

The quotative *be+like* and the historical present in spoken English

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Summary The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between the quotative *be+like* and historical present (HP). The use of *be+like* to introduce Direct Speech (DS) emerged some decades ago, and since then, has developed particularly among young English speakers. In addition to the sociolinguistic perspective (e. g., gender difference), the form of *be+like* in narrative has been researched. Although previous research has shown that *be+like* is frequently used in HP, it is unclear whether the frequency depends on region (e. g., New York area), affiliation (e. g., university), or English variants (e. g., Canadian English). Therefore, this research used a large-scale American English corpus to investigate whether this is a general tendency. The results indicate that many uses of *be+like* also appear in HP in the large-scale corpus, suggesting that the link between the quotative *be+like* and HP is common in spoken American English and across English variants. The research also provides several examples of *be+like* in HP from the corpus. It is observed that HP used in the quotative *be+like* can have a distinct function from those claimed in the literature, namely highlighting an important event by switching tenses, characterization of people in the narrative, and the accuracy of reported speech.

1. Introduction

Quoting utterances or thoughts directly is not just an act of reporting; direct speech (DS)¹⁾ is a useful method to represent speech or thought in a lively way. Therefore, it often appears at the most stimulating point in a narrative (Li, 1986). Such use of DS owes much to its function of “allow[ing] speakers to portray utterances ‘as they occurred’” (Holt, 1996 : 236). DS can be used to convey how the original utterance or thought occurs, such as information on intonation (*ibid.*), so as to vividly present DS to the listener. English has several types of quotative introducers depending on whether it is speech or thought, as shown in earlier research (Mizokami, 2020).

- (1) a. I *said*, “Don’t always believe everything you see or read online.”
 b. She *was like*, “Get away!”
 c. (···) she just *goes*, “I have to go around inside.”
 d. This was the night where she walked into the pub, and everyone just turned around and looked her back *φ*, “Who is that?”
 e. The minute you wake up, you *think*, “Oh, I’ve got to take my blood sugars.”

In examples (1a), (1b), (1c), and (1d), reported utterances are introduced by *say*, *be+like*, *go*, and *φ* (non-introducer). In example (1e), reported thought is introduced by *think*.

This paper addresses quotative *be+like*, which originated in American English together with *go* and *be+all*, especially in California (Singler, 2001). Nowadays, *be+like* has become a common quotative introducer, especially among the younger generation. Although research on this expression has focused on its sociolinguistic aspects, such as speakers' generation, gender, and registers, this paper considers it from the grammatical point of view. As previous studies have indicated, *be+like* often appears in the historical present (HP). This paper will clarify the tendencies in the HP usage of *be+like* using corpus data, and examine its effect in narratives. Section 2 reviews the previous studies on the quotative *be+like* and its occurrence in the form of HP. Section 3 describes the method of retrieving data in the current study and the analysis of it. Section 4 discusses some functions of *be+like* used in HP. Conclusion is stated in Section 5.

2. Background

First, I explain the usage of *be+like* and review earlier research. In a sentence, *be+like* is placed immediately before DS, similar to *say* or *think*, to represent speech or thought. See the examples in (2) :

- (2) a. I went out and I, like, tried to stop her. I was like, "You're not leaving with them." And she was like, "No, I'm going with them. I'm going with them."
 b. And you said, be specific about what your ask is. I can sometimes get an e-mail and I'm like, "Well, what is it that they want?" (COCA)

Both uses of *be+like* in example (2a) introduce reported speech. In the scene described, the speaker "I" attempted to prevent a girl from leaving with others, saying, "You're not leaving with them." However, the girl "she" refused, saying, "No, I'm going with them. I'm going with them." Thus, both examples are reported speech. DS in (2b) expresses

the speaker's thought about e-mails he/she has received so far. Although the speaker often received e-mails from people, the senders' requirements were not clear in many cases. DS expresses his/her thought of such e-mails.

