Acquiring a variable system:
The English quotative system and be like in the
English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context

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1. Introduction

“Quite suddenly the old way of using ‘I say’ or ‘He goes’ was replaced by ‘I’m like’ and ‘he’s like’”. [...] This form has penetrated as far as Australia and [...] has by now become the way to start a quotation. This change went at lightning speed. We don't know why. “(cited in Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012:XI).

In the last two decades linguists have noticed a significant change in the way people produce direct reported speech, leading to numerous in-depth sociolinguistic analyses of the English quotative system. Quotative markers are verbal strategies used by speakers in order to construct dialogue, speech, thought, emotions and attitudes, featuring forms such as say, think, go, be like, be and zero (see examples (1) – (6) in Section 3).

Previous research has focused on speech and thought reporting strategies in native forms of English. However, little is known about the intra- and extralinguistic constraints on the quotative system in non-native speaker grammars. The present study addresses this gap by providing a quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of the quotative system of German female speakers who speak English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The aim of this study is to investigate whether and to what extent German learners of English can acquire innovative forms of quotation, as well as the linguistic and social variables implicated in native-speaker Englishes. Since quotatives tend to occur in narratives of personal experience (Buchstaller, 2013), it is central for a variationist sociolinguistic framework to obtain naturally-occurring speech. Thus, the original data for the study consists of 11.6 hours of recorded spontaneous narratives of personal experience.

Sociolinguistic research on second language (L2) variation has made it possible to define social and cognitive factors governing a learner’s acquisition of native-speaker variation. This research has pointed out that the learning environment is of most importance when it comes to the development of variable L2 grammar and that vernacular forms and patterns are most likely acquired in naturalistic contexts (see Dewaele, 2002; Lemée, 2002; Regan, 1996; Rehner & Mougeon, 1999; Sax, 2003). Therefore, it can be assumed that quotative forms such as be like, which are not (yet)
formally taught in EFL classrooms, are most likely acquired when learners are exposed to English used in naturalistic settings. The native-speaking English setting chosen for this study is the city of Perth. Located on the western coast of the Australian continent, Greater Perth has a population of 2.02 million people. Western Australia is one of the fastest growing states in Australia, with a cultural diverse population, featuring a range of languages. While the majority of people are English speaking, almost one-third (31%) of West Australians are from Non-English speaking backgrounds, speaking a language other than English (Government of Western Australia, 2013).

Previous analyses reveal that the quotative system of Australian English has changed dramatically in the last 40 years (Rodríguez Louro, 2013). Young speakers (aged 11-16 and 18-26) are the forerunners of linguistic change showing extensive usage of the innovative quotative *be like* (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:50). Not only young people, but also females have been reported as innovative users of *be like*, contributing tremendously to linguistic change (see Labov, 1990). Therefore, this study mainly focuses on female speech. The present study explores the influence of the English quotative system on non-native speakers, investigating whether their quotative systems are similar or rather distinct. Since the amount of face-to face communication and contact with native English speakers is of great importance in the acquisition of conversational English (Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi, 2004), the present study hypothesizes that German speakers who spend a considerable amount of time in Australia will show more frequent use of quotative *be like*, especially when compared to speakers who have only been in Australia for a short period of time (see further Section 5.6.1).

In the following chapters I introduce the theoretical framework providing the basis for the empirical study. I first offer an overview of the topic of Second Language Acquisition and language variation, explaining the most important terms and previous findings relevant to this study. In chapter two I define terms crucial to the English quotative system, what its functions are as well as its meaning. Further, the rapid development of innovative quotatives and possible explanations should be explored in more detail. Bearing in mind that quotation most likely occurs in narrations of personal experience, a section on quotation and narrative has been provided. Third, I discuss the quotative system
embedded in a model of World Englishes, namely Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes. This includes giving an overview of the social and linguistic constraints governing the usage of *be like* in other English varieties, as well as providing findings from previous research in Australia ( = Inner Circle of Englishes), India and Germany ( = Outer & Expanding Circles of Englishes). The preceding chapters encompass the empirical study of the English quotative system in the EFL context, its method, analysis and results.
2. Second Language Acquisition and Language Variation

2.1. World Englishes and English Using Communities

In the last few centuries English has become what we call a global language. All attempts of trying to create an artificial language that enables people to communicate with each other world-wide have failed. By the time of the 21st century however, it seems that this attempt has worked out by itself – English became the world’s lingua franca. It is spoken in several countries, populations and locations. English is not only spoken in native environments, on the contrary, it has become the indigenous language or mother tongue in many countries around the world. This status of English certainly originated in colonial and postcolonial history, especially due to the British Empire. The English language, expanding through former British colonies between the 17th and 19th century, became the language of the industrial revolution and through the role of the USA as a global economic and military power, the leading language of today's globalization (cf. Schneider, 2007:1-2). While some countries have abandoned English after their independence, in most other countries, English became the language of formal and official functions, and thus it has found local roots. What emerges are “innovative, regionally distinctive forms and uses of its own” (Schneider, 2007:1)

The term “World Englishes” refers to this unique linguistic phenomenon that gradually developed in the post-colonial period after 1960. It was in this period, that the term “World Englishes” became recognized as a special linguistic phenomenon, referring to a change in previous traditions of the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic acquisition of English, its teaching and transformations. The major concerns of this re-evaluation, according to Kachru (1997:66) included “the new and emerging norms of performance, and the acceptance of the bilingual’s creativity as a manifestation of the contextual and formal hybridity of Englishes”. What this means is that a critical perspective was slowly emerging, taking notice of the English language in pluralistic contexts (cf. Kachru, 1997:66).

A well-known and influential model of the English language worldwide is Kachru’s (1985) the “Three Circles of English”, consisting of the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle. The
model should have the function of representing how English is spread worldwide. It depicts its patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which the language is used globally. The Inner circle describes those countries in which English is natively spoken (ENL) and used as a primary language e.g. The UK, The USA, Australia and New Zealand. The Outer Circles refer to “postcolonial Anglophonic contexts”, countries with diverse and large speech communities such as African and Asian societies (Nigeria, Zambia, India, Singapore etc.). Thus, this circle involves multilingual societies in which English is only one of the many speech varieties. In such societies English becomes recognized as an official, legal or educational language and is used in a range of domains. The remaining Expanding circle, hence refers to those areas where English is an international language, meaning it is learned as a Foreign Language (EFL). China, Greece, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Korea, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, and the former Soviet Union have been included in this first definition. Nowadays this circle includes most Western countries and is still expanding (cf. Bolton, 2006:289-312). In his model Kachru (1985) argues not to give native language countries a superior status and thus he is less concerned with Inner Circle countries but rather with the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. It should be emphasized that the English language belongs to all people who use it and that most developments can be observed in Outer Circle or Expanding circle countries. Thus, his model followed the mission of reducing existing inequalities in scholarly and political contexts and by that it has been changing attitudes towards varieties of English. Considering its implications, this model has been of great importance in the field of Linguistics and influenced perspectives on language teaching and language policies (cf. Schneider, 2007:14). Since the group of interest in this study are international people who are temporarily studying or working in Perth, English as a Foreign Language should be the focus of research. In other words, I focus on the Expanding (rather than the Outer) Circle.

Another important model in relation to the development of English as a world language is Schneider’s (2003) “The Dynamic Model”. In his model he claims for an underlying

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1 In this paper, the term “Inner Circle” will be used to refer to native-speaking varieties of English, “Outer Circle” applies to communities where English is spoken as a second language and the term “Expanding Circle” should relate to varieties in which English is learned as a foreign language.
uniform process in the formation of what he calls “Post-colonial Englishes” (PCE). The similarities in the process refer to certain sociolinguistic conditions within the colonialization, such as changing relations between the settlers’ and indigenous perspectives. Assuming that over time and through a continuous co-existence and collaboration, the two parties experience a decrease in social distance, and what happens is that a new language variety emerges to mark those underlying alignments. The Dynamic Model is basically built on sociolinguistic-, social identity- and language contact theories as well as on language evolution. Furthermore, the model points out a relationship between four parameters (historical background, identity, sociolinguistic condition, linguistic effects). Its relationship can be explained as follows: The identity of the two main parties in a colonial expansion is shaped by its historical background, those identities determine the sociolinguistic conditions shaping the communication setting, on which the resulting linguistic effects are dependent (cf. Schneider, 2014:29-33). Finally, the model postulates that the emerging varieties go through the following five stages:

1. **Foundation**: Through colonial expansion English is brought into a country by the settlers. Since these come from different regions, bringing foreign dialects into the country, dialect contact happens. Those indigenous members with extended contact to the settlers acquire some of their English, in that way they undergo pidginization. In addition, toponymic borrowings of local place names into English occur.

2. **Exonormative stabilization**: As soon as the territory is stabilized as a colony, contact between the two parties increases. Features such as lexical loans within the second language of local people use, as well as phonological and syntactic transfer phenomena are apparent.

3. **Nativization**: Due to the territory’s gradual steps towards cultural and political independence, the social gap becomes even smaller and interaction increases. Second Language acquisition, L1 transfer and innovation thus lead to the emergence of distinctive structures. Not only the indigenous people but also the settlers start to adopt them.
4. *Endonormative stabilization*: This stage appears after the community has reached political independence. Indigenous inhabitants and settlers identify as members of the new and young nation. Sometimes this transfer is marked by a certain event that clarifies imbalance and the separation of the “mother country”. Homogeneity is wanted and codification of a new variety of English starts to initialize.

5. *Differentiation*: When the country reaches its external and internal stability, room has been made for internal differentiation, meaning that new dialects/sociolects within the variety can appear (cf. Schneider, 2014:33-55).

Schneider’s (2003) “Dynamic Model” was constructed to offer a framework for explaining the evolution of many World Englishes, with special focus on the Outer and Inner Circles. This means that in order to cover the dynamics of the Expanding Circles this model would need to be extended. In a recent paper on the evolutionary dynamics of World Englishes, Schneider (2014:28) further points out that today’s vibrant dynamics are driven by a “Transnational Attraction” which means “the appropriation of (components of) English(es) for whatever communicative purposes at hand, unbounded by distinctions of norms, nations and varieties”. The expansion of the English language is without doubt transnational, going far beyond the native-spoken centres. In this sense English is seen as an economic resource, a symbol of modernity and a stepping stone towards prosperity.

The enormous spread of English and the development of first-, second- and foreign-language speakers makes it obvious that English as a global language will be used by more people than any other language. At the present time, the number of people speaking a second language or later has already overtaken the number of native speakers. This means the majority of English speaking people are multilinguals (cf. Kirkpatrick, 2010:1). In the majority of the countries within the Expanding Circle, English is taught in an educational setting. However, English is not at all easy to acquire, especially for learners whose first language (L1) is “linguistically unrelated” to English (Kirkpatrick, 2010:617). Since the mental representations in people’s minds are different to the rules and descriptions in common textbooks, language scientists are interested in how learners acquire implicit and abstract mental representations (cf. Keating, 2015:2).
In the following chapter, Second Language Acquisition (L2) as well as variation of sociolinguistic patterns should be investigated in more detail.

### 2.2. Second Language Acquisition and Sociolinguistic Variation

Second Language Acquisition, as the name already implies looks into the learner’s acquisition of a second language. First of all, it is of importance to define what a “second” language exactly means. The term “second language” is most commonly used to refer to any language learned after L1. This includes all the languages learned after L1, which means, even though a person might learn German and French on top of their native language, German and French are both referred to as second languages. The distinction between English as a Second and English as a Foreign Language, as already mentioned within Kachru’s (1985) Three Circle Model, is mainly concerned with context. A foreign language describes the process of learning a language in an environment in which it is not the community’s main language. A second language however, is the non-native language learned because it is the community’s major spoken language e.g. Arabic in Morocco. The findings for SLA research do not show any differences in context, which means that its findings count for both, second language and foreign language contexts (cf. Keating, 2015:2-3).

When making the distinction between English as a first-, second- or foreign- language one needs to be careful. Even though we might expect people, stemming from a country where English has an official status, to be more fluent or competent in usage this does not have to be the case. For instance, people in Scandinavian countries demonstrate a high level in fluency despite the fact that it is not their official language (cf. Crystal, 2003:6). The same can be said about the distinction between English as a first language and others. Crystal (2003:6) gives an example by referring to a couple of a German man and a Malaysian woman he has met once. As neither of them speaks the other person’s language, they can only interact in English with each other. As a matter of fact, they brought up their child in English, their only common language. This is an instance of when a child learns English as a foreign language as their mother tongue.
Having made those important distinctions, the question arises how and to what extent people acquire a second language? Speaking a native language means having knowledge of a language’s elaborate system - its grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax etc. Given this complexity, acquiring a second language means to acquire similar information to that of a native speaker, which certainly is a challenging task. Since every human being is born into a specific speech community, we are immediately exposed to language input. It is through this natural occurring language input that we build a mental grammar of our native language in our brain (cf. Keating, 2015:3). In SLA that mental system is called interlanguage (IL). This system can be characterized as a system that “validates learners’ speech, not as a deficit system” but as a “system of its own with its own structure” (Selinker & Gass, 2008:14). It consists of various elements, some of them even originating from the native language (NL) and/or the target language (TL). Other elements might be deriving from neither of them. These new forms, acquired without origins in the NL or the TL are the heart of empirical interlanguage study. As Selinker and Gass (2008:14) state, it is the learner themselves who “impose structure on the available linguistic data and formulate an internatilized system (IL)”. Essential within the concept of IL is fossilization. In SLA it is often noted that at a certain point of time in the learning process it can come to a hold, which is characterized by a stabilization of linguistic forms, features or rules. Therefore, there is reason to believe that learning a second language is limited, since learners sooner or later “get stuck” in their progress (cf. Selinker & Gass, 2008:14).

In this study, the main interest lies on the sociolinguistic variation in acquiring a second language. In general, language variation can be observed in all components of every human language. When learning a second language, speakers often shift between different elements of a given language, whose meaning is identical. Adamson and Regan (1991) who investigated Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrants and how they acquire the variable pattern -ing, draw attention to an important concept in the study of interlanguage variation. According to them it is most useful to differentiate between vertical and horizontal variation, a distinction originally made by Corder (1981). The vertical continuum can be described as the study of linguistic competence, whereas the horizontal continuum is concerned with sociolinguistic competence. If a learner shows
progress along the vertical continuum it tells us how well a learner has acquired native-like structures. Progress on the horizontal continuum on the other hand, indicates how well a learner picked up sociolinguistic norms of the community (cf. Adamson & Regan, 1991:2-3). In other words, linguistic (vertical) variation refers to the linguistic context in which the alternation between elements occurs, whereas sociolinguistic (horizontal) variation means that speakers have a choice between elements in the same linguistic context, therefore the alternation is probabilistic. How one form is being chosen over another might also be affected in a probabilistic way, including a range of extra-linguistic factors. Extra-linguistic factors might be the setting of the communication, the formality of the topic that people talk about, the social status of the speakers and so forth (cf. Rehner & Mougeon, 1999:125). An example of sociolinguistic variation can be seen in the -ing variable (see Adamson & Regan, 1991:1-22). Speakers might alternate between two versions of the final sound in English word endings, such as \text{morning /n/ versus /ŋ/}. English native language speakers show the tendency of using the variant /n/ more often connected with verbal forms (he’s eatin’), rather than with nouns (morning). This can be described as a probabilistic linguistic constraint. Moreover, L1 speakers also use /n/ more when talking informally, telling a funny story or if they come from a lower social level, thus making use of probabilistic extra-linguistic constraints (Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner, 2010:3)

As Adamson and Regan (1991:3) point out, one problem with this concept is that the two types of continua are not completely distinct. For instance, there are some standard variants that are not only different from non-standard ones, but on top of that they are also “cognitively or articulatory more complex”. An example is nonstandard dialects that contain less complex phonetical forms than standard dialects, as we can see in Dickerson (1975) who looked into the acquisition of the sound /ð/ by Japanese speakers. Initially, she interpreted her study as that of vertical variation, but it become more complicated due to the reason that /ð/ alternates with /d/ in numerous nonstandard dialects. This means that the alternation between the two could certainly include some horizontal variation. Due to the fact that there are a number of external variables affecting language learning and the development of an interlanguage system, learners might produce different forms depending on those external variables (cf. Selinker &
Therefore, it seems to be of great difficulty to study the acquisition of sociolinguistic norms by second language learners because of the ambiguity regarding horizontal and vertical variation.

Researchers looking into sociolinguistic variation draw on a number of sub disciplines and methods, including both qualitative and quantitative approaches. There has been research in connection with the fields of language socialization, cross-cultural communication and conversation analysis, just to mention a few of them. A number of studies have also adopted the methods and paradigms of William Labov and other variationist sociolinguistics. These studies are mainly concerned with the variability in learners’ speech and how investigating variable patterns can add to our knowledge on the SLA of forms that are normally regarded as obligatory in the target language, or others might even investigate target language patterns of variation (cf. Bayley & Regan, 2004:323). Besides Adamson and Regan (1991:1-22) there are several scholars who investigated variability in learners’ speech (Bayley & Preston, 1996; Tarone, 1985; Wolfram, 1985; Young, 1991). A full overview on the studies of sociolinguistics combined with SLA is beyond the interest of this study. Since this study applies the methods of “mainstream” sociolinguistics within the Labovian tradition, it might indeed be of interest to provide a brief overview of some important results from previous variationist studies. The following chapter offers some insights into variationist studies and relevant findings for the present study. This should create a better understanding of how L2 learners acquire variable patterns (such as quotative “be like”) and which research has been done so far.

2.3. The acquisition of variable patterns by L2 speakers

Many variationist studies have investigated the acquisition of grammatical features that are regarded as obligatory in the target language, which can be defined as the study of the vertical continuum by Adamson and Regan (1991). For example, Wolfram (1985) conducted research on past tense marking of Vietnamese immigrants in Washington, D.C. He found out that there are a lot of surface constraints that systematically affect the variability. There are not only constraints regarding the variable of regular and irregular forms, which is generally known, but also related to their phonological environment, its
phonological context and frequency of the verb from. In his study about plural marking in Chinese learners, also Young (1991) found a complex set of constraints, including “proficiency level, redundant plural marking, the syntactic function of the NP, and the features of the proceeding and final segments” (cited in Bayley & Regan, 2004:324). Another study using variable rule analysis is Bayley (1994) who examined Chinese learners in California, which contends that past tense marking is affected by a number of linguistic as well as social factors. As in Wolfram’s (1985) study also here the past tense marking was influenced by a saliency of the difference between past tense form or base form, while salient forms where more likely to be marked. Moreover, speakers with mixed English and Chinese speaking networks appeared to use past tense forms more likely than those speakers mainly interacting with other Chinese speakers (cited in Bayley & Regan, 2004:324). The mentioned studies, among others, successfully demonstrate that variation occurring in learners’ speech is systematic and that sociolinguists can analyze it the same way as native speaker variation.

