Multivariate Analysis			
Grammatical person			
First		98	221
Second		100	6
Third		99	429
Tense/temporal reference			
Past		98	474
Present		83	6
HP		100	75
Other		96	109
Addressee			
Not overtly specified		99	582
Overtly specified		99	79
Verb placement			
Before quotative frame		99	653
After quotative frame		100	11

Note: Factors not selected as significant appear in square brackets.

they should pattern in complementarity, *say* for nonmimetic speech among women, and zero for mimetic speech among men.

In sum, the IA results reveal the emergence of a systemic variable grammar for the construction of dialogue in discourse. Social and linguistic constraints have come to the fore (mimesis, speaker sex); other internal factors may be preparing for activation as well (e.g., tense/temporal reference, grammatical person).

The 20th century, 1918–1987

The CC (including the DC) captures New Zealand English across the bulk of the 20th century. Table 7 reports the overall distribution of forms among speakers aged 60 years and older. They are contemporaries of the youngest cohorts in the IA, enabling a comparison between the two. The similarities are striking:

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TABLE 7. *Overall distribution of forms: Older speakers (b. 1918–1936)*

	%	*n*
Say	80	283
Zero	5	18
Think	13	44
Other	2	8
Total	100	353

The lexical choices available to the oldest CC speakers are few (*say, think,* zero); the overall frequency of *say* is little different from that in the IA (83% versus 80%)

At the same time, the IA system is fundamentally predicated on speech reporting. Although the main function of direct quotation among the oldest CC speakers is the construction of spoken dialogue, the rate does not approach categoricity (83%). Moreover, the overall frequency of *think* is twice that found in the IA overall. Given that the IA results in Table 4 collapse data from four and a half decades and that those in Table 7 overlap with just the final one and a half of those, it is possible that Table 4 obfuscates a more general trend. Figure 2 explores this possibility, tracking the frequency of *think* across apparent time in the IA and comparing these results with those from the oldest speakers in the CC. The trend is consistent with monotonic change: The propensity to report thoughts and attitudes through direct quotation increases incrementally over time. Notably, although roughly 13 years separate the collection of the IA recordings and the CC materials from speakers aged 60 years and older, the results indicate much stability with regard to the lexical and pragmatic organization of direct quotation.

The MU and the IA recordings were collected over fairly circumscribed periods (most of the IA materials used here were recorded from 1993 to 1996). The recordings in the CC represent 13 years of continuous, real-time data. Despite the evidence for systemic maintenance across the lifespan for speakers over the age of 60 years, it is well-established that in contemporary use, the repertoire for speakers under the age of 30 differs significantly from that of older ones (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007). From this point, the analysis focuses on quotation among speakers aged 19 to 59 years, and the recordings are segmented

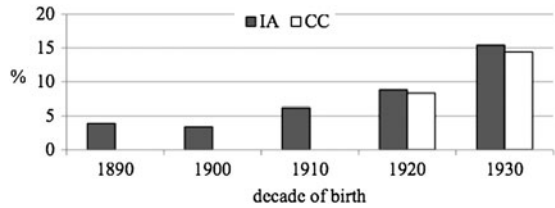

FIGURE 2. Overall distribution of *think*: IA (1890–1935) and CC (1918–1936).

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TABLE 8. *Overall distribution of forms across time in the CC (b. 1936–1985)*

	1994–1997 (b. 1936–1976)		1998–2001 (b. 1940–1982)		2002–2006 (b. 1945–1985)	
	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*
Say	56	758	49	506	43	244
Zero	9	119	11	116	13	74
Think	19	252	16	161	14	78
Go	10	132	12	125	6	35
Be like	4	47	9	96	21	122
Other	3	41	2	24	3	17
Total		1349		1028		570

into three periods: interviews collected from 1994 to 1997, 1998 to 2001, and 2002 to 2006.

The overall distribution of forms across the CC is provided in Table 8. The number of forms accounting for more than 1% of the data has increased from three to five (*say, think,* zero + *be like* and *go*), and patent shifts take place from one period to the next. *Say* remains the most frequent form, but the familiar and established upward trajectory of *be like* is clear.