Since Schourup (1982) first discussed the use of *be+like* as a quotative introducer, one of the main concerns in studies of quotative *be+like* has been its sociolinguistic aspects, that is, speakers' generation and gender. It has often been noted that teenagers and those in their 20s tend to use quotative *be+like* more than the older generation (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Levey, 2003; Singler, 2001). There are two opposing positions regarding speakers' sex differences. Some research has shown that the quotative introducer *be+like* appears more often in females' narratives than in males', regardless of the speaker's variant of English (cf. D'Arcy, 2007; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Singler, 2001; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). However, Blyth, Recktenwald, and Wang (1990) concluded that quotative *be+like* occurs significantly more often in male speech than in female speech. These contradictory results might have been due to the number of participants and their community: Only 30 speakers were interviewed in Blyth et al. (1990), most of them associated with Cornell University. Thus, it is possible that their speech reflects characteristics of a particular community.²⁾

Furthermore, it has been shown that quotative *be+like* is often associated with the present tense. Quotative *be+like* in the data collected by Blyth et al. (1990) is more likely to occur in the present tense form. In addition, they found that *be+like* and *go* tend to be used at the point in the narrative where the tense switches from past to present. Thus, they claim that "these quotatives are used for dramatic effect in narrative" (p. 218). In Singler (2001), which uses conversational data collected in New York City, quotative *be+like* tends to appear more frequently in the present tense, especially the HP, than in the past tense. Singler linked the high frequency of the present tense of *be+like* to informal speech, because HP

represents informality and colloquiality.

The following example from my data shows quotative *be+like* used in HP.

(3) MONAHAN: We went shopping at Macy's. Macy's had it all under one roof. But when we met, and I started talking to Lynne, I said, "What's up with the boxy looks?" And she's *like*, "It's not so much about the concert T-shirts. It's about my shape. I'm top heavy, so I'm trying to hide it." So the first thing I checked out was her bra.

(COCA)³⁾

In example (3), because the speaker describes the day when he/she met his/her friend "Lynne," the past tense is used. However, in the fifth line, the speaker switches to the present tense to use *be+like* as an introducer, such as "she's *like*." Hence, *be+like* in HP is used in the context of describing a past event with the past tense.

The use of HP in narrative is often explained in terms of a vivid or dramatic description of past events. For instance, according to Curme (1931), "the historical present is much used to make more vivid past events and bring them nearer the hearer" (p. 355). Similarly, Jespersen (1954/1961) noted, "the speaker, as it were, forgets all about time and imagines, or recalls, what he is recounting, as vividly as if it were now present before his eyes" (p. 19).

Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007), using the Toronto English Corpus,⁴⁾ showed that speakers aged 30–39 years preferred both the present tense and HP, and were likely to introduce reported thought using *be+like*, causing the 1st person subject to occur frequently. In other generations that often use quotative *be+like*, those aged 20–29 years and 17–19 years use *be+like* to represent speech and thought with the 1st person subject in HP. Comparing these results, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy inferred the follow-

ing developmental trajectory: *be+like* was first employed to report thought, and at the next stage was combined with HP, a major instrument in narrative. Then, as the connection of *be+like* with represented thought became the background, the usage of HP came to the forefront. Because Tagliamonte and D'Arcy used the large-scale Canadian English corpus, their results on the relationship between quotative *be+like* and HP can be generalized in Canadian English.

In sum, the link between the quotative *be+like* and HP suggested in the literature is reasonable. However, it is still necessary to investigate the use of *be+like* excluding as much as possible the influence of affiliation or regional factors. The participants in the corpus data collected by Blyth et al. (1990) are related to Cornell University (e. g., students or employees). In a study by Singler (2001), many of the speakers interviewed to build the corpora speak the New York dialect. Hence, this affiliation to the university and the dialect might affect the usage of *be+like*. If I can achieve a similar result on the link between *be+like* and HP, by using a large-scale corpus based on spoken American English, it can be concluded that the quotative *be+like* is strongly connected to HP in American English usage. Together with the result of the Toronto English Corpus (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007), I can further suggest that such a link is a common feature across English variants.

3. Analysis

First, I introduce the data source analyzed in this research, after which the results are provided. The data analyzed here were from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)⁵⁾. It "contains more than one billion words of text (25+ million words each year 1990–2019) from eight genres: spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, academic texts, and (with the update in March 2020): TV and Movies subtitles, blogs, and other web pages" (COCA).

