Constructing Gender Through Quoted Voices: a quantitative study

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What I want to do today is examine how language is used in a relatively restricted context - in the words that follow verbs of quotation. Sociolinguistic research has provided much to our understanding of forms like “I said”, she went, and he was like...
D’Arcy 2004
8 Adolescents
6 Preadolescents
St. John’s
Recorded 1999-2000

= 14 speakers
184 quotative tokens
no difference between St. John’s and Toronto
be like is #1
Results: Quotative and Age

D'Arcy 2004
Survey Elicitation = 520 responses

Do you say things like:

"I was like "_____"?"

"I went "_____"?"

"I said "_____"?"
Say beats out GO and LIKE everywhere.
Results: Gender

Females more likely to use LIKE and SAY than males.
SAY is stable
GO is on the climb
BUT huge gains/Incremental increase in the use of LIKE over generations.
Reports like these show us which verbs of quotation are used, and who uses them. However, very little work has looked at what falls inside the quotation marks. What I would like to show you today is how quoted speech functions as a sociolinguistically conditioned site of creativity and outline how speakers choose how to recreate the speech of other talkers.
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When we think of linguistic creativity, we probably think of Chomsky’s notes concerning the highly creative nature of language. <CLICK>
Given finite linguistic resources, speakers can produce an “indefinite number of new utterances”.

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“I wants the kids but I don’t want to take care of ‘em.”

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and like,

“I wants something that records awesome for like, fifty bucks!”

Example 3: young male talking about “stupid” customers at his music store.
The styles of speech you just heard all involve verbs of quotation. The spoken forms that follow them, I argue, are sites of sociolinguistically conditioned creativity. <CLICK>

First, quoted speech stylistically departs from the way a speaker typically talks.

I argue that this type of linguistic creativity is defined by two features: <CLICK> namely bricolage and <CLICK> framing.

I will then show you how these features play out in a specific case by considering how quotatives and quoted speech allow Newfoundlander narrators to construct the social identity(ies) of the person they’re quoting.
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Concerning the property of framing, discourse phoneticians working on quotatives have proposed a model of variation called VOICING.

This model views variation in quoted speech as the alteration of voice-qualities to imitate or present affective stance towards the speaker or what the speaker said.
“The low pitched voice... strongly contrasts with the just quoted hysterical shouting and re-anchors the commentary in the reporting situation, indexing that it is [the narrator] again who is talking.”

Gunthner 1998

Research on VOICING has been strictly qualitative and impressionistic...

“The low pitched voice... strongly contrasts with the just quoted hysterical shouting and re-anchors the commentary in the reporting situation, indexing that it is [Eva] again who is talking.”
“Prosodic changes can function like quotation marks in written texts by clearly delimiting left and right hand boundaries of the reported sequence”

In the examples we heard, it is clear that voice-related variation was used. In some cases, it involved a change in pitch, rate of speech, or distinctly different vowel pronunciations. In some cases, it was all 3.
I started off looking at a relatively simple example of performance using quoted materials and examined one property of voice-quality, Pitch, by studying the speech of foul-mouthed comedian George Carlin in his little known role as the narrator of the children’s stories, Thomas the Tank Engine.

When he narrated the story itself, the pitch of his voice was relatively low - 144 Hz. However, when he shifted into quoting or performing Thomas or Percy, two eager and enthusiastic steam engines, his pitch dramatically increased (f0 = 207 Hz).
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When he narrated the story itself, the pitch of his voice was relatively low - 144 Hz. However, when he shifted into quoting or performing Thomas or Percy, two eager and enthusiastic steam engines, his pitch dramatically increased (f0 = 207 Hz).
So, what’s behind this process of Voicing? Where do the voice features come from? I suggest that it is not a random process but rather speakers draw on other linguistic resources found throughout their speech community.

Quoted speech then, is the outcome of assembling vocal properties and using them in creative ways. The assembling of such properties called bricolage which is defined as: **the processes by which people acquire objects from across social divisions to create new cultural identities**

This was most recently considered by Eckert (1996) who saw stylistic variation as an appropriation of culturally meaningful linguistic objects.
In theory, any linguistic feature can belong to the set of resources available for bricolage and hence creative re-purposing.