Crucially, it is not simply that the repertoire has changed (see also Figure 4, which displays lexical items across time, according to speaker decade of birth). Concomitant with shifting lexical frequencies, the overarching organization of the quotative system has continued its pathway of restructuring, already evident in the MU and IA datasets. Most analytically significant of the changes is the function of direct quotation itself. Quotation has generalized across content types. Moreover, the trend suggested by Figure 2 (an increase in inner thought reporting via the steady rise of *think*) is corroborated by the CC. No longer exceptional, the construction of inner dialogue is a fully productive aspect of narrative reporting.

Across the CC, thought constitutes roughly one-quarter of all instances of direct quotation. Furthermore, thought reporting is no longer coterminous with *think*. Inner monologue is also introduced by *say* (to self), *go*, zero, *be like*, and a range of other, less frequent forms (e.g., *be, feel, figure out, decide, realize*). It is precisely for this reason that analyses of contemporary data do not partition constructed dialogue into pragmatic fields. The system is robustly variable both in terms of quoted content types and in terms of the verbs introducing them. All quotative contexts must be included to allow for developmental pathways to be discerned.

Three identical multivariate analyses are presented in Table 9, one for each CC period. To provide a comparative perspective with the results for the MU (Table 3) and the IA (Table 6), the application value is *say*. The declining rate of *say* is reflected by the input values, which decrease steadily.

In Table 9, the complexity of the model sets these results apart from those of the MU and the IA. In the older materials, only speaker sex, age (date of birth), and

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TABLE 9. *Multivariate analyses of factors conditioning the use of* say *in the CC*

Input	.584			.463			.404		
	1994–1997 (b. 1936–1976)			1998–2001 (b. 1940–1982)			2002–2006 (b. 1945–1985)		
	FW	%	*n*	FW	%	*n*	FW	%	*n*
Speaker sex									
Female	.535	59	854	[.506]	50	623	[.520]	50	313
Male	.440	51	495	[.491]	49	405	[.475]	34	257
Range	10								
Age group									
46–59 years	.623	71	450	.718	64	200	.736	60	227
30–45 years	.587	71	207	.560	55	148	.342	32	60
18–29 years	.393	42	692	.419	44	680	.311	27	283
Range	23			30			43		
Voice effects									
None (nonmimetic)	.584	58	602	.625	60	552	.640	53	300
Mimetic	.377	35	406	.337	36	450	.346	31	270
Range	20			29			29		
Content of quote									
Speech	.808	78	925	.801	69	714	.765	60	380
Other	.042	8	424	.040	05	314	.086	08	190
Range	77			76			68		
Grammatical person									
Third	.564	74	593	.524	65	453	.541	58	250
First	.435	52	590	.474	47	416	.453	42	215
Range	12			5			9		
Tense									
Past	.683	70	799	.665	63	565	.642	59	293
Present	.435	43	104	.489	46	72	.620	35	54
HP	.192	47	116	.213	36	108	.191	25	71
Other	.219	29	330	.297	27	283	.348	23	152
Range	49			46			45		
Total			1349			1028			570

mimesis could be modeled. Here, not only are content of the quote, grammatical person, and tense/temporal reference also included, they are significant in every period. The variable grammar is thus more finely articulated in contemporary spoken dialogue than it was historically, where the only evidence of grammatical conditioning was the (emergent) mimetic effect.

In the CC, mimesis remains a significant effect on *say* in all periods. It is consistently outranked, however, by two newly evidenced language-internal effects: content of the quote and tense. Indeed, the variable grammar operating on *say* is quite stable across the CC. *Say* is favored for nonmimetic, third-person, past-tense speech, and content of the quote is consistently the strongest factor. This last observation is unsurprising, given that *say* is a *verbum dicendi*. However, the inclusion of the content group in the model highlights the fundamentally altered state of the quotative system vis-à-vis the results from the

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MU (Table 3). Once pragmatically monolithic, content of the quote is now a robust feature of the variable grammar.