To retrieve samples of DS introduced by three quotatives — *be+like*, *say*, and *think* — I searched for

the combination of the quotative introducers and a quotation mark as follows: *[be] like* “ / *[say]* “ / *[think]* “ and with an asterisk, *. Square brackets are used for lemma search to retrieve any form of a single lexeme⁶⁾, and an asterisk indicating a wild card for any word or punctuation marks is added to cover samples accompanied by marks other than a comma (e. g., And he is like: “Well, why not?” (COCA)). In addition, since the quotative *be+like* is exclusively used in spoken English, I limited the genre to spoken English.

As a result, I obtained 1,188 samples of *be+like*, 29,716 samples of *say*, and 1,447 samples of *think*. In the *be+like* and *think* samples, I removed cases in which quotative introducers were followed by other phrases enclosed in quotation marks⁷⁾. Finally, 981 samples of *be+like* and 846 samples of *think* followed by DS remained. However, because the sample size was large, the same method used for *be+like* and *think* was not applicable to *say*. Thus, I first conducted random sampling and picked 1,000 of the 29,716 samples. Thereafter, by collecting cases in which DS follows the quotative, I obtained 973 samples of *say* introducing DS. I classified the samples of *be+like*, *say* and *think* by tense to compare the distribution of the present tense of these introducers. Then I categorized the present-tense *be+like* into simple present and HP, each of which is further sorted by person of the subject. First, Table 1 provides the results for the tenses.

As Table 1 shows, regarding *say* and *think*, the frequency of the past tense is higher than that of the present tense. Although I further categorized simple or

progressive forms of present and past tenses in the samples of *say* and *think*, the table shows that the most samples appear in the simple form. Compared to *say* and *think*, *be+like* illustrates dissimilar usage: the present tense is more frequent than the past tense, while the gap between the two is small (473 and 430 for each). At least, the occurrence of the present tense is increased compared to *say* and *think*. Second, I present the numbers of cases of simple present tense and HP in *be+like*. I distinguish *be+like* in HP as follows: While the speaker describes a past event in the past tense, he/she uses *be+like* in the present tense (See the example (3)).

According to Table 2, HP occurred more frequently than the simple present tense, although only a slight difference was evident between the two. However, the result supports the findings of previous studies in which the quotative *be+like* is associated with HP. This suggests that the link between *be+like* and HP is a common feature in American English usage and in any English variants.

To investigate how *be+like* and HP are used in narrative, I summarize the grammatical subject in the simple present tense and HP in Table 3.

Similar to the findings of Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007), more than 40% of HP are accompanied by a 1st person subject, twice as many as for the simple present tense. Regarding the 3rd person subject, the

Table 2 *Simple present tense and HP in quotative be+like*

Simple Present	Historical Present	Total
226 (48%)	247 (52%)	473 (100%)

Note. The percentage in the brackets shows the ratio to the total number.

Table 1 *Tenses of quotative introducers*

	Present		Past		Others ⁸⁾	Total
<i>Be+like</i>	473 (48%)		430 (44%)		78 (8%)	981 (100%)
<i>Say</i>	242 (25%)		471 (48%)		260 (27%)	973 (100%)
	simple : 223	progressive : 19	simple : 467	progressive : 4		
<i>Think</i>	271 (32%)		400 (47%)		175 (21%)	846 (100%)
	simple : 194	progressive : 77	simple : 369	progressive : 31		

Note. The percentage in the brackets shows the ratio to the total number for the respective introducer.

Table 3 *The person of the grammatical subject by tense in quotative be+like*

	Simple Present		Historical Present	
1 st person	48 (21%)		105 (43%)	
	Singular : 42	Plural : 6	Singular : 104	Plural : 1
2 nd person	25 (11%)		1 (0%)	
3 rd person	153 (68%)		141 (57%)	
	Singular : 106	Plural : 47	Singular : 120	Plural : 21
Total	226 (100%)		247 (100%)	

Note. The percentage in the brackets is of the total number for that tense.

results differ from those for the 1st person, though the difference is minor : 68% for the simple present and 57% for HP. One possible reason for obtaining so many 1st person subjects in HP is related to the origin of *be+like*.