While much attention has been dedicated to grammatical competence, which is the receptive and productive knowledge of a target language, less attention has been given to discourse competence that is the receptive and productive knowledge of a coherent and cohesive target language. As suggested by variationist sociolinguistics, second language learners also need to acquire native-speaker (NS) patterns of variation in order to become competent in the target language. In other words, the horizontal continuum defined in Adamson and Regan (1991) needs to be considered too. Central to this approach are Bayley and Regan’s (2004) research questions:

1) Are learner patterns of variation similar to NS patterns?
2) If learner patterns of variation differ from NS patterns, how and why do they differ?
3) What are the processes by which NS variation patterns are acquired, and what is the effect of context on this process?
4) What is the role of input in the acquisition of NS patterns of variation?
5) What is the role of gender in the process? (Bayley & Regan, 2004:125)
There have been a considerable number of researches dealing with the study of the horizontal continuum. One of them is the already mentioned study by Adamson and Regan (1991) who examine the acquisition of NS patterns through investigating the -ing variable used by Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrants. In their analysis they found a significant difference in gender. Vietnamese and Cambodian men use the variant more often and in more careful speech styles. This is contrary to what might have been expected from variationist studies in native languages. Also Major (2004) looked into native-like phonological forms through examining gender specific differences in English native and Japanese/Spanish speakers and states that gender differences might be acquired before stylistic differences (cited in Bayley & Regan, 2004:326). Much research on the acquisition of NS patterns comes from Europe with a focus on French. Regan (1996) examined Irish native speakers and how a year in France influenced their acquisition of French vernacular as a L2. Focus of the study was the deletion of *ne*, the first particle of negation. A longitudinal study made it clear that after a year in France, speakers did approach vernacular norms of the target language (cited in Bayley & Regan, 2004:326).

Another study has been conducted by Dewaele (2002) who studied the *nous/on* variable in the L2 acquisition of French by Dutch native speakers. By looking into the oral and written French IL of 32 Dutch native speakers, he found that the amount of authentic interaction in the target language, correlates positively with the use of *on* and so do "morpholexial accuracy rates, fluency, omission of *ne* in negations and use of colloquial vocabulary" (cf. Dewaele, 2002:205-226).

Lemée (2002) conducted a similar study to that of Dewaele (2002) by examining the *nous/on* variation in the French IL, but this time by Irish students. Her participants were divided into different proficiency groups – intermediate to high advanced students. Despite the fact that little variation across groups was found, it was significant that students who had spent some time in France used the variant *nous* more frequently. Further, a gender preference of males preferring the usage of *on* was detected, but no effects for social class. Since there was a high percentage of the *on* variant in the higher advanced group, Lemée (2002) has argued that this might be due to their growing sociolinguistic competence (cited in Dewaele, 2004:310). Also Sax (2003) examined the
omission *ne*. In a VARBRUL analysis he showed that time spent in a French-speaking environment triggered the omission of *ne*. Hence, learners who have never or seldom been abroad did show no signs of omission *ne*, in an informal as well as a formal setting (cited in Dewaele, 2004:310).

A considerable number of researches deal with the acquisition of French in Canada. For instance, Rehner and Mougeon (1999) analyzed young immersion students in Ontario regarding their omission of *ne*. Factors linked to the omission rates included home language, time being abroad (in a French speaking environment), French media contact and formal instruction of French. Results illustrate that in order to start omitting the variant *ne*, students either need interaction with a French speaking environment or explicit instruction (cited in Dewaele, 2004:305-306).

Mougeon et al. (2004) present an interesting study on the acquisition of *nous* and *on* when signalizing “we”. The study revealed that students use *on* slightly more often than the variant *nous*, but less often than native speakers. It was also found that exposure to the French language favors *on*. In their work they examine a number of variables which are divided into 3 different degrees of formality (vernacular, mildly marked, formal). Immersion speakers make only minimal use of vernacular variants, but they make greater use of mildly marked variants than of vernacular variants (cf. Mougeon et al., 2004:408-432). The majority of the above studies have drawn their attention to language learners who have spent some time abroad. In those studies, it becomes clear that contact with native speakers leads to a greater usage of vernacular patterns of variation. On the contrary, classroom learners seem to acquire native-like patterns less likely (cf. Bayley & Regan, 2004:326). As Dewaele (2004) puts it:

> Only a prolonged and regular contact with NS of the TL seems to have a noticeable effect on the learners’ sociolinguistic competence. A prolonged stay in the TL community, or intense contact with members of that community, has also been shown to affect not only grammatical, but also sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence (Dewaele, 2004:304).
3. The English Quotative System and be like

A highly dynamic domain within the English language, which has attracted the research interest of numerous linguists worldwide, is that of the English quotative system. Research has shown that the English quotative system is especially revealing when it comes to language change in action (Blyth, Recktenwald & Wang, 1990; Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). Quotatives occur most frequently in narratives and can be defined as verbal strategies utilized by speakers to construct dialogue, speech, thought, attitudes and emotions. The English quotative system consists of a variety of verbs used for reporting speech, including forms such as say, think, go, be like, be and zero (or “unframed quotes” as per Buchstaller (2006a:5)).

(1) I said: “You’re not driving home; you can sleep here on the couch!” (NP211995)²

(2) And I thought: “That’s so sad because it’s only a few questions.” (SH191997)

(3) And I was preparing myself at home going: “Okay what am I doing and what are my weaknesses?” (LK231993)

(4) I was like: “Oh thanks for telling me so early!” (RH191997)

(5) I was: “Ohhh, to dinner?” (NP211995)

(6) And we are sitting together and ø: “Okay yeah, do it!” (JI191997)

² Unless otherwise stated, all examples stem from my corpus of narratives by EFL speakers in Perth, Australia. The participant identifier codes include participant initials (e.g. JI), age (e.g. 19) and date of birth (e.g. 1997). All participants are female, so sex is not listed in the identifier codes. All examples are reproduced verbatim, represented exactly as they were uttered.
One of the most remarkable developments is the rapid increase and diffusion of the innovative form is *be like*. Its usage has been noted in English-speaking communities worldwide and seems to be the reason, why more traditional dialogue introducers such as *say* and *think* are becoming less frequent (cf. D'Arcy, 2012; Rodríguez Louro, 2013). A recent study on linguistic change and the diffusion of *be like* demonstrates that *be like* has been rising in use within a time period of only under three decades and it did this “simultaneously in geographically non-contiguous locales” (Tagliamonte, D'Arcy & Rodríguez Louro, Forthcoming in 2016:10). Further, Tagliamonte et al. (Forthcoming in 2016:14) demonstrate a parallel age development on a global scale – *be like* first arose in the language of those born in the 1960s worldwide.

Recent innovations of the quotative system include options such as *kinda, sorta, all like, go totally*, etc. The list of innovative quotatives does not end here and certainly continues to thrive in future years (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:1). Interestingly, those relatively new forms of quotation have received less attention in sociolinguistic studies and literature so far. The most widely recognised forms are certainly *be like* and *go*. This is probably due to the following reasons: (1) Newer innovations such as *kinda, sorta, git* etc. show a lack of frequency compared to *be like* and *go*. (2) *Be like* and *go* have also been noticed in other language varieties, whereas others are restricted to certain places (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:1). The phenomena of inventing new versions of reporting speech has been noted in several languages around the world, such as Hebrew, German, Dutch, Japanese, Swedish, Russian, Greek, Norwegian, Icelandic, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and many more (cf. Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012:XII).

### 3.1. Defining quotation

#### 3.1.1. Reported speech and thought in discourse

When speaking of quotation it needs to be clarified that quotes are certain types of speech acts. Whenever an act of utterance from someone is being reported, it has to be transformed from its independent form into the utterance of the reporter. This act involves certain stylistic, syntactic and compositional norms. Normally this
transformation is relatively easy and straightforward: the speaker is identified by name or a personal referring pronoun, plus a verb of saying is used to repeat the perceived speech act (e.g. *Lucy/she says, “I will see you on Monday”* - *Lucy/she said, “I will see you on Monday”*). In a written version, one would use inverted commas to mark where the quotation sets in.

In speech, quotation is marked by certain prosodic conventions such as pause, change in voice, intonation etc. As it seems, direct speech is not as much of a complex process. In indirect speech however, we can see more of syntactic and stylistic complexities when reporting and thus it seems to be more revealing for linguistic change. If, for instance, the sentence above is reported indirectly it will be transformed in the following way: *Lucy/she said (that) she would see me on Monday*. The report of what has been said becomes a dependent part of the sentence by inserting *that* (optional). In addition, person and tense have to be shifted. In this case, will-future turns into *would* (conditional) and first-person *I*, as well as second-person *you* change into third-person. Thus, within an indirect speech act the speech becomes that of the reporter, while in direct speech it remains the speech of another person. Therefore, the difference between direct and indirect speech representations can be found in the perspective of the person who does the reporting (cf. Romaine & Lange, 1991:228-229).

Since each utterance is “a unique speech event realized in its own characteristic idiolect, comprising idiosyncrasies of accent, grammar, prosody, and the like, even DIRECT SPEECH can be only an imperfect attempt at rendering some of the features which make any given utterance unique” (Romaine & Lange, 1991:229).

Due to the fact that reported quotations are not always an exact repetition of what has been said by the original speaker, Tannen (1986:314) speaks of what is called “Constructed Dialogue”. According to her, reported speech is a mere reconstruction of the speech event and therefore always loses something when being reported to another person. Speakers have the choice to use their own expressions and by that they can add their own point of view, mimic expressions, or additional information. The ambiguity
between what was actually said and how it is rendered by the reporting person is referred to as “De dicto versus De re interpretation” (Romaine & Lange, 1991:230).

Although the differentiation between direct and indirect speech seems to be rather easy in theory, it might cause some misunderstandings in real-life conversation. In order to understand the choices when reporting utterances of others it is essential to talk about the speakers’ commitment. If someone decides to use indirect speech, they basically commit themselves to what was stated, whereas when using direct speech they commit themselves to the exact words used from the statement. By using either present tense (direct speech) or the conditional (indirect speech) a speaker gives insights into their authenticity and commitment to the quoted material. This shows that the nature of the quoted source, but also the commitment of the reporter affects how grammar is used when quoting speech events. In some languages it might not be as easy to make a grammatical distinction between direct and indirect speech. Within the English language, direct and indirect quotation might be of relatively simple matter, in other languages the opposite is true. In English, direct and indirect quotation are introduced by complementizers of the verb saying and by that form subordinate clauses, which is the direct object of the verb say. In some languages however, indirect speech shows less subordination than in direct speech. Moreover, English makes use of verb shifts to mark indirect speech, whereas in languages such as German, more specific cues are used. German does not only require a subjunctive form of the verb, but also a change in word order within the subordinate clause. In Russian or Hungarian, the inflected verb remains the same, hence there is no tense shift. In English on the other hand, it seems that the speaker is free in choice of whether she/he uses the tense of the original or the form they consider as appropriate for themselves. In other words, all the characteristics that might distinguish direct from indirect speech are random grammatical and pragmatic features, rather than logical conventions (cf. Romaine & Lange, 1991:232-234).

### 3.1.2. Focuser like and quotative like

The innovation of quotative be like is a variable that has gained a lot of attention over the past few years, especially due to its grammatical function as an introducer of constructed dialogue. It has been noted that be+ like functions in many ways similar to
the verbs *say* or *go*, even though it is not a verb by definition (cf. Ferrara & Bell, 1995:268). To define the term, it is crucial to separate quotative *like* from its related usage, namely *like* used as a focuser or discourse marker. According to Romaine and Lange (cf. 1991:244-251) focuser *like* and quotative *like* are related but serve different functions. In Dailey-O'Cain (2000:61) focuser *like* is described as a discourse marker and is considered optional in its usage, similar to the phrase “you know”. Further it is pointed out that discourse markers do show little inherent meaning and have no grammatical function, however, focuser *like* can be pragmatically important, as when marking the beginning of a conversation as well as sustaining or repairing it. Further, it either denotes a certain connection between discourse segments, or marks new and old information in informal speech (cf. Dailey-O'Cain, 2000:61). According to Underhill (1988) focuser *like* has the function of being “a marker of new information and focus” (cited in Dailey-O'Cain, 2000:61). In contrast, quotative *like* (such as *be + like*) has a rather specific meaning with a grammatical function. Several studies even suggest that quotative *like* is an example of an ongoing grammaticalization process, where lexical items receive a new status as grammatical forms (Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). A detailed description of the process of grammaticalization will follow in the next chapter.

In order to make a clear distinction between focuser *like* and quotative *like*, scholars have focused on where in a sentence they occur. Underhill (cf. 1988:243-244) defines six syntactic positions in which focuser *like* can appear: (1) before a noun phrase, (2) before a predicate adjective or adjective phrase, (3) before an adverbal phrase or prepositional phrase, (4) before a verb phrase, (5) before a subordinate clause or (6) before the entire sentence. The occurrence of focuser *like* in those positions is restricted to discourse where *like* introduces new information. Quotative *like* on the other hand, seems to occur in the following two positions: (1) before an unuttered thought or internal dialogue (1st person) or (2) before a possible direct quotation (mostly 3rd person) (cf. Dailey-O'Cain, 2000:62).
3.1.3. Semantic functions of quotatives

From cross-linguistic research it is known that a lot of languages, whether they are typologically related or not, have one thing in common: the recruitment of lexical material with non-reportative meaning for introducing reported speech, thoughts or mental activity as a way of adding to already existing quotative strategies. Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012) show that the main semantic sources for quotatives are restricted to a limited number. In a comparison with other global language varieties it becomes clear that the majority of new quotatives are lexical elements “denoting comparison, similarity or approximation” (Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012:XIV). This is not very surprising, considering that every spontaneous oral quotation is a reproduction of an original verbatim and thus it is nothing but a mere approximation of its original. This becomes even more obvious when reporting sounds, gestures or expressions. Through the method, of using lexical material with a comparative meaning, speakers try to protect themselves from possible criticism regarding inexact reproduction. This function can be seen when speakers report feelings, attitudes or opinions and can be referred to as “hedging” (see Buchstaller, 2013).

Another semantic source of innovative quotatives are lexical forms with a demonstrative or deictic function. In these cases the focus lies on the hearer and the performative aspects of the report. Quotation becomes a stylistic feature of story-telling, in which the reporter can move into the background and point out to the actors or their speech acts. This has the effect of dramatizing certain events in the narration.

A third source for introducing new quotatives derives from a quantifying meaning. These constructions can be traced along a scale, with either maximizing or minimizing effects. The use of quantifiers in connection with quotation seems to deal with attitudes that speakers have towards the quotation. If they use a quantifier with a maximizing effect (e.g. all, totally), the speaker puts him/herself into the light of a trustworthy, emotional involved narrator, having reported the speech act first-hand, thus his narration appears accurate and believable. If a speaker makes use of a minimizing quantifier (e.g. just) on the other hand, the opposite happens. The speakers signals minimal commitment to the quote or wants to retell routines rather than exciting news.
A last source for quotatives involves generic verbs of motion and action (e.g. come, go, do, make). “Lexical fields of physical motion, action, mental states and speech acts are metaphorically connected” (Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012:XVI) thus, it is not surprising that motion verbs are used for quotations. Hence, when using generic verbs of motion, action or mental states, reporting becomes a task that the speaker is performing. To sum up, the main semantic sources for quotative variants are: quotations of comparison/approximation (like), quotations of demonstrations (so, this), quotations as quantifiers/attitudinal or evidential markers (all, just) and quotations as movement/achievement (go, make) (cf. Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012:XIV-XIV).

3.2. The development of innovative quotatives

Buchstaller (2013:3) provides a list of “Non-canonical quotative forms by date of attestation” which shows that other than be like and go, many of the newer innovations of quotations can hardly be traced back in time due to its low frequency. However, the opposite is true for be like and go. As already mentioned those two innovations appear in a high frequency not only geographically specific but also worldwide. The first notification of be like as a quotative function appears in Butters (1980), when representing a study of “go ‘say’” as a way of introducing direct speech in narratives. In a later study, Butters (1982) commented on be like as an option to utter internal thoughts. By that, he triggered the interest of American scholars in the field of quotatives with specific focus on be like (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:49).

Buchstaller (2013) states that one reason for the non-existence of be like in literature before Butters (1980) might be due to the fact that dictionaries have not noticed the quotative form of like until recently. She points out that the OED did not mention it until the draft addition of 2010. From the definition in the OED (2010 version) we can see that one of the first appearances of be like was within the song lyrics of “Valley Girl” by F. Zappa & M.U. Zappa, where it says: "She’s like Oh my God". Also globally be like has not been mentioned earlier than 1982. In its early usage be like seems to have been used for reporting thought, attitudes and stance. However, by the early 1990’s be like started to be used for introducing speech as well as thoughts (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:5-7).
The story of *go* is slightly different to that of *be like*, since it emerged earlier in time and with a geographically broader expansion. Quotative *go* has been around for a while since the OED names its function ambiguously of either introducing quotation or of introducing stories. Moreover, its usage was mainly restricted to mimetic quotes, meaning telling events based on sound, voice or gestures. Buchstaller (2013:9) points out that *go*, besides its usage of reporting sound and gesture, can also be used for reporting normal speech. The OED does not provide an entry of *go* as a non-sound quote up until 1988. This means that *go* has not really appeared as a non-mimetic function for reporting speech up until the twentieth century. However, it has not lost its function of encoding mimetic reports according to recent studies (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:9-11).

Why do we see such a rise in innovative quotatives? One possible explanation for the rapid increase in the use of new innovations such as *be like* is the case of a grammaticalization in progress (Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Romaine & Lange, 1991). “Grammaticalization” in this context refers to a process in which grammatical morphemes develop out of earlier lexical forms. This involves a number of accompanying processes, which all lead to the fact that either older linguistic patterns become encoded in a new way, or innovative patterns are created. The linguistic pieces undergoing these transformations, thus become increasingly subject to the rules of grammar (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999:149). Romaine and Lange (1991) mention three principles underlying the procedure of transforming *be like* to a quotative complementizer, namely (1) layering, (2) specialization and (3) persistence (cited in Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999:149). Layering refers to the stage when old forms take on new functions and earlier functions have to co-exist with the new ones. Since new meanings do not substitute old functions, there seems to be a “gradual replacement” which leads to “synchronic diversity” (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999:150). In the case of *like*, this means that it has other functions in the English grammar besides introducing speech, such as conjunction, preposition etc. Specialization occurs when old forms take on new grammatical functions, experiencing a change in their grammatical category. By using *be like* as a form of introducing speech, this has already happened. *Be like* used as a quotative complementizer becomes part of a variety of verbs that are already used
to introduce dialogue, therefore it takes over certain functions (e.g. say) meaning that there is also some layering involved in this stage. Some of its earlier original meanings stay persistent though (= stage 3 “persistence”), meanings such as like used for comparison or to express “for example”, “as if” etc. Romaine and Lange (1991:258) explain the process in the following way: “Although in its use as a quotative complement it still retains its complementizer status, it is used to encode a new kind of construction which represents a compromise between the direct and indirect mode”.

A more recent explanation of the rapid diffusion of quotative be like has been provided by Buchstaller (2013). According to her, there are several reasons why quotations have been produced with such a high frequency. First of all, one needs to acknowledge that a quotation is a key performance for narrating stories and therefore it is a useful discourse strategy (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:14-15). The question is what happens when this innovative forms get picked up by a broader number of the population (as it is the case with be like)? Buchstaller (2013) answers this question by stating the following:

As an innovative quotative generalizes both socially as well as in terms of its discourse-structuring function, its pragmatic force diminishes. This might trigger the emergence of a new, more salient, quotative to fulfil these textual functions – and history repeats itself in a constant process of innovation, bleaching or pragmatic force and renewal (Buchstaller, 2013:15).