Despite the consistent hierarchies and rankings across the CC, subtle and important shifts are discernible. Most obvious is the effect of speaker sex, which remains significant in the first period (cf. Table 6, IA) but then levels out, failing to be selected in subsequent periods. The person constraint—stable with respect to direction, ranking, and significance—weakens relative to the other factors across time. By the second and third periods, it accounts for much less variation in the use of *say* than does its next closest competitor, mimesis. In contrast, age gains in strength. In the first and second periods, its effect is just slightly stronger than is that of mimesis. By the third period, it rivals tense; speakers under the age of 45 years strongly disfavor this traditional form.

These small shifts are independent of the overall frequency of forms, providing a view of the operation of the system itself. This is particularly striking in the case of pragmatic content. Content is consistently the strongest constraint affecting the probability of *say*, even though its use in SPEECH contexts decreases over time. Its overall trajectory of decline is not a facet of its use in nonspeech contexts (compare the first and last periods). This difference between pragmatic environments is reflected in the relative weakening of the content constraint in the final period, where the margin between its strength and that of the next strongest constraint, tense, has narrowed. Content still "matters more," but it accounts for less of the variation than it has in prior periods.

The effect of tense/temporal reference is less clear-cut, arising from fluctuation due to small cells when tense cross cuts other groups. Nonetheless, *say* is consistently most frequent in, and most favored for, simple past-tense contexts, whereas it is always strongly disfavored with the HP. This latter result is striking when considered in broader historical context. In both the MU and the IA (Tables 3 and 6, respectively), the HP occurs only with *say*. In Table 9, this categorical correlation is obliterated, a trajectory that is visible corpus-internally, in apparent time. It is this result that accounts for the discrepancy between factor weights and frequencies. The oldest speakers maintain the association of *say* with HP encoding, whereas among the youngest speakers, the reverse obtains, and the HP is eschewed with *say*. This is because other verbs have become probabilistically associated with this feature of English narrative complicating action clauses.

Discussion of quotative tense/temporal reference has not often taken in the wealth of configurations evidenced in contemporary discourse. This is in part the consequence of form-focused analyses, but it also derives from a tendency to consider contexts that have previously received attention in the literature (and for which claims exist): simple past, simple present, HP (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Schiffrin, 1981; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007). However, cursory examination of the "other" category in Table 9 reveals the robust presence of configurations beyond those usually discussed. In addition to the habitual constructions first attested in the IA, the CC includes a number of inceptives, modals, and aspectuals (*kept on saying, remember saying, could say,*

should have said, having been told, etc.). It is also replete with progressive structures (past, present, and HP), as in (7).

(7) a. I *was thinking*, "What? That's gross." (fyn04-8, b. 1982)
b. ...whereas now I'*m saying*, "Why did I bother?" (fyn98-1, b. 1978)
c. *I'm saying,* "Look, Nathan's not here." (myn98-16b, b. 1977)

In contemporary narrative, the use of the progressive is well-attested and unremarkable (see Labov, 1972b; Schiffrin, 1981). The ONZE materials suggest that its use with verbs of direct quotation is, however, recent. Unattested in the MU and the IA, past and simple present progressives (7a, 7b) are first used by speakers born in the 1940s. The HP progressive (7c) does not appear in these materials until later, with speakers born in the 1970s.

To summarize, the results from the CC suggest that during the 20th century, a complex system of internal constraints coalesced and became fully operative. Crucially, this is not simply a consequence of the genesis of *be like*, which did not appear in the repertoire of New Zealand English until relatively late. In the aggregate data for 1994 to 1997, *be like* accounts for (not quite) 4% of direct quotation ($N = 1349$). Crucially, an intricate system is already fully established, having built on trends in both the MU and the IA datasets. The ONZE data therefore demonstrate that *be like* is not responsible for "disruption" of the status quo; rather, it entered an already volatile system.

THE EVOLUTION OF SAYING WHAT WAS SAID

The accumulated evidence from ONZE suggests that the contemporary quotative system is the product of a historical evolution and not the reflex of recent lexical innovations and incursions. A number of subtle, longitudinal shifts have been ongoing, traces of which were visible in the late 19th century.

The most fundamental change concerns the pragmatic function of direct quotation. In the MU, quotation recreates speech. In the IA, the onset of the generalization of quotation to new content types is discernible, and the quotative verbs themselves have begun to generalize across content types. In the CC, quotation is pragmatically unrestricted, introducing a range of content types. Most notable of these types is thought/inner state reporting. Figure 3 presents the trajectory of quoted thought over time in ONZE.[14] Also included is the frequency of *think* as a verb of direct quotation, because this is the canonical and historical form for introducing thought.