I will focus on one property – the pronunciation of vowels.

However, there is some evidence that shows phonation type is used creatively in constructed dialogue. CLICK...
and these linguo-vocal features seem to occur more often in constructed dialogue (or quoted speech).

But we’ll start with vocalic based properties.
In order to understand more about the sociolinguistic choices that speakers make when quoting another talker, I turn now to my larger project on Quotative Behaviour in St. John’s, NL.

Data were recorded Summer 2011 – Summer 2012
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Quotatives Project

Do speakers pronounce their vowels differently when quoting the words of other speakers?

Are male quotees represented differently than females?

Do males quote differently than females?

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Some of the preliminary questions behind the project.
Methodology

**Subjects:** 4 males, 4 females
aged 20-27,
university educated

**Recording:** 1 on 1, recorded by a close friend

**Interviewers:** 3 female linguistically trained undergraduates,
conversation designed to elicit
narratives of personal experience
and quoted speech

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8 university educated young adults
recorded by a close friend (member of the research team)
conversations were designed to elicit quoted speech
So, what can NLers do to creatively VOICE the gender of their quotee/character? Well, then can choose to use modern, mainland, standard variants or select among a number of traditional vowel pronunciations.
5 tokens per vowel category
per condition
1. he was like “......”
2. she was like “......”

N = 80 per speaker

For each of the highlighted lexical sets, 5 tokens were analyzed across the 2 conditions
Acoustic Analysis

- F2 = vowel frontness
- F0 = pitch
- F1 = vowel height
- Length = duration

20% 50% 80%
Statistical Test: *t*-tests

**Pitch:** separate tests for Males and Females

*F1* and *F2* normalized using NORM (Thomas and Kendall 2007)
Traditional NLE Vowels

Lax Vowels
- Kit
- Dress
- Trap/Bath
- Lot/Cloth/Thought
- Strut

Tense Vowels
- Goat
- Goose
- Fleece
- Face
- Palm

Diphthongs
- Price/Prize
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**Diphthongs**
- Price/Prize
First, we see some significant variation in the LOT vowel (F1): Females portray speech from other females with a lowered LOT vowel. Highest LOT variants are found when females quote males.
More variation in LOT, this time (F2):
Females portray speech from other females with a fronted LOT vowel. Most retracted LOT is found when females quote males.
The next significant finding shows a difference for GOAT along (F2): Females portray speech from other females with more retracted GOAT vowels. When quoting males, we see relatively more fronted GOAT variants.
Finally, GOOSE (F2): females portray speech from other females with a fronted GOOSE vowel. Most retracted GOOSE is found when females quote males.
Vocalic Resources used to
VOICE Gender of Quotee
GOAT
GOOSE
LOT

GOAT
[+back, +female]

GOOSE
[+front, +female]

LOT
[+low and +front, +female]
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Summary

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Looking at Quoted Speech forces us to consider other ways that spoken language exhibits “linguistic creativity”.

1. Quoted speech allows the speaker, or narrator, to frame or construct identities for the characters (quotees) in the story. They can alter their voices using any number of resources at their disposal.

We saw that male characters were associated with different vowel pronunciations than those used to represent females.

The results shown here point towards a female practice. Maybe due to female interviewer affect.

Also, note, I did not look at phonation type in this analysis.
2. VOICING involves a process of assembling socially salient linguistic features, drawn from any number of sources. We looked here at vowel realizations that vary in their indexing properties - between local, traditional and non-standard to more urban and more standard sounding.

Being able to take something found in one context and the employ it in a novel way seems to be one of the hallmarks of creativity. This re-purposing of linguistic features, has been long recognized among dialectologists as <CLICK> Refunctionalization, but it hasn’t been described as an act of creativity. Rather: <CLICK>

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Thank you!

Quotatives Project Research Assistants:

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