These lines provide one argument for the rapid spread of innovative quotations, referring to its pragmatic and textual effects. Another argument deals with the structural aspect of the quotative form. Bearing in mind that each conversation or retelling of speech is encoded via highly conventionalized structures, we can describe quotation within a certain schemata, namely NOUN PHRASE+ TRANSITIVE VERB OF REPORTING+ QUOTE. Recently, speakers have started to use more diverse linguistic material to introduce a certain speech act or thought-re-enactment e.g. Go or be like. These innovations have quickly become conventionalized through their frequency of appearance and created their own constructional template: NOUN PHRASE+ be +like + QUOTE. So the emergence of newer innovations such as be git, be all, be kinda, is just an analogical extension from this template (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:16-17). Buchstaller
(2013) goes further in suggesting an even more general construction type. While *be* is certainly the most canonical copula in the English language, there are also other copula verbs (*feel, seem, sound* etc.). This means a more general template for innovative quotative construction is needed, such as the following: NOUN PHRASE+ COPULA+ (DISCOURSE MARKER) + QUOTE. Over time and through repetition this new schematic sequence has certainly become routinized in speech and starts to attract suitable material into the second last schematic slot. These more enriched versions tend to stem from two fields: hedging (*like, kinda, sorta*) or intensifying (*git, all, pure*). In other words, Buchstaller gives a second argument for the rapid emergence of innovative quotations exemplified in Figure 1, by stating the following: If the quotative construction NOUN PHRASE+ COPULA+ (DISCOURSE MARKER) + QUOTE is productive and expands via analogical extension, it is to be expected that new, recent variants (formed on the basis of the general schema) recruit new lexical material from two sources, namely intensifiers and hedges (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:17-18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN PHRASE</th>
<th>COPULA VERB</th>
<th>(DISCOURSE MARKER)</th>
<th>QUOTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>She</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>“…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>goes</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>“…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My mum</td>
<td>feels</td>
<td>kinda</td>
<td>“…”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VERBUM DICENDI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>says</th>
<th>git</th>
<th>“…”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>thinks</td>
<td>totally</td>
<td>“…”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1:** Constructional template for the new quotatives based on copula verbs

### 3.3. Quotation and the narrative genre

One of human beings’ fundamental capacities is transferring personal experience from one person to another through oral narratives (cf. Labov, 2011:1). Narratives are an essential part of human interaction and experience, thus they provide an ideal place for
the study of sociolinguistic variation and change (cf. Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:550). The spontaneous narration of experience was valued with the appearance of influential sociolinguistic research in the 1960s, as it is “designed to capture the closest approximation to the vernacular of unmonitored speech” (Labov, 2011:1). By examining narrations of personal experience, access to the speakers’ vernacular can be guaranteed (cf. Labov, 2011:1).

3.3.1. Functions of narratives

According to Labov and Waletzky (1997) narratives serve two functions: (1) a referential and (2) an evaluative one. The first one refers to narrative as a verbal technique of recounting experience, a technique of “constructing narrative units which match the temporal sequence of that experience” (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:13). Since it might be pointless to define narrative solely according to its referential meaning, it needs to be considered that narrative also functions for personal interest, which is “determined by a stimulus in the social context in which the narrative occurs” (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:13).

3.3.2. Structure of narratives

Labov (2011:1) defines a narrative as “one way of recounting past events, in which the order of the narrative clause matches the order of events as they occurred”. To be more precise, narratives include six key elements: (1) Abstract (Summary of the story), (2) Orientation (Introduction of time, place, persons, behavioural situation), (3) Complicating Action (Then, what happened?), (4) Evaluation (So what?), (5) Result or Resolution (Outcome), (6) Coda (= Optional; returns perspective back to the present) (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:32-41).

The structure of a narrative is determined by “temporal juncture” between two independent clauses, which exists “when a change in the order of the clause produces a change in the interpretation of the order of the referenced events in past time” (Labov, 2011:1). Temporal sequence is of most importance when it comes to narrative, since any change in order leads to a change in temporal sequence of its initial interpretation.
Those temporal units are called “narrative clauses” and are characteristic for the complicating action of any story (Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:551).

### 3.3.3. Narrative style

Scholarly interest in the genre of narrative has considerably increased over the last few years, ranging from observations on discourse structure and pragmatics, to narratives as a source of establishing social relationships and cultural ideologies (cf. Johnstone, 1990:197-198).

Johnstone (1990:198) argues that previous scholars, who have studied spoken narratives, falsely assumed that their results would be applicable to “mainstream” American narratives. For example, Labov’s descriptions of narratives in his Martha’s Vineyard study, investigated an isolated community and can thus not be generalized for all American narratives (cf. Johnstone, 1990:198). In other words, studies may have focused on cultural differences of groups before, however with the assumption that those are homogenous. Hence, more research on cultural variation needs to be done in future.

Examining 55 personal stories told by native/long-term residents of Fort Wayne, Indiana, Johnstone found that the way people tell stories in this specific area differs crucially from those of urban North Easterners (studied by Labov, Polanyi etc.). People’s narratives in Fort Wayne include a lot of “extrathematic orientation”, which can be defined as the “oriental details which, for the purpose of setting a story’s scene, seem over-specified” (Johnstone, 1990:200).

Extrathematic orientation satisfies two criteria: (1) It has no influence on the story’s outcome and is not relevant to the story’s plot, e.g. “We were in high school” is thematic orientation in a story about dating, but adding information such as a movie’s name that the couple watched on their first date is extrathematic (Johnstone, 1990:202). (2) Extrathematic orientation must add new information for the audience of the story. Further, in Fort Wayne narration of personal experience must be factual, this is to say they must be relevant to the world, by talking about real people and real human events (cf. Johnstone, 1990:205). Johnstone (1990:209) also discovered that Fort Wayne
stories are marked by a “reserved interactional style”, prioritizing others’ need for privacy over their own need for intimacy. As a matter of fact, audience participation in their storytelling is minimal.

Johnstone’s work successfully demonstrates the existence of regional variation of discourse-level features, highlighting the need for more research on narratives across culturally diverse groups.

3.3.4. Narratives and quotation

Quotation is “a key performance feature in storytelling sequences”, it captures the listener’s attention and is used to engage with the audience (Buchstaller, 2013:12). When narrating a story, quotation can be used as an effective device to give the story’s protagonists a voice themselves. The audience can thus experience first-hand how the characters experienced a situation. This has the function of giving the story certain vividness by involving the audience more directly (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:12-14). Considering this “dramatizing function” of quotations, reported action is expected to appear more frequently around the narrative climax (Buchstaller, 2013:14). Some researchers even argue that quotation “highlights (…) a particularly dramatic peak in the performing of a story” (Fox, 2012:231).

Well documented over the last few centuries has been the role of tense-variation in narratives, especially within Inner Circle countries such as America (Schiffrin, 1996; Wolfson, 1978), England (Levey, 2006) and Australia (Rodríguez Louro, Richard & Sana, In preparation; Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014). Tense switching plays an important role in the structuring of a story and can be described as a foregrounding device for remarkable events in a story. In an Australian study it has been demonstrated that the rise of quotation amongst youth (especially be like) crucially interacts with the Historical present (see also Chapter 4), providing young speakers with a tool to foreground pivotal events in a narrative (cf. Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:549).

Recently, scholars have observed that the way people tell stories is undergoing a significant change, shifting to a more self-revealing modus, especially among young age cohorts (Rodríguez Louro et al., In preparation; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007). In their
research on the development of the quotative *be like* in Toronto, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007:210) represent surprising results. They found that in their under 40 groups, the innovator *be like* seems to be used more frequently for sharing internal thoughts, attitudes, feelings, rather than for direct speech. According to their data, this is a recent phenomenon which has increased tremendously over the last 64 years. In their overall proportion of quotations that are internal dialogue, it becomes visible that among their speakers who are in their 80s, quoted thought is relatively rare, while its appearance increases closer to the 30 year-olds (cf. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007:210-211). This clearly shows a change in the way people construct their stories. However, it still needs to be investigated how the change in narrative style affects Outer Circles of Englishes.

In a most current study on discourse type such as narrative versus non-narrative and its impact on quotation, discourse type has a significant influence on quotative usage and how *be like* functions in its broader linguistic ecology. Apparently, narrative and non-narrative models are “sufficiently different to posit divergent *be like* grammars across genres”, which is why it is essential to acknowledge discourse genre in which variation takes place (cf. Rodríguez Louro et al., In preparation:5).

Overall, the narrative genre is essential when it comes to the sharing of personal experience and can vary according to cultural background, structure and grammar. Narration can be seen as the fountainhead of quotation and serves as a fruitful place for studying grammatical variation of innovative quotatives such as *be like*. Changes in style, such as the increase in self-revelation, may have influenced the changes reflected in grammar. The relatively recent change in narrative style does not only affect tense variation, but also choice of quotation.
4. The quotative system and be like in Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes

Since quotation is a key element in investigating narration, much research about the usage of quotative verbs has been done in recent years. A major contribution to the research on innovative quotatives, including be like, comes from the Inner circles of English, such as America (Barbieri, 2007; Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller, 2006a; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Johnstone, 1987; Mathis & Yule, 1994; Romaine & Lange, 1991), Canada (Buchstaller, 2006a; 2006b; 2013; Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012), Great Britain (D'Arcy, 2004; Macaulay, 2001; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), New Zealand (Baird, 2001; D'Arcy, 2010; D'Arcy, 2012) and Australia (Rodríguez Louro, 2013; Winter, 2002).

The English quotative system has not only been investigated regarding its synchronic variation, but has recently become topic of several comparative, cross-varietal studies. Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009:310) investigated the development of quotative be like across geographically discontinuous locations and found that the variant developed at a later stage in American English as compared to other varieties, such as English English or New Zealand English. Most recently, a longitudinal study conducted by Tagliamonte et al. (Forthcoming in 2016:1) presents remarkably parallel linguistic constraints in the quotative system across Canada, Australia and New Zealand, suggesting a “systematic regularity across time and space”.

4.1. Linguistic and Social constraints on be like

Much is known about the grammatical constraints that govern the use of innovative quotatives across English-speaking communities. Previous research has focused on a variety of “systematic and variety-specific factors” involved in the utilization of quotative markers (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:6). Six variables have been investigated in detail and tend to reoccur in literature: age, sex, grammatical person, content of the quote, tense and mimesis. I address each of these in turn.
4.1.1. Age

Various studies have portrayed that the innovation of quotative markers such as *be like* most likely occurs amongst adolescents. Blyth et al. (1990:219) show that it is mostly college-age speakers who use *be like* and *go*, whereas speakers over the age of 38 show restricted usage. Similar, Ferrara and Bell (1995:276) find that the dialogue introducers are used by 60% of college-aged females. Also in Canada, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004:501) point out to a high percentage of *be like* in the under 40 age groups. In contrast to previous findings, Tagliamonte and Denis (2014:122) refer to an example in their data, where quotative *be like* appears in the vernacular of a 55 year-old “hip” grandmother. They suggest that through a changing society more “cross-generational networks” appear, leading to a “child-to-adult influence” under certain social circumstances (Tagliamonte & Denis, 2014:122). Such possibilities would thus need more attention in future studies.

The traditional variant *say* on the other hand, is most common among older generations in all of the mentioned studies. Research deriving from Australia reveals that *be like* has substituted quotative verbs such as *say*, especially in the vernacular of young people (age groups 11-16 and 18-26) (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:58-59).

4.1.2. Sex

The effect of gender on quotative *be like* is relatively unstable across speaker age and dialect-communities. While some studies report that the variant is more frequent in female speakers (Ferrara & Bell, 1995(America); Macaulay, 2001(Scotland); Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004(Canada)), other research (America mostly) has found that the variant is favoured by men (Blyth et al., 1990; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000). While there might be some favouring effects for both women and men, there have also been studies from the United Stated and Canada with no significant results at all (Buchstaller, 2008; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). Although those studies did not come up with significant results, *be like* was still found to be more frequent in females. Moreover, in a study across the UK, US and New Zealand conducted by Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) gender results were inconsistent across all three corpora.
Interestingly, there are also conflicting findings regarding the diachronic development of *be like* and its gender effect (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:99-100). For instance, Ferrara and Bell (1995:275-277) suggest a neutralization in terms of gender differences. In their 1990’s corpus women use *be like* more frequently than men, whereas in the years of 1992 and 1994 both genders seem to use the variant equally frequent. In their comparison of Canadian youth with an earlier study, Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004:504-506) conclude that the more the variant *be like* is being used, the stronger the gender effect seem to appear. This finding seems to stand in contrast with the idea of a neutralizing gender effect.

4.1.3. Content of the quote

Direct quotation is the reproduction of material of either outwardly expressed verbal action such as speech (7 and 8), gestures or sounds (9), or inward, verbal activity such as thoughts, opinions or attitudes (9). The quotative verb *say* tends to be associated with reporting speech, whereas *think* is associated with reporting mental activity, e.g. internal thoughts or attitudes, not surprising considering its semantics (cf. Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:7). Originally, the quotative newcomer *be like* appeared as a marker of internal thoughts (see Butters, 1982). Several studies have connected the appearance of *be like* with reporting internal thoughts ever since (Macaulay, 2001; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Tannen, 1986). It comes with no surprise that the factor “content of the quote” has been noted as being a consistent constraint in relation to its occurrence with *be like* as an introducer for inward verbal activity. However, Buchstaller (2013:103) points out that “the effect is not categorical”, since it is also used for reporting outward verbal activity. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007:207) for example, found that in their younger age groups (17-19 year olds) *be like* is favourably used to introduce reported speech, which suggests a weakening of the effect across time.

(7) And then I was like: “Hey I am a bit thirsty, let’s go inside and you can buy me drink” (LK221994)

(8) My mum said: “I don’t know if that works?” (SH191997)
(9) I can run for 2 minutes or something and then I’m ø: “Wuahh” (PS231993)

(10) I walked around in summer and I thought: “Oh they’ve got so many pretty dresses and so colourful things.” (SH191997)

4.1.4. Grammatical person

There has been a wealth of research that provides insights into quotative verb usage and grammatical person. In many studies be like is reported to appear most preferably with first-person subjects (cf. (7), Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009:307) also found that be like most likely appears in first-person contexts, however the effects were not outstanding. D'Arcy (2004:509) even argues that the consistent occurrence of be like in first-person narration is “a defining feature of be like”. Ferrara and Bell (1995:279) note that the person effect in their 4 year corpora seems to weaken over time. In general, the variant think appears most often in first-person contexts because of its main function to report internal thoughts and mental processes (cf. (10)). The majority of studies also agree that say is most often used to introduce the speech of others and therefore appears in third-person contexts (cf. (8)).

According to Buchstaller (2013:104) it is difficult to compare certain studies due to their varying treatment of different types of noun phrases in the analysis. Despite the difference in handling full versus pronominal noun phrases, the problem is mostly visible when looking at third-person it. Many studies seem to either fully exclude it from the analysis or include it only partly (e.g Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009). In studies where it is included it seems to favour the usage of be like (11) (e.g Buchstaller, 2008).

(11) When I see the weather here it's like: “Ah I don’t want it to be under 30, please!” (JI191997)
4.1.5. Tense/Aspect

Tense has received a lot of attention in previous literature and has been described as “one of the most important distinguishing linguistic variables in comparing quotatives across varieties of English” (Rodríguez Louro, 2013:53). Three options for tense choice seem to reappear in the literature: present tense (12), past tense (13) and the conversational historical present (14).

(12) And I am like: “Alright, funny.” (LB231993)

(13) I was like: “Okay, I pick something.” (LM261990)

(14) She was just like: “Why don’t you come in on Monday and I show you everything and we can get to know each other” I was like: “At least an interview” So I walked in there and she is like: “Yeah, hi how are you going bla bla la.” (LK231994)

In early studies be like was found to appear most favourably in present tense contexts since it creates vividness to the storyline (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991). Since be like functions as a narrative device for storytelling, it almost always appears in the historical present (HP), which can be described as a narrative device that “allows the speaker to report past events in a non-past morphology” (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:8).

The appearance of be like in HP has been noted in several studies around the world (Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Winter, 2002). For instance, Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009:308-309) show that tense is one of the main variables distinguishing be like across Englishes. In their study it was found that past and present tense most likely occur with be like in English English, whereas in American and New Zealand English it appears in historical present contexts. Say on the other hand tends to occur in a variety of tenses and aspects, establishing variability in low-entropy systems (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:183 ff.).
In a study on tense variation in Australian English, Rodríguez Louro and Ritz (2014) demonstrate that there are notable differences in how people use tense in conversational narrative. In general, simple past tense (PT), historical present (HP) and historical present perfect (HPP) are used interchangeably to foreground and background events in oral narratives of Australian English, favouring the HPP for complicating events (cf. Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:549). In their cross-generational narrative corpus, it was found that PT dominates across age groups, with the younger age cohorts favouring the HP. The HPP on the other hand, was only used by older speakers (cf. Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:556). Further, results show that Australian English narrative style has undergone a significant change. The Historical present has “systematically encroached on AusE story-telling” and is used to foreground essential events in narratives (Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:549).

4.1.6. Mimesis

Quotations can be performed in different ways. Speakers can either render the original quote with a normal speaking voice, or they can choose to use a different ‘voice’ (realized in accent, prosody, pitch etc.). Speakers can also produce quotes that involve sounds or even certain gestures (example (9) above).

Those types of quotes are referred to as “mimesis/mimetic quotes” in the literature and have been reported to appear with quotative be like throughout the English-speaking world (Buchstaller, 2008; Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; D'Arcy, 2010; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). The same can be said about zero quotatives (quotes in which the dialogue itself carries out the animation). In contrast to be like, the quotative verbs say and think seem to appear more often with nonmimetic quotations (D'Arcy, 2012:358). To sum up, mimesis is probably the only factor in which a consistency across all English-speaking countries is visible (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:102).

Looking at quotative be like on a global scale, a cross-varietal analysis (Tagliamonte et al., Forthcoming in 2016) has recently demonstrated, that constraints governing quotative be like, such as grammatical person, content of the quote and tense are relatively equal across geographic distant locations, such as Canada, New Zealand and
Australia. Further, it was found that *be like* does the same linguistic work in all of the tested localities. Thus, the study does not only provide evidence that *be like* occurs in the same age cohorts around the world, but also that grammatical conditioning and developmental trajectories are globally parallel.

4.2. The quotative system in Australian English

The quotative system and *be like* has been the subject of various in depth studies in countries such as the US, UK, Canada or New Zealand, however the Australian territory has received little attention. Exceptions are represented by Winter (2002) and Rodríguez Louro (2013) who offer some comparable data for the current study. Recently, also the evolution of the English quotative system in Australia (Rodríguez Louro, 2016), as well as Australia’s role in cross-varietal studies (Tagliamonte et al., Forthcoming in 2016) have been investigated.

Winter (2002) provides an analysis of discourse quotatives in Australian English (including *be like*). The study, situated in Melbourne, collected its data from 30 sociolinguistic interviews with Melbourne-based adolescents aged 15-16 years. While *be like* only occurred in 8% of the data, *go* and *say* were found to be the most dominant ones (45% for *go* and 24% for *say*) (cf. Winter, 2002:10). Further, results revealed that Australian English speakers use *be like* most likely in third-person singular and in the historical present. Winter’s study offers a different picture to the ones documented from North America, Canada and Great Britain. Even though Australian English seems to have expanded, including *be like*, its usage in the corpus was restricted to the interview context only. Moreover, *be like* occurred in third-person singular contexts, which deviates from findings elsewhere (cf. Winter, 2002:20). However, Winter’s findings were conducted through interviews by older speakers with teenage participants and should thus not be regarded as best examples of natural-occurring adolescent talk (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:56).

A study that does include spontaneous speech across age cohorts in Australia is provided by Rodríguez Louro (2013). The data for this study derives from 32.5 hours of recorded spontaneous conversation collected by the University of Western Australia.
Participants consisted of 25 men and 22 women across different age groups. Results exhibited that *be like* occurs with a high percentage of 65.4%, followed by *say* with 18.6% and *think* 6.2%. In contrast to Winter’s finding, *go* appears in only 4.2% of the collected data (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:58). The study revealed that age is an essential factor in the distribution of quotative *be like*, because it was mostly favoured by the younger age cohorts (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:59).