The diachronic view in Figure 3 reveals an increase in thought reporting over time; the correlation between decade of birth and the frequency of thought is positive, strong, and significant ($r = .95075226$; $p < .0000001$). Concomitant with this change, the lexical options for reporting inner monologue also increase, a trend that is first evidenced in the IA (Table 5). In Figure 3, quoted thought and the verb *think* permanently diverge with speakers born in the

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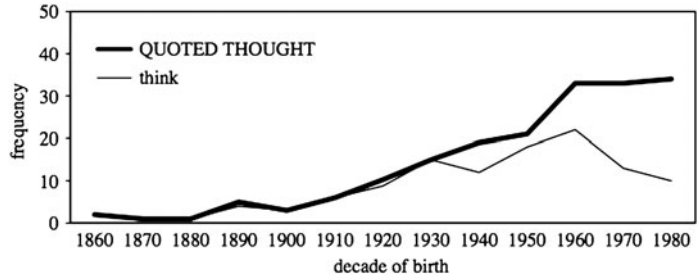

FIGURE 3. Diachronic trajectory of direct quotation (1) introducing thought and (2) introduced by *think* in ONZE (1860–1890 MU; 1890–1930 IA; 1940–1980 CC).

1940s. From this point forward, a host of forms has emerged to perform this function.

This highlights another key operational difference between quotation historically and synchronically. Historically, the system revolved around *say* and speech reporting. A handful of other verbs occurred occasionally, but given their overall rarity, their use likely signaled a fine pragmatic or dramatic distinction within the context of the narrative (cf. Romaine & Lange, 1991:234). In contrast, verbs of quotation are pragmatically versatile in contemporary use. Although probabilistically favored for certain types of encoded material (*say* for speech, *be like* for thought, etc.), none except *think* is functionally restricted.

Figure 4 presents the overall distribution of quotative verbs across time. First and foremost, this figure captures the gradual decrease of *say* over time. Crucially, this trajectory is paralleled by an increase in overall competition between forms. At no point is *say* subject to lexical replacement; "change" in the system is not simply a changing of the primary means for introducing constructed speech. In 1860, when *say* dominates the quotative landscape, there is virtually no layering of

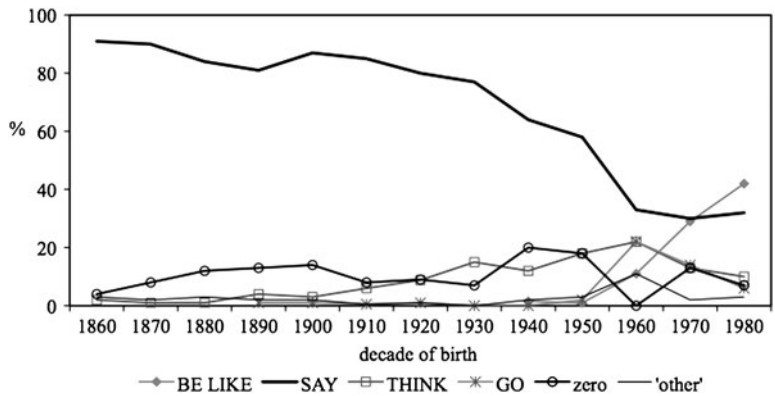

FIGURE 4. Overall frequency of verbs of quotation over time in ONZE (1860–1890 MU; 1890–1930 IA; 1940–1980 CC).