As summarized in Section 2, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007) argued that speakers started to use *be+like* to introduce inner thought, and then this tendency weakened as *be+like* developed. Schourup (1982) also observed that quotative *be+like* was first used to represent inner thought. Furthermore, another study (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999) reported that *be+like* approached the domain of *think*. The abundance of cases of the 1st person subject in HP may be attributed to the function of *be+like* to represent thought. Since no one can see another's mind, it is theoretically difficult to quote someone else's thoughts. In contrast, it is much easier to report one's own thoughts. In fact, most samples of the 3rd person subject in HP are reported utterances. Only 2 examples in 141 samples introduce another person's thought. Moreover, it is often stated that *be+like* is used to vividly represent speech or thought (cf. Blyth et al., 1990). In narrative, it is reasonable to focus on the speaker's own utterance or thought occurring in the event being described. This can cause the speaker to frequently report his/her thoughts dramatically in HP, which might be why *be+like* with the 1st person subject is more likely to occur in HP. However, further research is needed to derive conclusions in this regard.

4. Discussion

Having discussed the quantitative research in the previous section, I will consider the HP usage of *be+like* and its effect in more detail by observing some examples collected from COCA.

Wolfson (1979, 1982) claims that it is not the use of HP itself but the alternation of tenses that is the key element of the dramatic effect of HP. She coined the term Conversational Historical Present (CHP) to refer to HP appearing in conversational narrative. She further stated that the most important function of CHP arises from switching between the past tense and CHP. In other words, the speaker can switch from the past tense to CHP or from CHP to the past tense to highlight a particular event. For example, suppose the speaker is describing his/her past experience in the past tense. When the narrative comes to a scene that is important or impressive for him/her, the speaker switches the tense to CHP and continues to use CHP until the important scene ends. The speaker then returns to use past tense. In such narrative, the most exciting scene is continuously described in CHP. However, it is possible to use CHP the other way around : the speaker can start his/her narrative with CHP and then switch to the past tense to describe the impressive event.

This use of (C)HP, as Wolfson stated, can be found in the data collected. More importantly, the data suggest that (C)HP has a variety of functions. First, I provide an example of (C)HP in the context of Wolfson.

(4) a. ANI-MOZIAN-WHITNEY : You know, I went to the bathroom, did what I had to do, and *all of a sudden I'm looking in the stall, I'm like, "Oh, my God. It says I'm pregnant. I can't believe this."* And so, I went in and I called Wil right away.

b. GAVIN FUGATE, Student : I walked into the bar and I looked around, and there was five huge plastic trash cans sitting out in the middle of the bar. And I was like, you know, "What's this for?" *So we all get in, and they just start bringing all these pitchers of beer toward us, and they're like, "Down them," you know? So we're trying to look cool, be impressive, like we can drink,* so I drank the whole pitcher. (COCA)

In both examples, the speakers switch the tenses to show the focus of the story. In example (4a), the speaker explains what she did in the bathroom in the past tense. However, she switches the tense to (C)HP to describe when she learned that she was pregnant, which she did not expect. Then, when describing calling her husband, the tense returns to the past, as it is less focused on. In the example (4b), the speaker first starts talking in the past tense, as it is the introduction to a story. When the speaker describes how he/she was forced to drink beer, the tense is changed to (C)HP, since it is a focus of the story. After that, the tense returns to the past to conclude the narrative.

I found additional examples that show a tight link between quotative *be+like* and (C)HP. The examples are as follows :

(5) a. HUBER : Actually, you know, he called me and a . . .
BRUCE : OK.

HUBER : . . . *he told, he's like, "you got to come down they're saying something about the family."* I—I actually got a night's sleep. I woke up about an hour ago, so I don't even — I haven't been watching any TV, I don't know what they are, either. I . . .

b. CURTIS GAMBILL : No, no. Anyway, so I thought that was Josh's girlfriend. Apparently, it was, you know what I mean, because Josh gave me the keys to his grandpa's truck. And *he told me, he's like, "Look out, Curt."* You know what I mean? "Take old boy, here, burn off." (COCA)

Both speakers in (5) switch the tense from the past to HP for direct quotation. Furthermore, both speakers first start quoting with "told." However, they change the reporting introducer from *tell* to *be+like*. They could choose another reporting verb such as *say*, yet *be+like* is used. The function of dramatic presentation of *be+like* (cf. Blyth et al., 1990) may play a role in the selection. By using it together with (C)HP, the speaker may be emphasizing the utterance. In light of these examples, we see that *be+like* in the form of (C)HP is an effective device to place focus and thus vividly describe the event or scene in the narrative.