In a multivariate analysis, linguistic and social factors in the different age groups were established. It was found that variables of sex, tense and grammatical person are relatively similar for the pre-adolescents (11-16 year-olds) and adolescents (14-16 year-olds). *Be like* occurred most likely with females and with first-person subjects in both age groups. One factor differentiating pre-adolescents from adolescents was tense. While pre-adolescents participants favoured the past tense, adolescent participants preferred the historical present (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:64). In line with findings from Canada (see Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004), *be like* was found to be strongly favoured for introducing internal thought in the youngest participants (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:65).

The young adult age group (18-26 year-olds) on the other hand, behaved slightly different from the younger age cohorts. In this group, males were the forerunners for the usage of *be like*, not women. In line with the younger age groups *be like* most likely occurred with first-person subjects, however, *be like* was found to be used for introducing direct speech, rather than internal thought. Tense wise, historical present seemed to rank first, in line with the adolescents (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013:66-67).

A longitudinal study in Australian English (Rodríguez Louro, 2016) shows that the Australian quotative system has undergone a rapid change from the 19th – 21st century. Data for this study stems from the Oral History Collection housed at the State Library of Western Australia, and includes speakers born between 1870 and 1980 (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2016:3). The study, which examines the distribution of quotatives before the onset of *be like*, demonstrates that *say* is the main variant across cohorts and time periods, unlike previous findings by Rodríguez Louro (2013), where *be like* is the main quotative form. While in the period of the late 19th century, the quotative system of speakers is largely dominated by the variant *say* (76%), the late 20th century displays the
most prolific variation, with *say* still as the main variant (55%), but quotatives forms such as *zero* (14%), *go* (12%), *think* (9%) and *be like* (2%) gaining more prominence (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2016:8-11). The quotative system of Australian English now includes a variety of quotative frames, such as *zero, think, go* and *be like*.

Taking into account the rapid change of the quotative system in Australia, further research on the quotative system needs to be done. The present study seeks to offer a different approach on the topic of quotatives by focusing on EFL speakers rather than native-speakers of Australian English. Rodríguez Louro (2013) offers comparable data for this study and its findings will be taken into consideration when analysing my data in Chapter 6.

### 4.3. The quotative system in Outer and Expanding Circle of Englishes

While the quotative system of Inner circles Englishes has received overwhelming attention in the last three decades, Outer and Expanding circle varieties remain to be investigated. Recently, more attention falls upon quotative strategies in Outer circles Englishes, such as Davydova (2015) in India.

The fieldwork for Davydova’s analysis of Indian English (2015:303) was conducted at Jawaharlal Nehru University, a high-profile university in Northern-India and includes three types of speakers, “acrolectal”, “mesolectal” and “upper-mesolect[al]” speakers, a differentiation based on the students’ exposure to native-speaking English. The first group, acrolectal speakers, refers to people who received their education in public schools, which are private institutions of secondary education which offer excellent facilities and staff. Further, these students often use English for communicating with parents or peers, become highly professional speakers at the university level and report being exposed to native-speaking English on a high level. (cf. Davydova, 2015:304). The second group, mesolectal speakers, have been educated in governmental schools, where a regional language is used for instruction. Their exposure to native-speaking English mainly happens within English lessons and students do not use English outside of the classroom. Their English reaches a fairly reasonable level, however they only start
to use English in native environments once they attend university (cf. Davydova, 2015:304). Since not all of the participants could be classified according to the first two types, a third type called “upper-mesolect[al]” was introduced, which included all those students who for instance went to a Hindi-medium school, with English exposure only after entering university. At the time of data collection students have changed their vernacular (depending on time of studying), and acquired more educated mainstream Indian English (cf. Davydova, 2015:304-305).

In the distributional analysis carried out by Davydova (2015) it was found that Indian English offers and “extremely heterogeneous system of quotatives”, featuring 14 different types, including be like (Davydova, 2015:306). Further, multivariate analysis for be like in particular, demonstrated that the variant is effectively used by JNU students to quote themselves and others. When being used with 3rd person subjects, be like was used for both referential and existential contexts. Consistent with native-speaker findings, female students used be like most frequently. Quotation type was not implicated in the appearance of be like in the Indian English dataset (cf.Davydova, 2015:320-321).

Significant differences were visible in respect to native-English exposure. Acrolectal speakers used be like most frequently (18%), followed by upper-mesolectal (10%) and by mesolectal students (5%). This suggests that exposure to native-English is a major factor in acquiring variable patterns such as be like (cf. Davydova, 2015:322).

In contrast to be like, conservative variants such as verbs of reporting (e.g. say, tell, ask), zero quotatives or verbs of mental activity (e.g. think), were preferred by L2 learners who were educated in governmental schools and have learned English solely through text books. Those variants were favourably used by men, while more innovative variants occurred in female speakers who went to public schools and thus had a higher exposure to native English (cf. Davydova, 2015:325-326).

In terms of diachronic change, the study revealed that innovative quotatives which are “less established” and “more vulnerable in the new linguistic ecology” are more likely to undergo significant changes within a short time period (Davydova, 2015:326).
A recent expansion to the quotative system and *be like* in the Expanding Circle is Davydova and Buchstaller (2015). The authors investigate whether German learners of English acquire the innovative forms of quotation as well as the intra- and extralinguistic constraints that determine its usage in native-speaker varieties of English (cf. Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:2). Their data derived from sociolinguistic interviews with 45 students enrolled in a study abroad program in Mannheim, Germany, complemented by a questionnaire to assess the students’ degree of exposure to native language (cf. Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:5). The results clearly demonstrate that high exposure to face-to-face communication with native speakers is essential in the acquisition of quotative forms. Their data further revealed that speakers who have never been abroad do not use *be like* at all, whereas speakers who have been abroad four times or more show a high production of the form (cf. Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:9).

When comparing their findings for high exposure learners with native speakers, it was found that EFL learners do not use *be like* as often as native speakers do. It seems that the quotative repertoire of English learners is dominated by traditional dialogue introducers such as *say* or *null* (cf. Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:11).

Beginning with the factor of mimesis, only students who had been abroad a few times employed *be like* to introduce mimetic content (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:14-18). In the factor group of content of the quote, German learners reproduced native-like patterns, such as using *say* for reporting speech and *think* for internal thoughts, *be like* on the other hand was used for both options, just like native speakers do. Regarding grammatical person, high exposure learners were found to use *be like* most likely with first-person subjects (24,9%), but also with third-person subjects (22,3%). Regarding tense, German learners signalise a preference for the Conversational Historical Present (CHP) (see example (14) in Section 4.1.5), in line with major findings from North America. The variant *say* occurred equally in CHP and past tense and *think* appeared in present tense contexts only. Concerning extralinguistic factors, gender was the only factor considered. Female German learners tend to use *be like* more frequently than men, which is on par with the major patterns found elsewhere (cf. Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:18).
All in all, Davydova and Buchstaller (2015:23) conclude with the argument that the “high level of schematicity of the quotative frame as well as its cognitive accessibility” explain why EFL learners acquire not just surface forms in the English quotative system, but also intra- and extralinguistic factors characterizing the quotative usage of native speaker grammar. Davydova and Buchstaller (2015) offer the most comparable data for the present study due to their focus on the Expanding circle of Englishes and because of their exploration of EFL patterns by German L1 speakers. While their study focuses on German L1 speakers having been abroad, mainly to North America, my study offers a diverse approach by examining how time spent in Perth, Western Australia impacts the quotative system of female EFL users.
5. An Empirical study on the acquisition of variable grammar
   – Be like in the EFL context

5.1. Research Design

This chapter presents the research design used in the present study, focusing on the research questions asked, the data gathered and the hypotheses tested. As already mentioned, this research examines to what extent EFL learners of English can acquire native-speaker patterns and is focusing on how quotatives used to introduce speech, thought, gestures and non-lexicalised content are deployed by these non-native users of English. Special attention is paid to newcomer *be like*. Examining the English spoken by German speakers living in Perth, Australia, allows us to determine whether face-to-face contact with native Australians correlates positively with the acquisition of quotative forms. Do speakers who have been in Australia longer show quotative usage akin to those of the Australian English native speakers? To explore these issues, narratives of personal experience were audio-recorded, transcribed and quantitatively analyzed. The sections that follow introduce the various methodological decisions made along the way.

5.2. Research questions

This thesis addresses the following research questions:

- What does the quotative system of German learners of English look like? Which internal and external variables constrain the use of these forms?
  - Does the quotative system of young EFL speakers pattern with the quotative system grammar described for young native speakers of Australian English (cf. Rodríguez Louro, 2013; Winter, 2002)
- What effects does exposure to a naturalistic setting and face-to-face contact with native-English speakers have?
  - How does length of stay in the Australian territory influence EFL speakers’ acquisition of quotative forms?
- How does the usage of quotation vary between German and Australian speakers?

- If there are differences in the English quotative systems of German EFL speakers and that of native speakers of Australian English, what are the implications for second language learning?

5.3. Participants

The data for the present study stems from a collection of sociolinguistic interviews with 10 female participants of German origin currently living, working or studying in Perth, Western Australia. All 10 participants are EFL speakers who have acquired English as a foreign language. To control for the influence of L1, all women in the sample were born and raised in Germany, thus sharing the same L1. The age range of participants is 18-26. The majority of participants were recruited via social media and using Milroy’s (1980:47) “friend-of-a-friend” technique. Participation in this study remained voluntary at all times. Since the literature has often identified women as the frontrunners of linguistic change, especially amongst adolescents (see Labov, 1990), the study mainly focuses on female speech. The participant sample is shown in Table 1, initials are preferred to protect participant anonymity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>DOB</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>Medical secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dudweiler/Saar</td>
<td>Sales person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Lübeck/Hamburg</td>
<td>Childcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Freiburg</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Landau in der Pfalz</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Participant sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>Student/Au pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Stuttgart</td>
<td>Student/Au pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>Student/Au pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Dortmund</td>
<td>Student/Au pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bochum</td>
<td>Student/Au pair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4. Data collection

Data was gathered by way of a Labovian sociolinguistic interview with each of the participants. The aim of using a sociolinguistic interview was to collect data that contains vernacular, naturalistic instances of speech. Each interview was audio-recorded with an iPod and relevant sections were then transcribed. The recordings resulted in a total number of 11.6 hours of naturalistic speech.

Conversation topics varied from person to person. Since the majority of the women participating are currently working as au pairs or used to work as au pairs in Australia, conversations included topics such as family life, childcare, work schedules, travelling, private life and the like. An outline of the interview questions can be found in Appendix A. Each and every speaker received a consent form in order to ensure voluntary and anonymous participation. Topics sometimes drifted away from the outline and interaction remained spontaneous at all times. This made it possible to obtain the closest approximation to the speaker’s vernacular (cf. Labov, 2011:1) The average length of conversations was one hour, depending on time available in their daily schedules. None of my respondents showed any discomfort when being recorded and followed my advice to simply ignore the recording device. However, participants sometimes tended to modify their speech in response to being recorded, a phenomenon described as the Observer’s Paradox (Labov, 1972a:209). According to Rasinger (2008:53) this issue can
be solved by making use of a so called “gate-keeper” – someone who is part of the community and is able to reduce the distance between researcher and the subject under research. Being a member of the German-speaking community myself, I operated as the gate-keeper in this study. Hence, the interaction during the interviews can be described as naturally-occurring conversations amongst peers. Example (15) illustrates these dynamics. Quotative verbs, including zero or unframed quote tokens, appear in bold.

(15)
I= Interviewer
P= Participant

I: Did you ever experience anything funny because you were German or your language or anything…
P: Oh my god, yeah.
I: Any troubles or any funny kind of things?
P: I was travelling with my friend and like if you go in a hostel, they see like your passport and they also know your nationality and like they said: “Oh you are Germans, can we have your passports?” So we were giving the passports to them, this guy looked at it ø: “I thought you are German?” I said: “Yes”. He said: “Why is on your passport ‘Dutch-land’?”
I: Dutch-land?! (laughing)
P: (laughing) I said: “Dutch-land?” watched at my friend she’s like: “Dutch-land, hae?” And he ø: “Your passport, there is ‘Dutch-land’, I thought you are German, is that not your passport?”
I said: “No, it is my passport that’s my picture”, and he said: “In my computer system it’s not here how are you coming up with Deutschland, there’s Dutch-land written?” I said: “No it means Deutschland!” He said: “Deutschland, what’s that?” I said: “Germany” and he said: “Germany, do you not call it Germany?” I said: “Noo (laughing)!”
I: Yeah that’s funny because my boyfriend and people we met in America they never knew that we translate country names, they think that Germany is called Germany or Austria is Austria.
P: I know that’s what he thought (laughing).
I: When I said I was from Österreich, they were like: “What, I thought you are from Austria?” (laughing)” (NP211995)

5.5. Multivariate analysis

The main goal of this study is to offer an in-depth analysis of the quotative system of EFL speakers accounting for both relative frequencies and independent social and linguistic variables that govern the speakers’ choice of these forms. For the process of analyzing the data, Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith, 2005) was used. Although most recently replaced by other statistical analysis tools (e.g., Rbrul (Johnson, 2012)), Goldvarb X is still widely used in variationist sociolinguistics and is employed here to determine how the quotative system of German-origin EFL speakers patterns in comparison to what has been established – also via multivariate analysis with Goldvarb X – for native-speaking Australian English (Rodriguez Louro 2013). Variable rule analysis was preferred in that it offers an empirical model, introducing “a probabilistic component into the model of language” (Tagliamonte, 2006:130). The aim of variation analysis is to determine patterns of variability in the provided data, rather than individual occurrences or overall rates of occurrence (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006:235). This is achieved by providing significance levels and patterns in the present study – in line with a wealth of studies available in the literature (Rodríguez Louro, 2013; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999) - be like is the dependent variable and is analyzed against a set of independent variables or factors in order to test how these constrain its use. A factor group here refers to either a social or a linguistic factor (social: e.g. length of stay, age; linguistic: e.g. tense, grammatical person) which can affect whether the variant occurs or not (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006:104). In other words, through multivariate analysis it is possible to determine how a set of independent variables constrain a specific set of variants of the dependent variable (cf. Paolillo, 2002:23). This method is of particular relevance for this study, since it allows us to examine which factors favor be like.
5.6. Variable context and data coding

One of the most important steps in sociolinguistic research is the accountable analysis of the linguistic variable (cf. Labov, 1972b:72). Variationist sociolinguistic research rests on the principle of accountability, which states that each and every variant that is part of the variable context (the various quotative frames in the current study) must be taken into account (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006:13). In order to meet the principle of accountability and in line with previous variationist research of constructed dialogue in the English language (Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; D'Arcy, 2004; D'Arcy, 2012; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999) each and every instance of a verb introducing constructed dialogue and/or thought was included in the analysis. Thus, all instances of speech or thought introduction meeting this definition were extracted, including not only overt verbs of quotation such as say, think, go, be like, to be and others, but also quoted material introduced by the null form zero. All the instances were extracted and coded manually and resulted in a final data set of 680 quotative tokens.

(16) I said: “I heard this word before, but I don’t know how to write it right now.” (LM261990)

(17) I mean we can talk but sometimes I think: “What are you saying?” (PS231993)

(18) And I go: “Okay” (LK231993)

(19) I was like: “Oh god, what does that actually mean” (LM261990)

(20) He thought I would live here for a few years because my English is so good and I am: “No I am only here since 4 months and I only stay for a year” (AE201996)

(21) They were so nice, so I told them: “Okay I come to Australia, why not.” (JL191997)

(22) And I ø: “Yeah why not.” (NP211995)
A total of 41 tokens were coded in the category "other", including quotative verbs such as *ask, tell, talk, text, see, decide, argue, realize* etc. Instances where the marker *like* was used in conjunction with a verb of quotation such as *say, think, go, zero* and other verbs such as *feel and know* were also extracted and coded separately. These appear in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quotative verbs</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Coded as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>say like</em></td>
<td>I said like: “Oh I don’t like these studies anymore.” (LM261990)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>think like</em></td>
<td>I thought like: “Maybe I should go as well” (LM261990)</td>
<td>Discourse particle <em>like</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>go like</em></td>
<td>And he goes like: “Okay you don’t say it that way” (LM261990)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>like+ ø</em></td>
<td>I was standing there like ø: “Oh, I’m vegan.” (JI191997)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>any other verb+ like</em></td>
<td>I feel like: “Okay I need to do something, because everyone has their real life now.” (PS231993)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Discourse Particle *Like* (cf. D'Arcy, 2005:72)

This study partly replicates Davydova and Buchstaller (2015) comprehensive analysis of the quotative system in order to establish whether German EFL speakers pattern along similar lines to the German speakers sampled in Davydova and Buchstaller (2015). Thus, similar social and linguistic variables were chosen for analysis.
In terms of social variables, only length of stay in Australia was included in the quantitative analysis presented in Chapter 6. Age and sex were noted but because of the constitution of the sample (consisting of ten women aged 18-26; see Table 1), these were not included in the statistical model. The linguistic variables used in this study encompass the three most widely documented linguistic factors in variationist research on quotation so far: content of the quote, grammatical person, and tense/aspect (Buchstaller, 2013; Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015; Rodríguez Louro, 2013; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007). Unlike previous research, and because of time constraints and unavailability of video-recording equipment, mimesis – featuring non-lexicalized sound and gesture – was not considered. An innovative aspect of this study is its focus on the influence of discourse type – narrative and non-narrative discourse – on the grammar of EFL speakers. Discourse type has only yet been modelled for native Australian English in research by Rodriguez Louro, Bharadwaj and Richard (2015) and including discourse type in the current research is an exciting way to uncover how quotation is structured in the storytelling sequences of the German-origin speakers. The sections that follow introduce the social and linguistic variables considered.

5.6.1. Social variables

According to Davydoa and Buchstaller (2015:2) “prolonged contact with native-speaker English plays a crucial role in the acquisition of variable patterns”, which is why length of stay has been considered as the only social variable in the present study. For the purpose of determining whether the amount of exposure to Australian English correlates positively with the use of innovative quotatives such as be like, participants were divided into two different exposure groups:

- EFL speakers who have been in Australia between 0 and 6 months at time of data collection.
- EFL speakers who have been in Australia between 1 and 3 years at time of data collection.

As depicted in Table 3, five of the selected women fall into the first category, having been in Australia under half a year, mainly for work and travel. This group consists of au
pairs only, young women who have been working as nannies to Australian families. The remaining five women fall into the second category, having moved to Australia and living in the country permanently. I hypothesize that the second group (1-3 years) will show a more developed variable grammar than the first group (0-6 months).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay in Australia</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6 months</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3: Participant sample (grouped by length of stay in Australia)*

Foundational research on Canadian youth (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999) and native-speaking Australian English (Rodríguez Louro, 2013) has systematically shown that young adolescents are keen users of the variant *be like* for introducing a variety of quoted content, including direct speech, thought and attitude, gesture and other mimetic material. With this in mind, it can be hypothesized that the longer the German EFL speakers live in Australia, the more likely they are to pick up this innovation.

### 5.6.2. Linguistic variables

As explained in Chapter 3, quotative verbs can introduce different kinds of content, including inner dialogue, direct speech and non-lexicalized sounds or gestures. In this study two categories were differentiated, namely direct speech – shown in examples (23), (24) and (25), and internal thought, illustrated in (26) and (27). Direct speech included both spoken speech as well as instances of hypothetical speech, written content, internet dialogue and text message/SMS. Internal thought and attitude encompassed both actual and hypothetical thought.

(23) They were so nice, so I **told** them: “Okay I come to Australia, why not.” (JI191997)
And then he **texted** me: “But you have to catch up first with me” (NP211995)

She just **posted**: “Yeah, somebody interested in trip to Esperance³?” (JI191997)

And I **thought**: “Oh I didn’t know that you are like that.” (SH191997)

If he would want me to teach him grammar I **would be like**: “Okay I need my grammar book” (LM261990)

The factor content of the quote and grammatical person interact in important ways. As mentioned above, **be like** and **think** are used in first-person contexts, thus they preferentially introduce internal thought and attitudes, whereas **say** and **go** which appear most likely in third-person subjects introduce direct speech. More recent research (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015; Rodríguez Louro, 2013; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004) however reports a weakening of that effect, with **be like** encoding direct speech which leads me to hypothesize that also my participants might also show such a tendency.