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forms ($N = 196$). A century later, there is robust variation between forms and *say* is but one among many options for introducing constructed dialogue ($N = 336$). This difference is significant within the ONZE data as a whole. If corpus is included in the model, it exerts a strong main effect (MU: .661, IA: .571, CC: .262).[15]

Figure 4 also captures the ebb and flow of individual forms across time. Forms do not necessarily rise in frequency to be maintained at that level. In the MU, there was evidence that the null form was increasing in apparent time. Indeed, a general pattern of increase is visible in Figure 4 across nearly a century, 1860 to 1949, but a pattern of declination is visible across the final three decades captured by ONZE. Quotative *go* displays a slightly different diachronic trajectory. It is first attested among speakers born in the final decade of the 19th century. Rather than increasing, it is used continuously yet marginally until suddenly peaking among speakers born in the 1960s, after which it recedes. Although not identical in the details, the null form and *go* display vacillating waves of use, coming in and out of fashion. Buchstaller (2006a:19) hypothesized that this pattern characterizes the diachronic trajectory of "recycled" variants, forms that persist latently in the repertoire and that can be actively redeployed by the speech community, spurred in part by social associations (and disassociations). Certainly a key arbiter of frequency is the operation of the variable grammar (i.e., opportunity for use), and yet sociolinguistic enquiry has made it clear that language-external factors are also critical in the use of variable forms.

Nonetheless, the shift from a system marked by little pragmatic or lexical variation to one characterized by dynamic variation can only have occurred via shifts in the operation of the grammar underlying direct quotation. In other words, the overall trajectory captured in Figure 4 is symptomatic of the changing nature of quotation over time.

Of the full set of grammatical constraints currently operating on direct quotation in New Zealand English, mimesis has had the longest continuous presence in the system. However, historically a significant factor only for *say*, clear constraint effects have developed for all the primary quotative strategies—independent of shifting frequencies—across time. This is most compelling in the case of *say*, which has lost significant traction within the system with respect to both overall rates of use and its stranglehold on speech reporting. *Say* is most disfavored among the youngest CC speakers, and yet it is robustly constrained by mimesis in their grammar. Although not the strongest constraint operating on *say*, the results in Figure 5 highlight that the context where this traditional verb of quotation retains a foothold in the system is for nonmimetic quotes (specifically, nonmimetic speech).

Table 10 lists the partitioning of the current system along functional and pragmatic lines. The mimetic constraint is significant for all forms; it operates systemically. Thus, *say* and *think* favor nonmimetic quotes, whereas the null form, *be like*, and *go* favor quotes with mimetic encoding.

Two other internal constraints have also saturated the system: grammatical person and tense/temporal reference. In both the MU and the IA, there was too little variation for these contextual factors to exert a probabilistic effect on direct quotation. In the CC, person and tense overarch the operation of the system.

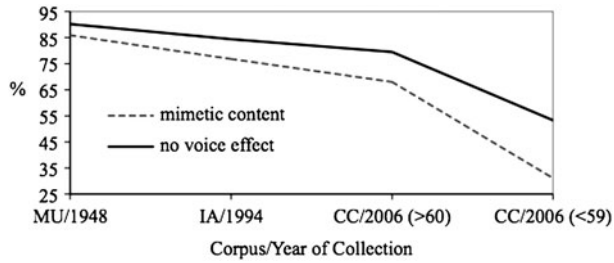

FIGURE 5. The mimetic effect on *say* across time, ONZE.

Inextricably linked to the fundamental pragmatic function of *think* and *be like*, these verbs favor first-person matrix subjects; third-person subjects favor *say* and *go*.

The emergence of tense presents a more complex case, as the system has reorganized along this parameter. The MU presents a system focused on a tripartite division between past, present, and HP. Of these, the simple past far outnumbers the other two. In the IA, the simple past remains the primary tense configuration, but the second most frequent is not the HP or the simple present, but a collection of tense, aspectual, and modal combinations. In short, the options are considerably more broad and more varied. This trend continues in the CC, where the "other" category is robustly attested across all periods. Moreover, there are clear knockout contexts for all verbs except *say.* Certain tense/verb collocations have specialized. This grammatical redistribution is visible in Figures 6a to 6d.

The longitudinal erosion of HP encoding with *say* is visible in Figure 6a. Consistently a feature of direct quotation, HP *say* has specialized as a robust sociolinguistic marker. It is used more frequently by women, but its strongest language-external correlate in the CC materials is socioeconomic status. It is significantly associated with nonprofessional speakers (χ^2 $p = .004476$). Thus, a feature that was historically unmarked within the repertoire (cf. example 5b) appears to have developed a social function in current use for nonprofessional women.