The last example for discussion is the case in which the function of *be+like* in (C)HP seems to deviate from the function of (C)HP that Wolfson pointed out.

(6) a. KYLE-ALDEN) (interrogation-vidéo : He's like, "We were arguing." He's like, "I killed her." I didn't ask him how he killed her. I just said, "Why?" He's like, "I didn't mean to." I don't know if he hit her, shot her, or whatever. He told me that she didn't die right away.

So he had to hit her again. And I told him, “I don’t want to hear that.” He’s like, “The look in her eye, it —” he’d — he’d never seen anything like it. The look in her eye.

- b. CHRIS-LONG : I will always remember this because I was just getting in the coalition. And it was after the Monday night game, we get on the train at, you know, seven in the morning. I go to Harrisburg and I pull one of the representatives aside, I was like, “Does this really help?” I was like, “Do you guys really care what we say?” And the dude’s like, “absolutely.” He’s like, “You all need to come back more often. You’d be surprised.”
(COCA)

Here we see a distinction in tense : Utterances of others (“he” in example (6a) and “the dude” and “he” in (6b)) are introduced by *be+like* in HP, while the speakers’ own utterance or other description is reported in the past tense. If we consider these narratives in line with Wolfson’s (1979, 1982) view on switching between CHP and the past tense, the whole description is expected to employ (C)HP. “He” was confessing to a murder in (6a), which should be shocking for the speaker. Similarly, the speaker in (6b) comments “I will always remember this” on the event he/she tells. Thus, all verbs in the scene should have been in (C)HP, although a part of the narrative in (6b) is described in HP.⁹⁾ In fact, the speakers consistently use *be+like* in (C)HP for “the dude” or “he” and the past tense for their own utterance.

It has been pointed out regarding the consistency of quotatives and tenses that evaluation by the speaker might be relevant. For instance, tense can be used to characterize a person (e. g., a person of authority) in the narrative.

- (7) and then *I said* what’s the problem here?
he says well ma’am . . . ah . . . you didn’t stop
for that stop sign back there
(Johnstone, 1987 : 39)

The speaker in example (7) recalls when she was stopped by a police officer. While her own utterance is introduced by the past tense (“I said”), the police officer’s utterance is presented in HP (“he says”). Thus, Johnstone argues that the tense is linked to the status of the original speaker.

Another study (Schiffrin, 1981) argues that HP represents the speaker’s evaluation of narrative, but in a different way from that described by Johnstone. Schiffrin remarked that DS is a way to show the authenticity of the description of the past event, since it conveys “the exact words of someone present during the experience itself” (p. 60). Using HP, the speaker can enhance the authenticity of the description. In other words, the listeners of the narrative can assume that what is reported is an accurate quotation. If so, in example (6), HP should have been combined with *say*, not with *be+like*. In general, *say* is considered a way to report speech accurately, while *be+like* does not imply such accuracy (cf. Buchstaller, 2001 ; Shirozu, 2012). Thus, there may be another reason that the speaker associated *be+like* with HP in example (6).

It is possible that speakers use *be+like* in HP to highlight the content of the reported speech, not the act of speaking. In the following Indirect Speech (IS), “Your mother *tells* me you’re off to Paris tomorrow,” the verb “tell” is used in the present tense to report a past event. The use of the present tense “serves to background the communication occurrences themselves and to foreground their content, expressed in the subordinate clause” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002 : 131). While the example concerns IS, the same function might exist for DS. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the reporting clause in example (6) appears in the shortened form (“he’s like” and “the dude’s like”). It can be inferred that the speaker tries to emphasize his utterance itself, expressed in the subordinate clause, by

phonetically reducing the reporting clause. However, we must further consider the relationship between tense and the quotative and its effect in narrative.

5. Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate whether the association between the quotative *be+like* and HP can be generalized in spoken American English and across English variants. In addition, we briefly reviewed how *be+like* in HP is used in narrative. First, using a large-scale corpus COCA, the tenses in three quotatives — *be+like*, *say*, and *think* — were classified. While the past tense is more frequent in the results for *say* and *think*, the present tense exceeded the past tense in the use of *be+like*. This result is consistent with that of other studies conducted in a particular area (e. g., New York City) and particular affiliation (e. g., Cornell University). Thus, the link between *be+like* and HP is a common feature in spoken American English. Furthermore, the result accords with that for research on the Toronto English Corpus, which suggests the connection between *be+like* and HP is generalized across all English variants.

Second, we briefly discussed the effect of *be+like* in HP using examples from COCA. As previously mentioned, HP itself does not carry a significant meaning, but switching between HP and the past tense highlights the important scene in narrative. In our data, such switching actually occurred : when it comes to the focused event, the past tense is switched to HP. Then, after the focused event has been described, the tense again switches to the past tense. However, some examples of *be+like* in HP seems to have a different function. In this case, a character in narrative is consistently tagged with a particular quotative and tense. Beyond the distinction of characters, it is hypothesized that such a connection of tenses and quotatives to a particular character has a different effect from those discussed in previous studies. Further research should closely observe each example to

comprehensively understand the functions of *be+like* in HP.

Notes

- 1) Henceforth, direct speech (DS) will include both direct speech and direct thought.
- 2) Concerning the discrepancy, Ferrara and Bell (1995) discussed the developmental path of *be+like*. First, the new quotative *be+like* was accepted by female speakers. Later, males also started using it, thereby narrowing the gap between males and females. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007) explained this discrepancy differently. In the earlier phase, *be+like* was tied to male speech, and was an infrequent quotative. As female speakers started to use it, *be+like* developed into a major quotative. In the last stage, *be+like* became closely connected to women.
- 3) When extracting contexts from COCA, I made small changes for better readability. In (3), # was originally used to show the border between the name of the speaker and the utterance. However, I changed it into a colon (:). I made similar changes in other examples as well.
- 4) The corpus data were collected through interviews in 2002 and 2003 from 199 speakers who were born and brought up in Toronto (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004).
- 5) <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>
- 6) In this research, [be] covers present and past forms, present and past participles, infinitives, and a gerund.
- 7) In such cases, the titles of books, movies, or TV shows, as well as emphasized words or phrases are enclosed in quotation marks.
- 8) The category *Others* includes present/past participle, infinitive, gerunds, and bare forms. Because this issue is beyond the aim of this study, I do not further consider other such forms.
- 9) In the example (6a), the line "I don't know if he hit her, shot her, or whatever" is also reported in the present tense. However, it is not considered HP because this line is just a comment, not a description of a past event.

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英語会話表現における引用導入 *be+like* と歴史的現在

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要旨 本研究は、引用導入表現 *be+like* がナラティブで使用される際の時制形式に着目した。*Be* 動詞と *like* から成る *be+like* は、直接語法を導入する表現として、およそ 40 年前から若年世代で使用され始めた口語表現である。引用導入表現としての *be+like* を扱った研究には、性差や年代という話者の属性に関するものが多いが、文法的形式に焦点を当てたものも見受けられる。後者の研究では、*be+like* は歴史的現在形で現れることが多いと報告されている。しかしながら先行研究は、特定の地域・所属における話者や、特定の英語変種を研究対象としているため、*be+like* と歴史的現在形の頻繁な共起が英語一般に敷衍できる現象なのかを明らかにする必要がある。よって本研究では大規模英語コーパス COCA を用いて、*be+like* が歴史的現在形で頻繁に用いられる現象が一般的な特徴なのかを調査した。その結果、COCA においても *be+like* は歴史的現在形で用いられることが多いと確認され、地域や所属、変種を越えて、*be+like* と歴史的現在形の共起頻度の高さが英語一般に当てはまる特徴であることを提示した。さらなる考察として、*be+like* が歴史的現在形で用いられているナラティブの例を一部取り上げ、*be+like* の歴史的現在形での使用は、先行研究で指摘されている、時制の切り替えによる場面の強調や登場人物の特徴づけ、引用された発話の正確性に加えた、別の機能を有する可能性を示唆した。