Grammatical person was coded as first-, second- or third-person, shown in (28), (29) and (30). First person contexts include first-person singular tokens as well as first-person plural tokens. In the second person category, second person singular, second person plural and generic references were grouped together. In third person contexts, not only third person singular and plural were included, but also tokens introducing quotation with pronouns such as “someone”, “somebody” or “no one”. Quotations introduced by noun phrases or indefinite words such as “it” or “there” are also inclusive of this category. The latter however, appeared rarely or not at all in the dataset.

**So I was like**: “Oh yeah, so what I am going to do with my life?” (RH191997)

**See, then you can say**: “See I paid my boyfriend the rent.” (NP211995)

---

³ Esperance is a town located in the south-west of Western Australia.
Grammatical person has been singled out as one of the most consistent constraints on be like in past research across numerous English varieties (Buchstaller, 2013; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), with the variants be like and think most favourably occurring in first-person contexts and say (and go) occurring in third-person contexts. I hypothesize that in line with findings from non-native speaker communities such as Davydova and Buchstaller (2015) the innovator be like will occur most favourably in first-person contexts, whereas say, go and others might occur more frequently in third-person contexts. Considering that think most likely reports inner thought, it is expected to occur with the first-person only.

As already mentioned, it is known from past research that be like is favoured in historical present tense contexts, since the historical present allows the narrator to create ‘vividness’ in the storytelling sequence. In the present study tense was coded as either past (31), present (32) or historical present (33).

(31) I was like: “Na that’s not really what I wanna do. I mean that’s supposed to be the time of my life.” (LK231993)

(32) He says: “‘Lederhosen’ all the time.” (LM261990)

(33) So I was like: “Oh can you get the tongs and pull out the nails?” And he came in and he was like: “Are you sure you want me to do it with the tongs?” And I’m like: “Yep, with the tongs” He’s like: “It’s called pliers, like they are not called tongs, they are pliers!” (AT251991)

In line with findings from previous research on quotative be like as used by German-speaking EFL participants (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015) I hypothesize that German learners will most preferably make use of the conversational historical present.
In order to determine the effects of discourse type, such as narrative versus non-narrative contexts, the study uses Labov’s (1967) narrative analysis. Specifically, discourse type was coded differentiating between quotatives heading clauses in a long narrative complication (34) quotative heading clauses in minimal narratives (35), clauses in abstract/evaluation/coda (36) and non-narrative discourse (37). Non-narrative discourse includes descriptions, opinion and plans about the future (38 and 39).

(34) I never asked her, **I was like:** “By the way, where did you meet?” **She was like:** “Can’t tell you” **I was like:** “Come on”, ø” No, can’t tell you!” **I was like:** “Come on it’s not too nosey” **She was like:** “Na na na na” **I was like:** “Oh really?” (LK231993)

(35) So when I spill something I**’m like:** “Give me the rug!” He’s like: “I’m sure you want the rag, not the rug!” (AT251991)

(36) They are in the stage where they have to ask so silly questions and you are **thinking:** “You know the answer, you asked me that twice today, so do it! Only do it, don’t ask me again” I mean I have the feeling now that I need a little bit of distance. I am always at home in the house. I mean I also needed distance from my family, but yeah. (AE201996)

(37) If it’s not in this planned conversation type he **is always like:** “hmmm, what are you saying?” (LB231993)

(38) But what I don’t like is the way people criticize you, because they don’t wanna be rude or mean to you, so they’re **always like:** “Ah you’ve done this very well and I really like how you did this and I like how you did this…but “ And so then, because of that ‘but’ I**’m always like:** “Did you just say the other things to make me feel better or did I actually do something well?” (AT251991)
I hypothesize that, in line with native speakers of Australian English (Rodriguez Louro, Richard and Bharadwaj 2015), the German EFL speakers in this study will show frequent use of *be like* in the complication of their stories, where the storyline reaches a climax. Table 4 presents the independent variables or sociolinguistic factors considered and the hypotheses these give rise to.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Hypotheses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length of stay</strong></td>
<td>The longer the exposure to native-speaker English, the more the variable grammar resembles that of native speakers of Australian English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content of the quote</strong></td>
<td><em>Be like</em> might be favoured to introduce direct speech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical person</strong></td>
<td><em>Be like</em> might favour first-person contexts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tense</strong></td>
<td>The historical present might be favoured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discourse type</strong></td>
<td>In line with native English- speaking trends, <em>be like</em> might be favoured in complicating action sequences in narrative discourse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4**: Summary of independent variables and proposed hypotheses
5.6.3. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological decisions made in the current study. I started by introducing research questions relevant for the research at hand and provided a detailed overview of the methods and data collection procedures. The various independent variables or sociolinguistic factors analysed have given rise to five different hypotheses for how quotation is likely to pattern in the speech of German learners. These hypotheses are empirically tested in the ensuing chapter.
6. Results

In this chapter I present the results of the current study, focusing on the role of linguistic-internal and linguistic external factors in the acquisition of variable patterns such as quotative *be like*. The results are presented in three stages. First, a summary of the overall usage frequencies of quotatives in German EFL speakers is provided. Second, an investigation of every individual constraint in the quotative system as a whole is offered. This is followed by submitting the data to multivariate analysis, which, by choosing *be like* as the application value, considers all factors constraining the variability simultaneously. The chapter concludes with a summary of the results, leading to the subsequent chapter where I discuss findings and its implications.

6.1. General results

The overall distribution of quotative verbs as used by the German EFL speakers in the corpus is represented in Table 5. The newcomer form *be like* ranks first, featuring a frequency of 43.5%. *Say* ranks second, accounting for 20.1% of the data. These findings are in direct opposition to those noted for German exchange students by Davydova and Buchstaller (2015), where *say* comes first and *be like*, second. In this research, zero quotatives appear with a relatively high frequency compared to native-speaker data, ranking third with a usage frequency of 11.6%.

Collocations with *like*, called “Discourse particle *like*” in my data, amount to 10.6% of the use. The category *other* (verbs such as *tell, think, talk, decide* etc.) features 6.2% of the times. Relatively rare and thus the least frequent in the corpus are the variants *think* with 4.3%, *to be* with 2.5% and *go* with 1.2%.
Table 5: Overall distribution of quotative verbs in German EFL speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Be like</strong></td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Say</strong></td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zero</strong></td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discourse particle like</strong></td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Think</strong></td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To be</strong></td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Go</strong></td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My corpus of German EFL speakers living in Perth shows an overwhelming preference for the variant *be like*. Against the contention of Davydova and Buchstaller (2015:11) that German EFL learners “are lagging behind native speakers regarding the use of quotative *be like*”, my results indicate the opposite. *Be like* is employed in 43.5% of my subjects, a number that is close to what has been reported in native-speaker Englishes of adolescents and young adults where *be like* ranges from 43% to 72% (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:119). The current study reveals that German EFL speakers seem not only one step ahead of German exchange students tested before, but also ahead of Indian English speakers, where *be like* appeared in only 18% of the cases (Davydova, 2015:322). However, the more traditional variant *say* still ranks second, which is not surprising considering that before the rise of *be like*, *say* used to be the most frequent quotative verb overall (Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009; D’Arcy, 2004; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999).

In accord with Davydova and Buchstaller (2015) the corpus shows a high number of the null form *zero* and collocations with *like*. The existence of collocative constructions of quotatives (verb+ *like*) can possibly be explained by Buchstaller’s template for quotative forms (2013:16-18), described in Chapter 3 (see 3.2 “the development of innovative quotatives” for more detail). The German language might have some indirect influence
on the employment of zero+ like constructions due to the verbless quote in German, a subject that is further investigated in Chapter 7. Interestingly, the variant think (4.3%) is relatively infrequent in my corpus, which is akin to what has been found in Davydoava & Buchstaller (2015).

Since be like seems to continue to “encroach on the functional spaces of say and other quotatives” in Australia (Rodríguez Louro, 2013:59), the current chapter explores in more detail if and to what extent German EFL speakers acquire the grammar constraining be like and, if so, the impact of length of stay. As seen above, participants have already picked up on the lexeme be like. It remains to be examined whether this is also the case for the constraining grammar.

### 6.2. Grammar patterns of German EFL speakers

Let us now pay attention to the total number of quotatives in correlation to their linguistic and social predictor factors noted in literature. The first factor group considered is the content and function of the quote. Be like was long associated with internal thought reporting (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), however recent research suggests that the effect is weakening, especially among young adults (17-19 and 20-29 year olds) (cf. Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2007:207). Table 6 shows the distribution of quotatives across direct speech and internal thought for German EFL speakers in Australia. The data shows that be like occurs in thought as well as direct speech, but is slightly favoured in internal thought instances (45.8% over 41.9%). However, considering the close percentage, speakers seem to use be like indeterminately with respect to the content of the quote. While the variant say mainly introduces speech (27.4%), coming second in the direct speech category, the quotative think mainly introduces thought (17.3%), which is not surprising considering their semantics. Interestingly, not think but discourse particle like is the second most common choice for introducing thought (19.6%), a finding that needs further investigation.

Compared to Davydoava & Buchstaller (2015) these findings merit attention, as in their study of German English learners, say dominates for the introduction of direct speech and think for internal dialogue. They contend that their German participants might not
have picked up on the classic factor content of the quote for thought encoding, or their speakers act according to the levelling tendencies reported in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007). It remains to be seen in the multivariate analysis whether my German EFL speakers will favour *be like* with thought over speech; however, it can be postulated that the German speakers in this study have acquired native like patterns when using *be like* and *think* to express thoughts and *say* to express direct speech. Table 6 shows the distribution of quotative variants with speech and thought as used by participants in this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Say</th>
<th>Be like</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>zero</th>
<th>DPL</th>
<th>To be</th>
<th>Go</th>
<th>Think</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 27.4</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 0.0</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Distribution of quotative variants with speech and thought

The second factor group examined is grammatical person, displayed in Table 7. As mentioned before, previous research demonstrates fairly consistent effects for this constraint (see also Section 4.1.4). How does this factor behave in the ecology of German EFL students living in Australia?

Table 7 reveals that *be like* dominates in first-person contexts (53.3%), closely followed by the third-person (50%), leading to the suggestion that *be like* is evenly spread in both first- and third-person contexts. *Say* dominates in third-person contexts, a finding well documented in other varieties of English. *Think* on the other hand, favours second-person contexts (12.8%). Those instances are dominated by generic reference, that is,

---

4 DPL = Discourse particle *like*, referring to verb collocations with *like*
instances where the second person singular pronoun *you* is used synonymously with generic *one*, as in example (40).

(40) So you always have to go and meet and then **you think**: “Okay that was nice” (RH191997)

The German speakers in the sample have acquired similar patterns as noted in Davydova & Buchstaller (2015), however, in their analysis, *it* was considered which favours *be like* in their sample. *It* was not included in the current study, thus comparing results for the constraint person is only partly possible. Indeed, results are still alike in terms of first-, second- and third-person contexts, with *be like* attested in first- and third-person contexts, *think* with second-person and *say* occurring in third-person contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>Say</em></th>
<th><em>Be like</em></th>
<th><em>Other</em></th>
<th><em>Zero</em></th>
<th><em>DPL</em></th>
<th><em>To be</em></th>
<th><em>Go</em></th>
<th><em>Think</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Second** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N   | 9    | 12       | 2       | 0      | 5     | 2       | 4    | 5       |
| %   | 23.1 | 30.8     | 5.1     | 0.0    | 12.8  | 5.1     | 10.3 | 12.8    |

| **Third** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N   | 67   | 105      | 27      | 0      | 4     | 7       | 0    | 0       |
| %   | 31.9 | 50.0     | 12.9    | 0.0    | 1.9   | 3.3     | 0.0  | 0.0     |

**Table 7:** Distribution of quotative variants by grammatical person

The next factor group that should receive attention is tense marking in the quotative system, which is depicted in table 8. *Be like* clearly favours the historical present
(91.7%), followed by past tense (57.6%) and present tense (36.2%). It needs to be noted though, that the historical present is very infrequent in my data, occurring in only 12 tokens overall, which makes the percentage almost incomparable. Similar to Davydova & Buchstaller (2015), where quotative say is spread evenly across all the tense varieties, in my data the variant also appears in each tense variety, however, slightly favouring present tense (24.7%). As mentioned above, think introduces generic statements, “which are typically encoded in the gnomic nonpast” (cited in Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:18), leading to a favouring of present tense contexts (8%). Interestingly, the infrequent use of go only appears in connection with the present tense. Each remaining quotative seems to favour present tense over past tense, however, percentages are relatively low overall. In sum, my German speakers seem to show a slightly different tense system to the one represented in Davydova and Buchstaller (2015), a finding that needs to be discussed in more detailed later on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Say</th>
<th>Be like</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Zero</th>
<th>DPL</th>
<th>To be</th>
<th>Go</th>
<th>Think</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hist. present</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Distribution of quotative variants by tense
Let us now turn to the factor discourse type and its influence on the quotative system of German EFL speakers. Table 9 offers an overview of the quotative variants divided by discourse type. Since quotation most commonly appears in the dramatic peak of a story, it is not surprising that *be like* – as the most common quotative in my data – is clearly favoured in narrative contexts (45.7%). Further, *be like* is also favoured in the category “other” (however only slightly at 6.6 %). *Say* seems to be spread across non-narrative and narrative contexts, with 21.1% only slightly favouring non-narrative contexts. All the remaining quotatives tested, appear mostly in non-narrative contexts even though the differences are just minimal, leading to the suggestion that they are distributed equally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Say</th>
<th>Be like</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Zero</th>
<th>DPL</th>
<th>To be</th>
<th>Go</th>
<th>Think</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Narrative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9:** Distribution of quotative variants by discourse type

I now turn to the effects of exposure to native speaker English on the German EFL speakers living in Australia. Including length of stay as a social variable in the current study allows us to determine whether a naturalistic setting and face-to-face contact with native speakers of English is related to the actual production of vernacular forms (quotative *be like* in this case). In their analysis of the global spread of *be like* in native speaker Englishes, Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) successfully portray that face-to-face contact is necessary when acquiring high context information such as the social
meaning of vernacular forms. Taking this into account, it needs to be seen how a naturalistic setting impacts German EFL speakers’ ability to pick up quotative forms.

Table 10 shows the distribution of quotative *be like* in two different groups of arrivals, women who have been in Australia one year or longer (Early Arrivals) and women who have been in Australia under half a year (Late Arrivals). Table 10 displays that the Early Arrivals (0-6 months in Australia) have picked up innovative forms such as *be like* (52.3%). Moreover, not only is *be like* favoured by the Early Arrivals so is another ‘innovative’ quotative, *go* (1.6%) even if only slightly. With the rise of *be like* in the early arrivals, other variants such as zero, particle *like* and *think* decrease in use. This is exactly what is noted in native speaker varieties (e.g. Rodriguez Louro, 2013). The Late Arrival group, who have been in Australia between 1 and 3 years, appear to use numerous different quotatives, but none with a strikingly high percentage. *Be like* is still favoured (27.9%). Variants such as the category “other”, *zero* quotatives, discourse particle *like* and *think* favourably occur in the late arrival group, whereas *to be* seems to appear with the same numbers in each group. The fact that German speakers pick up on *be like* the more they are in contact with native English speakers, means that length of stay is a significant social factor that should not be ignored in any future EFL research on *be like*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Say</th>
<th>Be like</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Zero</th>
<th>DPL</th>
<th>To be</th>
<th>Go</th>
<th>Think</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Arrivals</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Arrivals</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 10*: Distribution of quotative variants by length of stay
6.3. Multivariate Analysis

In this section I turn to the grammar that governs German EFL speakers’ acquisition of *be like* only, considering all constraints on *be like* simultaneously. Table 11 displays the outcome of a multivariate analysis, featuring the factor group content of the quote, length of stay, tense and grammatical person. In order to interpret multivariate analysis, three levels of evidence are essential: (1) statistical significance (statistically significant factors at the .05 level), (2) relative strength (which significant factor group shows the largest or smallest range), (3) constraint hierarchy (the alignment of factors within a linguistic feature) (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006:235). Factor weights (indicated as “FW” in Table 11) are probability weights. Factor weights above .50 favour the occurrence of the application value (in this case *be like*), factor weights under .50 disfavour. Before running the multivariate analysis some important exclusions were made, as follows.

- The social factor age was not included in the statistical analysis as it was found to interact with length of stay. The older age cohort favouring *be like*, happened to be the group of people who had been in Australia longer, while the younger age group happened to be the group who arrived in Australia later.

- The linguistic factor of aspect was excluded as the progressive aspect category came up with an almost negligible number of tokens (N=33).

- Due to the small sample size of the current study, the factor discourse type has been excluded from the multivariate analysis. However, I decided to still consider discourse type qualitatively by providing the reader with some general trends emerging from the collected data, provided in Chapter 7.

- The CHP was excluded from the statistical analysis. While present tense (44% [63/143]) and past tense (61% [220/360]) are evenly distributed in the data, used with *be like* as well as other quotative verbs, the CHP is almost categorically found with *be like* (91.7% [11/12]). This distribution is shown in Figure 2.
Quotative *think* (4.4% [30/680]), *to be* (2.5% [17/680]) and *go* (1.2% [8/680]) were excluded from the statistical analysis due to their low frequency, as they appeared in less than 5% of the data (cf. Table 5).

Since quotative *zero* (null form) cannot introduce grammatical person or tense, it has been excluded. The only variable testable for *zero* quotatives is content of the quote.

Quotative clauses including non-referential subjects such as “it” were excluded since they categorically occur with *be like*, shown in (41).

(41) Sometimes **it's like**: “How do you say tomato. Is it tomato or tomato?” (PS231993)
Beginning with the factor content of the quote, I will now present the results of the multivariate analysis, addressing each of the chosen constraints in turn. Unlike Davydova and Buchstaller (2015), where content of the quote was not statistically significant and thus not included in their multivariate analysis, content of the quote shows the highest factor weight (FW .71) in my corpus. *Be like* strongly favours thought encoding, matching the descriptive findings reported in Table 6.
Another factor included in the overall model for this thesis was length of stay. The findings clearly demonstrate that women in the Late Arrival group use proportionately fewer instances of quotative *be like* (FW .34) as opposed to the Early Arrivals, who exhibit a high frequency of *be like* tokens (FW .55). This finding is comparable to Davydova & Buchstaller (2015), where high exposure students favoured *be like* in their data with a FW .66. However, they argue that the constraint hierarchy for this factor group was “not as consistent as initially assumed” suggesting a more detailed investigation of the effect of length of stay in English-speaking environments is needed (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:21).

Cross tabulations did reveal that the Early Arrival group displays a higher occurrence of the Conversational Historical Present (9 out of 11 tokens), in contrast to the Early Arrival group, where the CHP only applies two times. This means that long and intense contact with English native speakers, leads to a more developed and native-like grammar system. Overall, my results seem to support the claim that only regular face-to-face contact with native speakers of the target language has an impact on the learner’s sociolinguistic competence (cf. Dewaele, 2004:304).

Regarding grammatical person, German EFL speakers seem to follow what has been reported in native speaker varieties, namely favouring first-person contexts (FW .51) with inner monologue or thought-introducing contexts (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999).