The trajectory for *think* appears in Figure 6b. Whereas *say* is simply disfavored with the HP, the HP represents a nearly categorically nil temporal configuration for *think*. The primary tense encoding is the simple present, yet a trajectory of encroachment by the simple past is visible. There is also apparent time evidence in Figure 6b that other tense/aspect/modal configurations are emerging as viable morphosyntactic options for *think*, though these remain a disfavoring context.

Quotative *go* is strongly associated with the HP during its peak in usage (Figure 6c). In the most recent CC recordings, this association has leveled distributionally and has reversed probabilistically. A significant tense effect remains, but *go* is no longer favored for HP reference. It is favored for the simple present and for other tense/aspect modal configurations. What it does not encode, to the point of near categoricity, is simple past.

Unmarked use of the HP in New Zealand English has transferred in full to *be like*. There is no social marking on this configuration, or at least, none that is distinct from

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TABLE 10. *The functional and pragmatic workload of the contemporary quotative system*

Verb	Function	No Voice Effect	Mimetic Encoding
Say	Speech	**.622**	.346
Think	Thought	**.544**	.443
Zero	All content types	.387	**.645**
Be like	Thought	.373	**.662**
Go	All content types	.390	**.640**

Notes: All CC speakers, aged 59 years and under: N = 2947. These results come from five separate multivariate analyses, each of which includes all possible constraint effects. The results are reported from the best run for each verb; in each case, the mimetic result is significant. Bolding highlights the favoring context.

its monotonic association with age (i.e., younger speakers use HP *be like* more frequently than older ones do, but this parallels the fact that younger speakers simply use *be like* more frequently than older ones do). And unlike HP *say*, HP *be like* is not the subject of metalinguistic commentary. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007:209) observed that in the early stages of the development of *be like*, the simple present and the HP pattern closely together, but as *be like* becomes entrenched in the quotative system, the simple present and the HP pull apart and *be like* specializes for the HP. This developmental trajectory is clearly visible in Figure 6d. Compare the 1998 to 2001 results to those from 2002 to 2006. Not shown here, this distributional readjustment is reflected in the operation of the variable grammar, in which the HP ultimately emerges as the only temporal context in which *be like* is probabilistically favored (FW: .810). The simple present and the simple past are heavily disfavored, but other tense/aspect/modal morphosyntax represent a nearly categorical exclusion for *be like*.[16]

In sum, historically a nonfactor, tense now actively conditions variation within the quotative system. Over time, this factor has been subject to ongoing

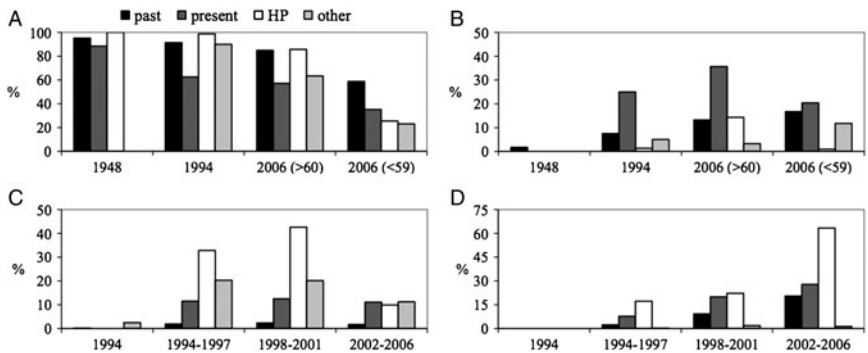

FIGURE 6. The organization of tense across time, ONZE. A. Quotative *say* (MU, IA, CC). B. Quotative *think* (MU, IA, CC). C. Quotative *go* (IA, CC). D. Quotative *be like* (CC).

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TABLE 11. *The evolution of saying what was said*

Resource	Diachronic Trajectory
Addressee	Not particularly robust, but stable across real time
Verb postposing	Obsolescent
Lexical choice	Broadening of choices and increase in competition
Content of quote	More variable; increased thought/attitude/state reporting
Grammatical person	Saturation of repertoire; emergence of significant effects
Mimesis	Saturation of repertoire; emergence of significant effects
Tense	Partitioning of repertoire; emergence of significant effects

reorganization, ultimately resulting in the assignment of individual quotative strategies to particular configurational niches within the sector.