**6.4. Hypotheses revisited**

Overall, the findings summarised in Table 11 show that German EFL learners living in Australia are not only keen users of the variant *be like*, but also achieve partly what I hypothesized above, namely to acquire the variable grammar that governs the realization of *be like*. While there are some areas of convergence and divergence with previous research, it still appears striking that regular contact with native-speaker English triggers the occurrence of native-like patterns to a high extent. Table 12 outlines the hypotheses made in Chapter 5 together with the results of the current study.
general discussion of the current data and the questions that arise is provided in Chapter 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>Hypotheses</th>
<th>Verification/Falsification of Hypotheses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length of stay</strong></td>
<td>The longer the exposure to native-speaker English, the more the variable grammar resembles that of native speakers of Australian English.</td>
<td>Yes. Length of stay positively influences the acquisition of the variable grammar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content of the quote</strong></td>
<td><em>Be like</em> might be favoured to introduce direct speech.</td>
<td>No. <em>Be like</em> favours internal thought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical person</strong></td>
<td><em>Be like</em> might favour first-person contexts.</td>
<td>Yes. First-person subjects favour <em>be like</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tense</strong></td>
<td>The historical present might be favoured.</td>
<td>Yes, 11 out of 12 CHP tokens were instances of <em>be like</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discourse type</strong></td>
<td>In line with native English-speaking grammars, <em>be like</em> is favoured in narrative discourse.</td>
<td>Yes. Narrative favours <em>be like</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 12:** Summary of hypotheses and results for the contemporary data
7. Discussion

The overall picture that emerges from the analysis of female German EFL learners in Perth is one, where they do not only reproduce innovative quotatives such as *be like*, but to some extent also the variation noted in the grammar. First of all, an overall distribution of quotative markers shows a remarkable preference for quotative *be like* over all other variants in the system. With 43.3% of the speakers favouring *be like*, it remains the number one variant for constructing dialogue, speech, thought, attitudes and emotions. Besides *be like*, German EFL speakers exhibit a number of other quotatives compared to the ones we can see in native speaker varieties such as Australian English. What merits attention is the relatively high number of collocations with *like* in the data as in example (42).

(42) Not actually that we **say like**: “Oh, do you want to come over for coffee?”
(NP211995)

In an analysis on the grammaticalization process of quotatives, Deutscher (2011:648) indicates that *like* by itself, such as in the example “She *is like*: ‘I am coming in a minute’” does not function as a quotative marker on its own, if however *like* is used in a construction such as “she *said like*”, it is possible to justify its grammaticalization as a quotative marker. Even though *like* most often occurs with *to be* across varieties of English, collocations with *like* have been acknowledged in the literature before, labelled as either “mixed” (Macaulay, 2001) or “transitional” (Singler, 2001). Buchstaller (2008:30) finds that when comparing US with the UK data, collocations with *like* overall appear more often in America. Further, UK speakers prefer collocations with *say* (*e.g. say like*) whereas in America speakers prefer collocations with *feel* (*e.g. feel like*). In the current data, *say like* and *think like* are the most common combinations, resembling Buchstaller’s (2008) UK data. This indicates that the German EFL speakers in this study might have been more strongly influenced by British English, possibly through social media and television. More plausible however, is the preference of *say like* noted in
Australian native speakers, “suggesting that grammaticalization of like in quotative constructions is already underway in Australian English” (Rodríguez Louro, 2013:72).

The current study also contains quite a few instances of zero tokens. As I mentioned earlier, what might have happened here is an indirect influence of the German L1. Deutscher (2011:649) explains that since the process of grammaticalization happens only gradually, intermediate stages between “fully independent speech introducing clauses (SICs) and fully grammaticalized quotative markers (QMs)” are possible. Those instances appear frequently in natural conversation and due to their “formulaic nature, their internal structure can often be reduced or at least assume idiosyncratic syntactic form, even when they still function externally as fully independent clauses” (Deutscher, 2011:649). In other words, the German version “und er so” as in example (43), does not represent the full internal structure of a canonical German clause since it misses a verb. However, the coordinator und (=and) clearly demonstrates that in terms of its external status it functions as a fully independent clause, meaning “and he said” (cf. Deutscher, 2011:648-649).

(43)

Ich sagte ihm, dass er gehen muss. Und er so: ich werde es mir überlegen.

I told him that he go must. And he so: I’ll think about it.

On a social level, the study clearly demonstrates that exposure to a naturalistic setting and face-to-face contact plays a crucial role in the acquisition of variable patterns. Whereas German speakers living in Australia for less than 6 months displayed little variation in my corpus, people who had stayed in Australia for over a year, acquired a quotative system fiercely ruled by be like. The question that arises is why does length of stay impact the acquisition of variable patterns?

First of all, variationist research successfully portrayed that prolonged contact with the target language leads to the closest approximation of variable patterns in a second language (cf. Section 2.3; Bayley & Regan, 2004; Dewaele, 2002; Dewaele, 2004;
Mougeon et al., 2004). In studies where students have been abroad for a certain amount of time, variation of vernacular patterns is higher, whereas classroom learners seem to lack behind (cf. Bayley & Regan, 2004:326). In the classroom setting, informal variants are hardly ever produced and are not part of the curriculum either, thus constituting the least promoting place for acquiring variable rules of vernacular grammar.

Second, Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003:536) draw on a theoretical framework useful for the contemporary analysis. Taking globalisation theories as a framework in the study of variation, they hypothesize that linguistic innovations are constrained in a similar vein as the spread of other innovations. Von Hippel (1994) for instance differentiates between ‘high-context’, ‘uncertain’ or ‘sticky’ knowledge and simple information. According to economic research as such, high context information is transferred via regular contact between individuals and face-to-face contact. Indeed, simple information of an innovation may transfer from one point to the other without requiring frequent personal contact, however, this only ensures the transfer of “superficial aspects of the innovation” (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski, 2003:537). The acquisition of high-context knowledge (also called tacit knowledge), on the other hand, which contains its social meaning, does necessitate personal contact with others (cf. Meyerhoff & Niedzielski, 2003:537-538). This finding is of relevance since it supports the claim that linguistic behaviour is constrained by the same principles that constrain our social behaviour. It is this need for personal contact together with the high amount of face-to-face contact, which amongst other outcomes triggered the successful acquisition of quotative, be like.

Regarding the linguistic variables attested in the study, a multivariate analysis presented in Section 6.3 indicates that German EFL speakers did acquire native-like patterns for the constraints of grammatical person, tense and discourse type, however content of the quote behaved slightly different to what was hypothesized in Chapter 5. Available evidence supports the claim that be like when it first emerged, favoured inner monologues and thought introduction, but broadened its function to the introduction of both direct speech and thought reports. Research conducted in Perth even reveals a favouring effect for the direct speech in young Australian speakers (Rodríguez Louro, 2013). In the present study, content of the quote has the highest factor weight (.71) and clearly favours internal thought (58%). Despite the fact that my result contradicts the
hypothesis advanced above, it is not surprising considering that in present-day usage *be like* remains to be “ambiguous as regards the outward occurrence of the quote” (Buchstaller, 2013:8). This ambiguity can be explained when looking at real life conversation as in example (44).

(44) He’s [=the teacher] ah he’s *like* ‘I’ve lived in Chinatown and I know the Chinese’. ha ha

And I’m *like, like, like* ‘You do? Ah sure’ (Buchstaller, 1997:13)

When using *be like* as a speech introducing verb, people do not commit themselves to the uttered quote, thus it cannot be distinguished clearly as to whether something has been spoken out aloud or whether it is just “mental commentary on the situation, an inner thought or an expression of stance” (Buchstaller, 2013:8). Buchstaller (2013:13) argues that in such an example (29) the speaker’s answer “You do? Ah sure” questions the teacher’s authority and we would expect some sort of response from the teacher, such as giving him/her a warning. This leads to the suggestion that since the teacher’s reaction is missing here, the speech act could be classified as a representation of opinion as to what could have been said, but rather only happened in the mind of the narrator in order to tease, degrade or make fun of the teacher. Hence, while some instances might appear as outwardly expressed reports, the context often implies a rather inward expression (cf. Buchstaller, 2013:8). It needs to be noted though, that one of the semantic functions of *be like* is to not commit yourself to the uttered quote at any point. Further, speakers never really get confronted as to whether they actually expressed a quote aloud or not.

Regarding grammatical person, my German EFL speakers show a pattern that goes along with the finding for content of the quote, favouring first-person encoded thought. This result supports what has been found in native speaker varieties around the world (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009; D’Arcy, 2004; Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) note that the person effect seems to remain stable across time and locally distinct varieties (AmE, EngE and NZE). In their corpus, grammatical person and content of the quote are significant and the hierarchy is
identical to the current data. Whether or not the person effect is indeed levelling, as suggested in Ferrara and Bell (1995), was put to test in an analysis of Northern California speakers (Stanford Interview Corpus) and ceased in the assumption that a levelling effect can be ruled out: *Be like* occurs in 79 percent with first-person contexts, opposed to 64 percent of third-person contexts (cf. Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009:307). The same can be said about two corpora from York/England and Canterbury/New Zealand, where the person effect remains consistent. Thus, evidence is provided for “a full-blown person effect”, which “remains stable across time” (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009:307).

What merits attention is the occurrence of second person generic references in the current data as in examples (45)–(47) below. Grammatically, *you* is a personal pronoun used for second-person singular or plural reference and primarily functions as an identifier for a specific group including the addressee. Beyond its grammatical definition, there are extensions from its central use which can be found frequently among European and other languages that are marked by a closed pronoun system (cf. Stirling & Manderson, 2011:4-5). Here, generic reference tokens only appear in the present tense, a finding that has been noted before. O’Connor (1994) points out that *you* is especially common in the “evaluative” part of the narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) and occurs in combination with various linguistic features highlighting those segments. These involve instances of *you know* with pauses, grammatical and lexical markers of hypothetical speech, and other generic indicators such as *always*, plural reference and indefiniteness. The majority of authors so far have argued that generalized *you* mostly refers to statements about the world, however, it can be argued that it is quite rare that generalized *you* is only used as the simple general reference, meaning “anyone” (cf. Stirling & Manderson, 2011:4). Stirling and Manderson (2011) offer an in-depth analysis of the generic *you* in a corpus of interviews with women who had a mastectomy due to the diagnosis of breast cancer. Relying on research such as O’Connor (1994) and Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990), who distinguish three subtypes of discourse type *you* each, their study makes use of the contextual rather than the classification achieved by the named authors before. For the purpose of understanding generic references in the present study a full analysis is beyond interest, however their research provides some interesting insights that should be considered to a greater extent.
Two main types of usages of *you* were analysed:

- The usage of *you* as in the invocation of world knowledge and experience of co-members of a certain group.
- The usage of *you* in the context of recounting personal experience which forms a choice set with *I*.

In the first option, generalized *you* is used to create a certain membership category to which the speaker belongs. Sometimes the category is visible through direct mentioning, for instance when the speaker says “you know?” (45). More frequent, however, it becomes apparent through “category bound activities” in the expressions or other lexical items in the clause containing *you* (46-47). The fact that the German EFL speakers in this study make use of this type means that they situate themselves as authoritative with respect to generalized knowledge, which can further be interpreted as an “appeal for engagement and alignment of the addressee” (Stirling & Manderson, 2011:10).

(45) I really liked showing him around in Germany because, *you know*, seeing it as a tourist all of a sudden you’re like: “Oh wow, it’s actually not that bad”. Because *you know*, when you live there you sort of see it every day. So you’re like: “Oh it’s pretty boring, I live in Germany.” (AT251991)

(46) Everyone was screaming and shouting and *you felt like*: “What’s going on?” (JI191997)

(47) So when you write an email, you are like: “Hi, blablabla. How are you today? I hope you had a good weekend!” (AT251991)

The second type of using *you* refers to reoccurring, ongoing personal experience of the speaker, which often appears in past tense and in combination with modals or quantifiers such as *usually*. These usages can be replaced by the pronoun *I* without changing the semantic content of the description. Those instances did not appear in the current data, suggesting that the way generic reference is used by German EFL speakers seeks to express credibility and audience alignment achieved by the “strategic appeal to generalized knowledge of the way things are” (Stirling & Manderson, 2011:17).
Unlike the universal constraint of grammatical person, the factor tense operates differently across localities (Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009), a claim verified in the present study. With respect to the deployment of tense in the current data, German EFL speakers favour historical present contexts (although it had to be excluded from the multivariate analysis). In their analysis of tense variation in Australia, Rodríguez Louro and Ritz (2014) found interesting differences in how people use tense in conversations. The past tense is most dominant in their analysis, which is not surprising considering “its unmarked function in narrative” (Rodríguez Louro & Ritz, 2014:556). As stated in Levey (2006:146) “distinct functional tendencies” are employed by the historical present and the past tense. Indeed, the historical present plays an important role in their data, occurring in the speech of young people (aged 12-28) and if so, in combination with quotative verbs (FW .66).

In the current data, instances of the historical present almost exclusively appear with quotative be like, expressing direct speech as in (48).

(48) I said: “Yes”. He said: “Why is on your passport ‘Dutch-land’?”
(laughing) I said: “Dutch-land?” watched at my friend she’s like: “Dutch-land, hae?” And he o: “Your passport, there is ‘Dutch-land, I thought you are German, is that not your passport?” (NP211995)

Rodríguez Louro and Ritz (2014:559) state that tense varies significantly if the complicating action verb is a quotative. Introducers of direct speech, such as be like, say and go favour the CHP, a pattern that is in par with the current data. This means that the entrenchment of be like and its structuring effect for tense marking in narratives had a notable impact on German EFL speakers. With the Early Arrival cohort making use of be like in the CHP most frequently, it can be argued that German EFL learners are successful users of be like as a structuring device in their narratives of personal experience.

The contemporary data also considered discourse type as an independent variable, however a full analysis of narrative style was beyond the possible as the sample size was simply too small in order to draw convincing conclusions. However, certain trends
are indeed visible. The genre of narrative is essential in any study on speaking style since they elicit the vernacular, which is the most informal style of a speaker (cf. Buchstaller, 2015:473). Narratives are thus the birthplace of any reported speech or thought sequences, in which “storytellers exploit the salience of nonconventional quotative forms when faced with the burden to create a lively and captivating narrative” (Buchstaller, 2015:473).

Overall, the data represented indicates a high frequency of be like in narrative contexts as opposed to non-narrative contexts. This is in line with Buchstaller’s (cf. 2015:474) corpus of be like in narrative sequences, in which all age cohorts prefer be like in narratives, whereas other genres, such as future plans, argumentation, chit chat or non-narrative past events show a lower frequency of be like. Examples (49) - (51) display narrative sequences taken from my corpus. For clarification purposes, the different key elements in the analysis of a narrative structure are marked in colour (orientation/evaluation/abstract, minimal complicating action and complicating action).

As displayed, the orientation mostly starts with some sort of general information, introducing the listener to the storyline. The orientation commonly does not include any quotes as in (49), however, the second example (50) shows that it is indeed possible. While the first example indicates instances of minimal complicating actions, in which the entire complication is no longer than two sentences, the second example shows a complicating action, in which the speaker successfully recounts past events that follow each other, marked by the insertion of the coordinator “and”. An example of the speaker evaluating herself can be seen in (49) when she says: “Yeah, that was the bestest decision I could have ever make!”. In both cases, be like is used with a high frequency, especially in the complicating action, marking a dramatic peak in the storyline.

(49)
P= Participant
I= Interviewer

P: It wasn’t the right thing for me I wasn’t happy and then I went to Fiji with a school friend and I came back and stayed in Brisbane for a couple of days and I was like: “Yeah”, you know drinking, meeting other people, meeting other
cultures, you know, go out have people around me, I was like: “I can't go back to this family I am so isolated and that's what I wanna do, I wanna”... you know, have a bit of freedom and you know... So I swapped privacy a queen size bed, my own car, pocket money for only a couple of hours to a lack of privacy, no job, nothing, I had nothing. I was like: “Yeah, that was the bestest decision I could have ever make!”

I: How did your family react by the way?

P: Ah ehm, when I first got there, like the second day I realized: “Oh yeah, it's gonna be 6 months, I can't cope with it” and then I got really home sick and that was like I have already been in Australia for a week and then realized: “Wups, maybe that's a bit too much for me” and I was like: “Okay I'm trying to get into it, trying to settle in a bit, that's fine” And then after the second or third day she reckoned she felt that I was gonna leave and she was like: “Look, if you feel like that's not the right thing for you, it's nothing we can do.” (LK231993)

Anyway, that little boy kept arguing and fighting with me and I was like: “I'm twice your age, stop arguing with me and if I say No, then no”, you know, that's what I am saying. And she was always arguing: “Please switch your light off and I am sending you back to your room” and she was like: “It's okay darling, you are my little prince, nanana.” Well, he slept at her bed! I was like: “Look that's not how it works, you can't just have one person saying "No" and the other saying: “Hey don't bother”. So there was a conflict there and she was like: “Oh you are not there to educate and raise my child” and I was like: “That's not what I am an au pair for, so...” And then I told her that I've got some issues with the way he is behaving and respecting me and she kind of had a feeling that I don't feel welcome anymore. So she was like: “Look if you are not feeling alright, I am not angry with you if you decide that you don't wanna do this anymore!” (LK231993)
The third example (51) from my corpus shows non-narrative context, in which the speaker describes the process of getting used to the Australian way of being polite, in this case referring to writing emails. Since narratives are defined as recounting of past events, general descriptions or routines (marked by “always”) do not fall into this category.

(51)  But what I don’t like is the way people criticize you, because they don’t wanna be rude or mean to you, so they’re always like: “Ah you’ve done this very well and I really like how you did this and I like how you did this…but “ And so then, because of that “but” I’m always like: “Did you just say the other things to make me feel better or did I actually do something well?” And that makes me wonder if I am actually doing things well, or if they’re just saying it to make me feel better. (AT251991)

In future research it remains to be examined how discourse type impacts the use of quotation, especially how be like functions in its broader linguistic ecology. A bigger sample size, including diverse age cohorts and gender would be needed in order to explain the explicit role of discourse type in the underlying quotative grammars in varieties of English. For the time being, it can be concluded that German EFL speakers acquired the quotative form of be like and placed it in the complicating action of their stories, and by that successfully created vividness to the story.

Given my overall results, it is reasonable to argue that prolonged contact with native speaker English triggers the acquisition of the variable grammar noted in the literature. What still needs to be answered, though, is which cognitive mechanisms are relevant when replicating sociolinguistic patterns?

As mentioned in Chapter 2, reproducing the variation in the quotative system requires EFL learners to learn “the probabilistic constraints that govern the occurrence of one variant as opposed to others” (Davydova, 2015:22). A promising framework for the acquisition of complex constraint systems can most easily be provided by looking into
research on cognitive language aspects (see Nardy, Chevrot & Barbu, 2013). One of such is the usage-based theory as proposed by Tomasello (2009). This model displays that linguistic knowledge is formed by usage events, including the frequency of utterances a L1 or L2 speaker listens to and produces. This process is summarized as follows in Davydova and Buchstaller (2015:22):

> Over time, language learners accumulate context-rich exemplars and extract information out of the regularity of co-occurrence between certain linguistic features (sound sequences, morphosyntactic patterns, lexical material, and so on) with other types of factors (the linguistic context as well as situational, interactional or social factors). Language acquisition is thus a “gradual process based on links made between a stock of memorized traces leading to the formation of schemas or constructions” (Nardy et al., 2013:2013).