Finally, there are the matters of addressee specification and verb postposing. Overall, the use of addressees appears relatively stable across ONZE. It remains in speech a feature of quotative *say*, and though its overall rate of use fluctuates across time, the diachronic trajectory is not particularly suggestive of change.[17] Verb postposing, however, follows an arch of obsolescence. Never particularly robust in ONZE, it has gradually eroded, dropping from an overall rate of 7% in the MU to a mere .3% among speakers under the age of 59 years in the CC. Thus, placement of the verb after quoted content appears to be a lost feature of spoken narrative in New Zealand.

Table 11 summarizes the full extent of systemic change in the operation of direct quotation over 125 years of New Zealand English. What is critical about these changes is that, with the exception of the number of primary quotative forms, none can be restricted to the period during which *go* and *be like* entered the repertoire. Each has been shown, through detailed distributional and multivariate analysis, to have been undergoing change prior to the emergence of these forms.

The diachrony of quotation is that of a system in flux, resulting in a discourse practice that is both qualitatively and quantitatively different across time. The repertoire expands, but the newcomers are precipitated by a host of other changes affecting the operation of the system as a whole. To surmise the nature and extent of these changes, a diachronic perspective was required. Ultimately, the phenomenon is the same, but saying what was said has developed—through nuanced and longitudinal change—an active and richly articulated variable grammar, a grammar in which each form has a distinct role to play.

CONCLUSION

Joseph (2004:62) argued that "the key to understanding language change is not to look at elements atomistically, but to see them in connection with other elements in actual use." It is precisely this holistic view of change that enables the variationist paradigm to explore questions concerning the evolution of grammatical systems. In this instance, diachronic analysis of constructed dialogue reveals that direct

quotation has over time emerged as a locus of robust and highly constrained variability. Shifting beyond synchronic perspectives and form-based analyses to consider the system as a whole reveals a trajectory of expanding constraints, as individual forms lose, transfer, and acquire contextually driven effects. Language-internal conditioning of variant choice, once moot, now drives variation in the system.

An outstanding issue concerns why the system of direct quotation has reorganized so unequivocally over 125 years. This is not an issue that can be addressed here, but it is likely that at least part of the answer lies outside constructed dialogue itself, embedded in distinctions of style, genre, or register. The norms for spoken language are known to have undergone a number of changes in the recent past, belying the assumption that Present Day English is more or less the same as 19th- and early 20th-century English (Kytö, Rydén, & Smitterberg, 2006:1; see also Romaine, 1998:7; Rydén, 1979:34). Because quotation is often embedded in discourse routines and structures (e.g., complicating action clauses of narratives of personal experience), then changes to the ways in which such routines are transacted and encoded will surely have reflexes for their component parts.

One shift that seems particularly pertinent to the construction of dialogue concerns the emergence of self-revelation as a mode of discourse. Carbaugh (1988) suggested a general tendency toward "lionization of self-revelation" (Ferrara & Bell, 1995:283). In this light, Ferrara and Bell found the rise of internal state reporting in their data of "no wonder" (1995:283). The increasing tendency to use quotation for dramatic reenactments of internal, experiential personal experience is not unique to the New Zealand. Apparent time evidence from England, Canada, and the United States suggest that it is a characteristic of English more generally (Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009), whereas further diachronic support is provided by Buchstaller (2011).[18]

Certainly there are other factors implicated as well, as the architectural changes affecting direct quotation are highly articulated and widespread, but a shift in discourse mode is certainly a key contributing factor, at least as far as the significant broadening of the pragmatic function of direct quotation is concerned. But regardless of underlying causation, it is clear that the construction of dialogue has altered qualitatively and quantitatively since the late 19th century. Longitudinal analysis reveals a multifaceted trajectory of change in which the operation of the system changes fundamentally. A highly constrained variable grammar emerges, the effects of which reverberate throughout the sector.

NOTES

1. See also the Helsinki school of historical sociolinguistics, http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/index.html.

2. For information regarding the dialectal and/or geographic origins of the MU speakers' parents, and for settlement details of New Zealand more generally, see Gordon et al. (2004).