From SLA research it is known that highly schematic constructions are acquired more easily when learners are provided with enough exposure to the target language. Recent variationist research supports this claim by showing that this is indeed the case (Dewaele, 2002; Dewaele, 2004; Mougeon et al., 2004; Sax, 2003). What does this mean for the variable under consideration? First of all, quotation is a highly frequent construction type in young speakers’ conversations. Moreover, the variant be like frequently occurs with a range from 43% to 72%, which is a proportional high frequency (Buchstaller, 2013:2014). According to Davydova and Buchstaller (2015:23), the template discussed in Section 3.2 gives the learner “a stable and reliable combination of form and function”. In addition, the occurrence of the quote necessitates a quotative frame. And finally, innovative quotatives are determined by social commentary and thus “highly socially salient”. All this leads to the assumption that the “form-function correlation, iconicity, and sociocognitive salience of the quotative frame might help the language learner focus on the complex conditioning that governs the variable system” (Davydova & Buchstaller, 2015:23). In other words, a high degree of schematicity of the quotative frame combined with its cognitive receptiveness might be essential in the explanation of why German EFL learners adapt to surface forms, as well as intra- and extralinguistic factors characteristic for the use of quotation in native speaker grammars.
8. Conclusion

The quotative system is relatively complex, being constrained by a range of intra- and extralinguistic factors. To be able to acquire the variation in the quotative system noted in native speaker Englishes is not an easy task. However, as this study has shown, German EFL speakers living in a native English-speaking environment are on the verge of achieving this goal. Through a quantitative empirical analysis, employing methodology akin to other variationist studies of English quotation, I investigated variation and change in the quotative system of German EFL speakers. A multivariate analysis of narratives of personal experience revealed that *be like* is not only ruling the quotative system in the Inner Circle of English, but also in the Expanding Circle of English. A crucial contribution to the study of sociolinguistic variation has been the examination of the Australian territory and the speaker’s length of stay as a social factor in the acquisition of quotative *be like*. Exposure to a natural setting has proven to play an essential role in the development of native-like patterns. While the Early Arrivals, those participants who have been exposed to native-like patterns and extensive face-to-face contact, acquired a highly developed quotative system, the Late Arrivals, who have been exposed less long, have not. Due to the fact that the acquisition of variable patterns is a gradual grammaticalization process, my German EFL speakers make frequent use of so called “mixed” or “transitional” forms, such as collocations with *like*. Further, the German L1 of the participants has an impact, as the high frequency of zero quotatives in the data demonstrates. Concerning the grammar constraining *be like*, German EFL speakers prefer first-person encoded thought, a finding that goes along the lines of other English varieties, where the first-person is a stable effect across time and localities. German EFL speakers foster linguistic change, as they employ the historical present tense, which functions as a storytelling device and structures their narratives in important ways. A quantitative analysis of discourse type has offered an insight into the way people structure their narratives and confirmed the hypothesis that *be like* favourably occurs in narrative contexts. However, discourse type still needs to be investigated in future research, by including a bigger sample size and different age groups, which has not been possible in the present study. All in all, a quantitative approach on the quotative
system of German EFL speakers has contributed to variationist research in sociolinguistics and has provided a glimpse at the mechanisms that are involved in the development of the quotative system in EFL speakers. In future research, it needs to be explored how the quotative system continues to evolve in different areas of the Expanding circle of English, offering interesting research avenues in the field of Second Language Acquisition of variable grammar.
9. References


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10. Appendix

10.1. Sociolinguistic Interview

Introductory Personal Questions

- What’s your name?
- What year were you born?
- Did you get a chance to go to school? Are you studying at the moment?
- Tell me about your family.
- Tell me about the place you grew up in.

Childhood and family

- People say childhood is the most precious time of a person’s life. How would you describe your upbringing?
- What were your parents like when you were young/ a child?
- Were there strict table rules? Bedtimes?
- What happened when someone stepped out of line?
- Did you ever get blamed for something you never did?
- Do you remember any situation where your life was in danger?

Note: OK, we’re done with the first section of the interview and we’re nearly done. The second part of the interview asks specific questions about your experience as an Au pair and being abroad. Are you ready?

Au pair experience

- How long have you been in Australia for?
- What motivated you to work as an Au pair?
- Do you enjoy your work? Why/Why not?
- What is your family like? What are the kids like?
- What is your weekly schedule?
- What was the most funny/scary/exciting thing you experienced while working as an Au pair?
- Have you ever lost your patience?
- Have you ever had a very touching moment?
• What do you do in your free time?
• Did you make any friends here?
• Have you travelled a lot around Australia?

Living in Australia/Perth

• How do you like living in Perth? What is your overall impression?
• What do you like/ dislike about Perth or Australia?
• Have you been abroad before?
• Can you see any major cultural differences? If so, which ones?
• Have you experienced a “culture shock” of some sort when arriving?
• How do you feel as a German living in Australia? How do people treat you?
• How do you cope with the English language?
• How long have you been learning English for?
• Do you like the Australian slang? Why?
• Do you think Australians are proud of speaking Australian English? Why (not)?
• Can you think of some reasons why people would be proud of speaking Australian English or why they wouldn't be proud?
• Can you think of any situation when you had difficulties in expressing yourself?
• Have you ever experienced any funny misunderstandings?
• Do you feel your language has improved?
• Do you feel different now when talking German on phone/skype?
10.2. Transcriptions

Transcription 1

Sex: Female
Age: 20
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: Student/Finished high school
Place of birth: Bochum
Amount of being abroad: Australia 1st time (5 weeks in Peru)
Time spent in Australia: 4 ½ months

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

06:00
It was the first time that they camped, it was very funny. The car was full of stuff. I told them before Ø: “You can’t bring so much stuff, my car is really small and it’s very old, you have to be careful with it!” Ø: “Yeah, no way.” We were 4 girls and we had a tent from one of the girls and she said: “Yeah the tent is for four people.” And then she came and said: “Actually only two can fit in there.” And I was like: “Are you serious? When you would say that I could bring a tent too”

09:18
And then Australian people they ask me: “Yeah did you see this and this and this in Germany?” Ø: “I never went, I don’t know”

11:38
I went to a doctor on Monday and he thought I would live here for a few years because my English is so good and I am Ø: “No I am only here since 4 months and I only stay for a year” Ø: “Oh okay.”
And then you were sitting there Ø: “Don’t laugh. Don’t laugh”
I was more so Ø: “Okay now we can see this and this and Sydney of course Opera house and bridge and Perth I know it here now”. He was fine.

15:19
I always hear Ø: “Bali is very very nice” or “Bali is so dirty”.

17:34
They are in the stage where they have to ask so silly questions and you are thinking: “You know the answer, you asked me that twice today, so do it! Only do it, don’t ask me
again” I mean I have the feeling now that I need a little bit of distance. I am always at home in the house. I mean I also needed distance from my family, but yeah. And then I will come back and like: “Oh my god I’m back!” I was away on the weekend…They were sitting there eating breakfast and I come in ø: “Amelie is back. Hey Amelie, Amelie is home again!”

20:00

Some days she only says: “You have to do this, you have to do this” and I’m ø: “Okay I go.” At this moment she is ø: “I’m alone” even when I’m there ø: “I’m alone I have to do this, and he is not there so I have to do this too.”

24:30

For example a few days ago I skyped with my brother and he was so sill again, stupid stuff and I’m ø: “Yeah really, I miss that” I don’t know why. They texted me and I ø: “Okay sounds very nice” and we skyped and she said: “Oh I think I found my Au pair” ø: “Okay cool”

32:00

You have a look in the mirror for the back and ø:”Shit!” I think I tried it 3 times and then they asked me if I wanted an automatic car and I wanted ø: “Yeah please!”

33:47

The first two weeks I always ø: “So what, so what? Ah okay, okay”, but now I understand him.

And he is teaching me all the Australian words. ‘Bugger’ or something like this ø: “Why do they say ‘bugger’ what’s going on”? They are always ø:”Oh bugger” and I’m ø: “I say shit”.

35: 35

When we are out and there are German people then she always ø: “hahahaha German” ø: “Yeah I know, do you know what they are talking about” She ø: “No but it sounds funny.”

One time they were an older couple I think and they started talking German and we ø: “Oh shit!”
Transcription 2

Sex: Female
Age: 25
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: consultant
Place of birth: Freiburg/Germany
Amount of being abroad: 2 times (USA and Australia, several holidays)
Time spent in Australia: 1, 5 years

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

I: So just for the interview, can you repeat your name and your age and where you are from?

P: My name is Anna, I am 25 years old and I'm from Germany, from Freiburg.

I: Freiburg, oh nice. So how long have you been here in Australia?

P: In Australia…ehm. I first came here in September 2014 and I moved to Perth…

I: That's a while ago. 1, 5 years?

P: 1,5 years yeah. I have been to Australia before that for a holiday, but I didn't stay as long. And so I came in September ehm and then moved to Perth in April last year.

I: So you started your marketing thing …

P: Ehmm I started that in Perth yeah, yeah in Perth. Before I was just working random jobs in bars and travelling…

I: Like work and travel?

P: Yeah work and travel. And then in Perth I found the marketing job, that was in.. I think in June, so not very long. I'm only in my first year.

I: But still. How did you get that job? Just applied for it, or?

P: Yeah I was…I didn’t really find a very good job that I liked in Perth and so ehm.. I really wanted to start working in marketing and see if I like it, because I wanted to… The plan was to go back to Germany and maybe try and find an internship or even a job. Ehm…so… yeah and I found it really difficult and there wasn’t much advertising about jobs here. Ehm… so I just looked up market research companies in Perth and decided that… to print out my CV and just go to everyone and like: “Okay I want an internship for two months”, like: “What do you think?” And yeah, they were the only ones who said: “Yeah you can come for an interview”, so that was really good.

I: Wow, how lucky is that.
P: Yeah I know (laughs). And they were the last one I went to as well. I went to 5 in total, there are not so many in Perth... ehm, so I went to 5

I: You can always try!

P: And yeah.. I think it's really good because it makes a different impression if you go somewhere in person

I: Like really: "Hey see I am here". That's pretty cool. Do you like it there so far?

P: Yeah. It's really good.

I: Do you work normal hours? Monday - Friday?

P: Ehmm I work pretty crazy hours Monday – Friday, pretty busy at the moment. So I work like 10- 11 hours a day.

I: Wow. Do you get paid like that as well?

P: No (laughs), I don't, but that's okay.

I: But you do it for the experience..

P: Yeah. It will go back to normal hours at some point. It's just at the moment a bit crazy.

I: How old is your boyfriend?

P: How old is he?! Ehm he is 28.

I: How did you meet him? That's what I am interested in.

P: Ehmm I met my boyfriend in South America, because I did my Bachelors in Germany and I didn't know what I wanted to after that. Because I wanted to do research, but I didn't wanna stay at Uni and so I wanted to...to go travel and I thought if I travelled for three months then I could make up my mind and maybe have an idea of what I wanna do and I can come back and start it. And I always wanted to go to South America ehm.. and so after I finished my Bachelors I booked a flight to Argentina and said: “Okay I’m just gonna not book a return flight, I want to see how I like it and do everything spontaneously!” Ehm..

I: Just by yourself?

P: Yeah.

I: Wow, that's brave. I think I would be so scared.

P: I was so scared. I booked it and then when it came up, when it was 2 weeks away, I was so scared!

I: But did you plan where you would go after or just go to one place?
P: I didn’t really. Well, Argentina was always the country that I really wanted to go to. So I read the Lonely Planet and picked out places that I thought I would like, but I didn’t really plan. No, I booked the first hotel that I stayed at, but that was it. And then…

I: That’s cool…

P: Yeah, and then I met my boyfriend when I was about 6 weeks into the trip in Argentina.

I: Was he travelling there?

P: Mhm. Ehm.. and so we talked about our travel plans and where we wanna go next and we both..we both had similar plans. So I said: “Okay well, why don’t we travel together for the next two weeks and then, you know, then we can both do our own thing?” So we did and then sort of travelled together and still.. And he had actually planned to go to Canada and then to Europe, which I didn’t wanna do. I wanted to travel in South America. Ehm.. So he had to fly out and flew to Canada and then he was about to fly to Europe… then he changed his flights like 2 days before the flight. And he was like: “Ah, if you want I can come back and we can just travel South America together?”

I: Wow. That’s impressive.

P: Yeah. I was like: “Yeah, that sounds like a good idea!”

I: Were you already in love back there or was it more like a friendship?

P: Mhm. Yeah a little bit in love, but we only knew each other for a few weeks.

I: Wow. I like that he did that.

P: Yeah pretty impressive. It is…I… I don’t think I have ever met anyone who would do that.

I: Australians are good with that though.

P: Yeah, they are so spontaneous. He was like: “Ah okay whatever… My entire trip was already planned, I had plans to meet people in Ireland…” and then two days earlier he was: “Na, I’m coming.”

I: It must be expensive to change flights and stuff.

P: I know.Yep.

I: That would stop me I guess

P: I think Australians have a lot more money when they go travelling..

I: Because you should rather..

P: Well, I saved up a lot for Germans before my trip, but I think my boyfriend had like five times the amount. And in the first month or so you travel..

I: Does he have a full time job? (.)
P: Yeah he has full time job, yeah. Yeah he could save up a lot more money than I did, but yeah.

I: Cool, what’s his name?

P: Nick. Yeah and now I am here with him. So it did all work out pretty well.

I: So you travelled South America, and after that did you go home or straight to Australia?

P: Eh... we stopped in Germany. When we realised that we were running out of money slowly and ehm... Because we ...we travelled for a year in total, I had money for 3 months and then we travelled for a year and we were sort of getting to the point where we had almost no money left and we were like: “Okay, we have to work” and ...we were getting a bit sick of travelling as well, because after a while it gets really hard.

I: How long did you travel , like how long have you been travelling and then

P: About 10 months or so.

I: Oh yeah that’s a while.

P: So yeah it was getting sort of tiring. So we were like: “We need to work somewhere, we need to stay somewhere for a while” And then first we thought Canada, but I didn’t get a Visa for Canada. Ehm.. and so we thought maybe Germany or Australia, but he doesn’t speak any German. So...

I: That’s always the point.

P: I know (laughs)

I: It’s the same with my boyfriend.

P: Yeah I know, they all don’t speak German... So yeah he didn’t speak any German so we were like: “Okay maybe not Germany”, because it would take him at least 3 months to learn at least a little bit of German and then I don’t know if that’s enough to start a job. So then we were like: “Okay maybe Australia” and so I applied for the Visa just... We were like.” Okay. Just apply for it and if it comes through then good then we can go there , otherwise we would have maybe gone to England or... you know, we weren’t sure. Then the Visa came through the day after and we were like: “Okay well, yeah that sounds good.” So we went to eh... we went to Germany to meet my family again.

I: Do they speak English?

P: Yeah. Not very well, but enough to understand. And yeah..it’s weird when you have a boyfriend that doesn’t speak German and then you come home and your parents like wanna get to know the person, but there’s always that language barrier between them. Then they always ask me: “How do you find it? How can you speak English all the time? Isn’t it weird sometimes, do you not sometimes just wanna speak German?” But you get used to it, so..
I: I feel so. I don’t even think about it. (…) 

P: And yeah, I think just because of that we came to Australia. 

I: Is it easy to get jobs? 

P: It depends on where you go, because we started in Canberra. Because my boyfriend had a really good job there…we thought it was a really good job and. 

I: What is he working? 

P: Electrician. So he got a job there and we had no money so we were like: “Let’s just go and take it.” And in Canberra there is almost no other backpackers, like not many people around. So that’s why it was really easy to find a job. Whereas when we came here, I applied for jobs as well and I didn’t find anything. So I looked, I think, for two months here before I found a job. 

I: Not even in places like this (Dome) 

P: Because I can’t make coffee. Yeah they really like, if you can’t make a good coffee you don’t get the job. 

I: It’s not something you couldn’t learn? 

P: They think that their coffee is the best, but. 

P: No yeah, I am not one of those people who have their eyes closed and pick up a coffee and ø: “So yeah, that’s this that’s that.” It’s coffee. 

I: Cool, I like how you came here with almost nothing. You can’t really apply from back home anyway. 

P: I tried to…I looked for jobs before we came to Australia. Finding something online…of course there a job websites that you can look at but it’s for Australians. So yeah if you have a working holiday visa it’s…you have to have a lot of luck to find a good job and then get sponsored like I do. Otherwise, work and travel is normally about working in bars and working in bars and yeah… 

I: I like hearing those stories. Makes me more feel more confident in coming over and stay here. 

P: Because when you are just by yourself when you’re sort of thinking about, you are like: “Oh, how did other people do it?” You hear all these stories about people who just went somewhere and stayed there forever and you are ø: “But how did you do it?” But then you meet people and sort of learn how other people did it. There is so many different stories as well. I mean a lot of people have to go back and forth and back and forth, which I never had to do, so we never had to be apart. 

I: Uh you are lucky… 

P: Yeah and I am completely independent of my boyfriend as well. I mean even if…Yeah exactly, I can be here on my own. I don’t have to be here just because of him.
I: With a partner Visa, do you have to go home if you split up …

P: I think it depends on how long you have been here already. If you get it and then if you split up 3 months after you have to go home, but if you have been here for a few years then you know, probably can just stay here.

Tape2

P: It is interesting, because when you think about it you meet with complete strangers and then just they start talking to you about everything. Yeah it’s really when I first started interviewing people I was like: “How would I get them to talk about things?” They just do.

I: Do you know…

P: Yeah I mean I have questions and then I ask the questions but then I wait for them and you want them to talk more than you. Ehm yeah, it always works. Somehow it always works.

I: It’s good, girls talk more as well, don’t know about men..

P: They take a little bit longer to warm up. They are normally… normally when I have to interview men…I often do get like more men than women. They’re normally like when you press the button they are like: “Why are we doing this? What are you doing? This is strange” like a little bit give you yes and no answers. And then after a while ehm…they sort of start opening up without even noticing and then they …

I: Language issues?

P: I always spoke a lot of English for some reason. I… when I started learning English in 5th grade I think, I really liked it. I was like: “Oh I wanna speak English”, so I had like a… I think a friend in America a pen partner. My uncle married a women from America when I was like 13 or something ehm… and so I always wanted her to speak English to me as well and then after finished High school I went to America for a while, for 7 months, so … I always

I: Was it like a gap year or au pair thing?

P: Yeah. All girls sort of do that and I think it is the best thing to learn English…Talking to little kids…because they don’t know that you don’t understand them. They are just like: “Why are you saying funny things?” And they don’t hesitate in correcting you. You know how adults are like:” Oh she said that wrong, that’s ok” and the kids are like: “That’s not what you call it!” So yeah ø: “Oh okay”.

4:28

P: I went to South America because I thought I could learn Spanish as well. I had Spanish in school, but didn’t work. Especially when you travel you meet a lot of people from Germany from Australia…so usually everyone speaks English and if not, then sometimes we would speak German. So, hardly anyone speaks Spanish. And you don’t really hang out with all the locals all the time. I don’t how people do that. I went travelling
and I tried making friends with locals, how? How do you do that, do you just walk around and like: “Do you wanna be my friend?”

9:59

P: The longest we’ve been apart was when I got my Visa, the 4 year one, I had to go back to Germany in between to wait for the new Visa and I think I was away for 7 weeks and that was the longest we’ve ever been apart, so…That was horrible. And I was like: “How does everyone do six months? I can’t even survive 7 weeks!” And then obviously after a while it got easier. I think the first week is the worst. And after that, you sort of get used to it.

11:33

P: People were just different there. I mean they have different beliefs and all their guns. They were like: “Ah it’s really necessary to do that” I was like: “Okaaay.” So you come in with your German views and your recycling and your: “No guns!” And then you go to Texas, people are like: “How do you protect yourself?” ø: “I never really had to protect myself or never really needed to protect myself, so…” It is just their mentality, they think they live in the Wild West, even though they live in a big city in a completely civilized country. And they are like: “No, this is still the Wild West” It’s like they still…

I: They probably try to protect their heritage. Did you do shooting and that sort of stuff?