3. Direct quotation also occurs in non-narrative contexts, such as habituals (*she always says, we used to say*), though such occurrences are much less common overall than are narrative ones.

4. This control notwithstanding, a global measure of constructed dialogue reveals only minor fluctuation in its occurrence across the three ONZE collections. When normalized per 1000 words, direct quotation occurs at rates of 2.51 and 2.14 in the MU and IA, respectively; in the CC, the rates

are 1.94 for older speakers and 2.8 for younger ones. Although this latter set of results seems to reveal a comparatively large gap, the normalized rate among older CC speakers is comparable to that of the IA as a whole, whereas that for younger CC speakers is in fact comparable to the results for the MU (even though over 50 years separate the recordings and the speakers' median ages in each collection are 50 years apart).

5. The full ONZE Archive was systematically and exhaustively searched; only and all speakers who used direct quotation are included here.

6. The identification sequence for CC speakers encodes the following information: sex, age group, professional status, year of recording, and speaker number. For DC speakers, the string encodes sex, age group, and speaker number.

7. This outcome is all the more notable given that some speakers are reported to have prepared written notes for their interviews with the MU team (Gordon et al., 2007). In writing, authors "relieve the monotony of constant '*he saids*' by resorting to elegant variation" (Page, 1988:27; see also Tannen, 1986:322). This tactic is not evident in the spoken dialogue of the MU.

8. Both second-person quotes are generic and are produced by the same speaker, James Stewart (b. 1876).

9. Note that instances for these factor groups do not equal 544, because a number of contexts are not available for inclusion (e.g., the zero quotative is an exclusion context for person, tense, addressee, and verb movement; *ask* and *tell* are excluded from the addressee category, as they require an overt indirect object).

10. The correlation between birth decade and use of *say* with mimetic effects in Figure 1 is strong, though it just fails to achieve significance at the standard cutoff point of .05 ($r = –.97622103$; $p = .0695$).

11. *Go* would have been restricted in terms of opportunity for use, however, by the emphasis on speech reporting that is evident in both the MU and the IA.

12. The richness of habitual constructions may derive in part from the original purpose of some of the IA materials (oral histories). However, the MU also aimed to collect such reminiscences (in the form of pioneer and town histories), and so the complete lack of habituals in these materials is unlikely purely methodological in nature.

13. This tendency is visible in the MU data, though it is numerically marginal and statistically nonsignificant (men: 8%, FW: .516; women: 7%, FW: .472). In conjunction with the IA results, it suggests that zero is a "male" form, and that women are simply maintaining their use of the standard *say*.

14. The CC is represented in Figures 3 to 6 by data collected from 2002 to 2006.

15. Indeed, corpus—which in ONZE is an analogue of real time—is the second strongest main effect on direct quotation (range of 40). Only the pragmatic factor exceeds it (range of 55). That content of the quote should be the strongest factor operating on direct quotation in these materials is fully congruent with the pragmatic broadening of this functional constraint over time, generalizing from speech encoding to a broad range of quoted content types.

16. In fact, "other" configurations with *be like* are restricted in these materials to past habitual *would be*, suggesting that this category is currently less productive in New Zealand English than it perhaps is elsewhere.

17. Within the CC, however, apparent time suggests that indirect objects may currently be falling out of favor (46 to 59 year olds: 10%; 30 to 45 year olds: 6%; 18 to 29 year olds: 3%).

18. Buchstaller (2011) discussed alternate means for encoding evidential meaning (e.g., epistemic parentheticals: *I mean, I suppose,* etc.) and concluded that if the full sphere of internal state reporting is considered, the diachronic evidence for an overall increase in the use of this mode disappears. However, such a view takes internal states as the variable context; the various means for encoding thought/attitude/state become alternate variants. This type of analysis is perfectly valid and of empirical interest, but while internal thought reporting as a whole may be stable across time, the evidence concerning the pragmatic functions of direct quotation is clear. Although once restricted to speech, it now functions to include a range of content types. Where thought reporting was exceedingly rare in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Tables 2 and 4), it currently comprises a non-negligible proportion of direct quotation (Figure 3).

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