P: No I’ve never done that. My boyfriend’s Dad is really into hunting, so he always… When I first came to Australia he like wanted me to take ..wanted to take me hunting and wanted to show me like how to pull the skin off a deer and I was like: “Ehm..yeah..well… you know, not really.” But yeah he goes deer hunting and he loves it. And Nick was like: “Please don’t take her deer hunting, she really doesn’t like killing animals and deers are really cute, like don’t do it!” But yeah, he still offers me to come ø: “If you want, do it”. And then his friend had like half a deer, already cut it in halves or something and he was like: “Oh I’m going over to help him skin it, if you wanna come?” And I was like: “Ahh, I think I might throw up if I do that, so maybe not.”

16:52

P: The problem is they are really curious about each other and they really want to play, but then the dog gets really excited and like tries to jump on the cat. And the cat is like: “Why are you doing this? Can you please not jump on me?” And so you have to pull the dog off the cat and like: “No, don’t jump on the cat!” And the cat is like: “tschr (sound)” scratched him. But then instead of going away, then the cat runs away and then he is like: “Oh well, hm, I kinda wanna play that one” The cat comes back and the dog is like: “Oh my god the cat is back!”

18:39

P: yeah now that I have the house… I have the house and the dog and the cat I feel like so at home that I don’t wanna move. Before that I was like: “Oh yeah, maybe we live somewhere else again, maybe” You know, maybe we live in Germany for a while. I
think he’s still like: “But we can still travel” and I’m like: “No, we get to stay here forever. We are not travelling anymore”

25:08

P: In the first year nobody came to visit because I was only on a working holiday via, so it was like: “Oh well” you know, just like they knew you come back. Ehm and then when I said I got the 4 year visa, when I went to Germany and I told everyone: “I’ve got the Visa now”, they were: “Ah okay yeah, we have to come and visit you!” and I was like: “Yeah yeah whatever, you are not gonna come”. And I know two people that are already booking trips and I’ve only been back a few months and they’re already like planning when they gonna come over and it’s not the people that I thought would be first to visit, but it’s good.

25:50

P: If you want it, then you gonna do it. That’s always the case. Like I know what it sound like: “Oh, but I don’t really have the money or the time”, like you sit around doing nothing all the time and you know, get a job save some money and then take a few weeks holidays. Everyone can do it it’s just if you want to do it.

29:25

P: Oh he loves it there. He loves it, he love Germany. He loves the food, he loves everything about Germany. It’s really funny. And it’s funny when you show someone your country and you start to like things that you didn’t even think about, because you see it through someone else’s eyes. It’s really interesting, I really liked showing him around Germany because, you know, seeing it as a tourist all of a sudden you’re like: “Oh wow, it’s actually not that bad” Because you know, when you live there you sort of see it every day. So you’re like: “Oh it’s pretty boring, I live in Germany.”

34:15

P: It was an issue, like when we arrived in Melbourne I didn’t enjoy it a lot, because I sort of.. Yeah it was challenging. It’s challenging, you’re in new country, you are looking for a new job, you have to adjust to everything and then when you know, your partner is the one saying: “Oh yeah it’s awesome, I have my friends”

You just get that feeling of like: “Yeah I wish I had friends”

35:53

P: When you think about it you’re like: “Oh I wish I could be with my parents”, but ..

37:59

P: I feel like for example the way people talk at work is different. So the emails that you write ehm… here people always like really overly friendly. So when you write an email, you are like: “Hi, blablabla. How are you today? I hope you had a good weekend” and then like: “I just wanted to see if you could send me this”, whereas I would just write an
email, I’d say: “Hi can you send me this, thanks.” Why do I need to say: “hope you have a good weekend” to someone I don’t even know?

And I had to get used to that, because the first emails that I wrote were just like: “Hi can you come at this time? Thank you.” Like polite, but not overly. But what I don’t like is the way people criticize you, because they don’t wanna be rude or mean to you, so they’re always like: “Ah you’ve done this very well and I really like how you did this and I like how you did this...” And so then, because of that “but” I’m always like: “Did you just say the other things to make me feel better or did I actually do something well?” And that makes me wonder if I am actually doing things well, or if they’re just saying it to make me feel better.

Because normally, you know, in Germany you know, if someone did something wrong you’d just go... say, you know: “Oh, this is not how you do it”, like “Just do it differently.” And that’s fine, you don’t have to be like: “Oh you did this very well and like...”

40:20

P: That’s not what people do here. People don’t say what they wanna say, they say everything around it so you get the message, whereas I am like: “Why would you do that? If you want me to come at 3 pm, why don’t you just tell me?” Like that’s the easiest way to make sure that it happens, not ø: “Oh I’m not sure if you have time, but maybe if you do, like could you maybe, would you like to meet me at 3?” And then I am like: “Well, do you want me to come, or not, what should I do?”

42:21

P: Yeah you think about things differently when there’s another language available to you. You sort of sometimes just go: “Oh well, how would I say it in German?” And then ø: “Ah yeah, that’s actually not too bad”

Sometimes there’s a word and you like... a word that is really expressive and that you want to say and then you... it’s just not there in English and you’re like: “Noo, how do I say it?!”

43:33

P: So for example I wanted him to pull out some nails that were sticking out of the cupboard. So you know in German “Zange”? Ehm and so I didn’t know the word for the tool, but I know the ones you use in the kitchen are called tongs, like the ones that you use to get pasta or something. So I was like: “It’s probably the same word, because like it’s the same thing just in a different context.” So I was like: “Oh can you get the tongs and pull out the nails?” And he came in and he was like: “Are you sure you want me to do it with the tongs?” And I’m like: “Yep, with the tongs” He’s like: “It’s called pliers, like they are not called tongs, they are pliers” I’m like: “But they are the same thing, why can’t they...

I: They do the same thing.
P: Yeah they do the same thing. You grab it and pull it out. Kind of the same thing. But yeah, he finds it really funny. And then I always like rug, it's like a carpet or can be like a blanket thing, like rug and then also rag, it's just a little piece of clothes...It's so similar, like rag and rug and rug can mean different things, so I get them confused all the time. So when I spill something I'm like: “Give me the rug!” He's like: “I'm sure you want the rag, not the rug!” Like: “Give me the rug, I need it to clean it up!” So basically for him I am saying: “Give me the carpet I need to clean something up”, which doesn’t make sense.
Transcription 3

Sex: Female  
Age: 19  
Ethnicity: German  
Occupation: Student/Finished high school  
Place of birth: Hamburg  
Amount of being abroad: Australia 1st time (before that, 6 months as an animator)  
Time spend in Australia: 3 months

I= Interviewer  
P= Participant  

P: Next month I will fly to Melbourne and everybody told me that Melbourne is so pretty and it’s so European, I was like: “Yeiii, I will see it!”

3:04

They all go camping and asked me if I wanted to stay with them, but no. I don’t think that I am made for tents and everything…and just sleeping in the outback is not my thing. So yeah, I decided to go with some friends and one of them has a care so we don’t have to hire one. It’s gonna be very cheap for me, that’s a good thing. Just for a longer weekend. From Friday until Monday morning … I am only there for a few times. On the way back, just for an hour or so…

I: But still you see the area.

P: I am so excited it is my first road trip.

I: So you don't camp then do you?

P: No we stay in a hostel. Really I just hate it to be outside, because all the mosquitos and everything ø: “Ahh no!” It is awful.

3:47

I: How did you meet your friends here?

P: Oh on Facebook. I am in this group where you posted your thing. And yeah that’s very nice, so many are from Mosman Park and I think just two girls are living far away from us - the one with the car. She just posted: “Yeah, somebody interested in trip to Esperance?” We were like: “Yeah we wanted to go there, why not!” But I think its 8 hours’ drive. I am so happy I don’t have to drive.

5:08

I can’t drive because I don’t have the international one. And I can’t use our cars because they are always away with them. And I just have to walk with the kids. And their school is
in Cottesloe and it’s all like: “Ahh I can walk the whole way” It’s 20 minutes in the morning and with three kids you have to leave 40 minutes earlier. It’s just so annoying.

6:38

No it was so awful for me. Because I came back home and my mum told me she couldn’t realize that it was me when she saw me at the airport. She picked me up she was like: “Oh my God how are you looking?” And I was like: “Oh my god mummy!” And my face was so fat.

After work we were hungry because we had the shows, we were dancing all the night. And after that we had to work with the guests and after that we were always so hungry. We went out with our friends and we were just eating and we always had cookies. You get a discount when you are working in Bulgaria, you always get a discount everywhere. It was three months in Bulgaria and 3 months in Spain. But I gained so much weight. I would do it again but then I thought about all the food I ate and I was like: “No I will never do it again just because I gained so much weight!” And that’s so sad because I really enjoyed it.

11:36

So I wrote into au pair world: “Yeah I want to go to England and I do this and this and all the animation thing” And the women wrote me and she asked me: “Yeah I’m from England but since two years I’m in Australia would you mind coming to Australia, because I really love your announcement!” I was like: “No, why should I go to Australia, I am not even interested in Australia”. They were so nice, so I told them: “Okay I come to Australia, why not.”

She told me you have to pay your flight on your own, I was like: “Puh, okay that was my animation money, thank you!”

17:30

When I see the weather here it’s like: “Ah I don’t want it to be under 30, please!

He told me: “Ohh I will be in Perth over the weekend and maybe we can meet?” He arrived yesterday and he wrote me: “Wow it’s so hot here!” and I thought: “No, yesterday it wasn’t that hot!”

20:08

I just think I don’t want to meet anyone, that’s the easiest thing for me. And I don’t go out so much so I don’t have a chance to meet a boy.

One has one in England it’s so crazy because all of the time she is just texting him, trying to keep the contact. In the strangest situations, she is always like: “Oh he is calling” and we are sitting together and a: “Okay yeah, do it”

22:49
On the first day she told me: “We are going to have Kangaroo tonight” I was standing there like: “Oh, I'm vegan.” She told me: “Yeah, because it’s such a long time now, you could have just told me!”

I was not like: “Okay I am going to save all the animals on the planet” So I am not very strict.

I also have a real leatherjacket and all this stuff you know, like: “How can you wear this you are a vegan?”

25:30

I really just want to look at them the whole day and I am like: “Oh I have these amazing shoes”

I am just wearing these ones, and I have them in three other colours. It is so sad that I have all these shoes with me. I know my mum would wear my Michael Kors ones at home.

I wore them one night out with my friends in Germany. At the party I was in such a bad mood, because everyone was stepping on them. I was like: “Arrrrrr” just screaming and shouting at everyone. At home I was like: “Okay, I’m never going to wear these ones again!” So I just have them here with me, don’t know why.

27:35

Since I am here I am really depressed. Because When I see something it’s like: “Oh wow this is so expensive!”

28:19

It was 11 kg just for my hand luggage. They gave me one of these heavy signs. I felt so stupid when I arrived at Perth and she told me: “Oh you have heavy luggage” And I told her: “Yes I am sorry for that.” She tried to put it in the car, we had to do it together.

I: Every woman has an addiction.

P: Yeah. She has it with sports clothes. Do you know the brand Loana Jane? She has so much from Loana Jane. Every week she tells me: “Yeah Jacky I have a new sports bra and I have a new sports tight”

30:00

I’m always like: “Okay I come to your house today because it’s so hot, I just want to swim.”

31:00

When I go to Bali it’s their summer season there. But right now it is so rainy there. My friend told me: “When are you going to Bali?” because she is there right now and I told
her: “Yeah in July.” And then…she just told me, because I didn’t know that it is summer there and it’s over 30 degrees. I wanted to send all my summer stuff back home because I thought I wouldn’t need it, but now I need it.

34:00

For me it’s okay, because I do it alone and maybe I meet some people there.

I: To meet people it’s awesome, if you are not shy.

P: I am. I couldn’t go to a room of people and say: “Hey, I just wanna sit down with you, drink here and talk to you.” I think that’s too much.

35:52

I want to study it in Hamburg. So there is a private university because my Abitur wasn’t very good. I need to study it private: “So just take my money and teach me some stuff!” It’s really cool because all the language courses there are free, so I can learn Spanish. And it’s not like a normal university because its 20-25 people in one course and yeah you have to be there. You can’t just decide on your own. And it’s from Monday till Thursday from 8-4. It’s good. I know myself. I wouldn’t go there, because I’m like: “Oh no, it starts at 10 and oh no.” I am really lazy.

44:30

After school I was like: “Okay why am I going to do I don’t have any plans for my life. I don’t want to study now, because I just want to have some time for myself.”

Now I feel like: “Okay I need to do something, because everyone has their real life now.” All my friends at home are going to do something.

46:00

Have you been to this Titanic Exhibition?

I: No I haven’t.

It is so good because when you come there you get a card where your name is written on. The story is written on the back of the card. I was like a 20 year old woman who was not married, but I was pregnant. So I needed to move from home with my boyfriend. In the end they tell you if you survived or not. You can have a chat with the captain, and you can touch the iceberg. There is someone who is ringing the bell and telling you: “Oh there is an iceberg!” All these people…there is so many actors. Everyone was screaming and shouting and you felt like: “What’s going on?” We were in such a hurry in the end, because we just touched the iceberg and then they told us: “Fast, fast, fast!” It was so cool. My friend she was a 40 year old woman. We weren’t in the first class. So she died and I survived. I was like: “Yeah, I survived”

I really wanted to buy something from the souvenier shop. They had all these cups there from the Titanic. I was like: “Oh I really want that!” It was 40 bucks for one cup. I was like: “Okay no, of course not! How should I take this home with me?”
She is always trying to do some new things. And she told me, she knows that it is not that healthy to eat so much meat. So they just eat meat twice a week. She always has tofu and stuff like that in her fridge. She told me: “when we are eating any meaty things you can always join us but with your own stuff” She is always buying new things, so good.

My host family is also like when I cook for the whole family, they are always like: “Oh this is so nice and so full of flavour!” And I always tell her: “Yeah, I don’t use that much salt.”

And also my friend’s family if I eat with them it’s like: “Uh why, it’s just potato, so please don’t kill it!”

It is called “A lot of the fries”. I really love potato fries, I love sweet potato. They had the opening last week. They also have vegan chicken nuggets. They also have cheese sauce. I don’t like diary cheese, but when I was little I only had “Wurst” all the time, and I loved it. Yeah I really hated cheese but since I am vegan I really love it.

I really missed it. I love burger and nuggets and fries. They are so much better and they really look like chicken nuggets. When I had them I was like: “Yei with all the cheese and all this sauce!” I think it is more expensive than Hungry Jacks and all that. It is not healthier though. I am not a vegan who says: “Okay I will skip sugar and stuff like that.”
I: So you have been an au pair here first?

P: Yep. So, I came here as an au pair for two months and we... I had different...not different expectations, but it didn’t work out for me as good as I thought it would.

I: So you didn’t like the family?

P: Oh, the family was quite okay but you know they always say: “Yeah you gonna be included as a full family member” and then...

I: Yeah I had the same experience, and they didn’t?

P: No, not really. They used me as a taxi driver and don’t know. She like, she once came home and was like: “You are actually you are not here to raise and educate my kid up”, so I was like: “What am I here for then? I’m an au pair, I’m not just a driving service”, you know?

2:21

P: It is, ehm...There are fairly people around to catch up with anyone and I felt a bit isolated so I was like: “Na that’s not really what I wanna do. I mean that’s supposed to be the time of my life.”

It wasn’t the right thing for me I wasn’t happy and then I went to Fiji with a school friend and I came back and stayed in Brisbane for a couple of days and I was like: “Yeah”, you know drinking, meeting other people, meeting other cultures, you know, go out have people around me, I was like: “I can’t go back to this family I am so isolated and that’s what I wanna do, I wanna”... you know, have a bit of freedom and you know... So I swapped privacy a queen size bed, my own car, pocket money for only a couple of hours to a lack of privacy, no job, nothing, I had nothing. I was like: “Yeah, that was the bestest decision I could have ever make!”

I: How did your family react by the way?

P: Ah ehm, when I first got there, like the second day I realized: “Oh yeah, it’s gonna be 6 months, I can’t cope with it” and then I got really home sick and that was like I have
already been in Australia for a week and then realized: “Wups, maybe that’s a bit too much for me” and I was like: “Okay I’m trying to get into it, trying to settle in a bit, that’s fine” And then after the second or third day she reckoned she felt that I was gonna leave and she was like: “Look, if you feel like that’s not the right thing for you, it’s nothing we can do.”

Anyway, that little boy kept arguing and fighting with me and I was like: “I’m twice your age, stop arguing with me and if I say No, then no”, you know, that’s what I am saying. And she was always arguing: “Please switch your light off and I am sending you back to your room” and she was like: “It’s okay darling, you are my little prince, nanana” Well, he slept at her bed! I was like: “Look that’s not how it works, you can’t just have one person saying ”No” and the other saying: “Hey don’t bother”. So there was a conflict there and she was like: “Oh you are not there to educate and raise my child” and I was like: “That’s not what I am an au pair for, so…” And then I told her that I’ve got some issues with the way he is behaving and respecting me and she kind of had a feeling that I don’t feel welcome anymore. So she was like: “Look if you are not feeling alright, I am not angry with you if you decide that you don’t wanna do this anymore!” And I was like: “Alright.” So I had like a really tough week considering: “Should I stay, should I go, I am not gonna have money…” You know? You are going through all those scenarios. So I came to the conclusion that it’s best if I just go and that’s what I did.

6:45

P: I never asked her, I was like: “By the way, where did you meet?” She was like: “Can’t tell you” I was like: “Come on”, ø “No, can’t tell you!” I was like: “Come on it’s not too nosey” She was like: “Na na na na” I was like: “Oh really?”

8:27

P: He was travelling down south, I was travelling kind of up and I met a girl in Brisbane that travelled up north to work in a working hostel, I was like: “Yeah I’m gonna join you” So I made these plans already and then we kind of knew that we wanted to see each other again. So he was still travelling and I was like: “Okay I just go up North and do this farm work”

10:01

I: How well did you know him then?

P: It was outside and we were chatting an hour. You know smoking and then I was like: “Hey I am a bit thirsty, let’s go inside and you can buy me drink” Ehm I am quite naughty when it comes to… like: “Oh you can buy me a drink”(laughs) So we walked in, I was like: “Actually I am going to the toilet first” So he walked up, got me a drink and I never, not even a tiny little second I thought that he would put something in my drink or something. So I trusted him basically

I had someone putting something in my drink before so I am a bit: “I am watching what you do”
We were messaging every day and we met a couple of times. I was like: “Why not? I mean he is a coppa so it is unlikely that he would harm me in anyway”. So I asked my parents and they were: “You are old enough, you need to know what you do, so up to you”

14:14

P: Obviously you can’t just say we are in a relationship. So you have to have, you know, joined accounts, responsibilities, yeah bank accounts, unity bills, bank accounts, what else…you know booked travels, you know… You need statements of friends and family to say: “Oh we know them and they are a couple and their relationship is genuinely ongoing” Yeah it’s a lot of work.

16:48

P: Anyway, so because that city is so spread out it’s very difficult to find a good spot to say: “Okay, we want to live here but then we are too far from this people” and you know, it’s a bit tricky, so I don’t know

18:17

P: He wants to go to Germany for some reason, I’m like: “Really, why?”

I: Do you not want to live at home?

P: I don’t know, I mean I’m living here now so...And I haven’t been back for 1,5 years. I am going back in May ehm and I am really excited, I am really looking forward to go home and texted my mum the other day and I said: ”Oh no, don’t know, only 72 days and I am coming back home” She was like: “You said home, that sounded so good” and I was like: ”Ohh okay, but I am leaving again, you know, I’m leaving”

19:39

P: They stayed here for 5 years. His grandparents got old and sick and they said: “Ah okay, we’ve got citizenship we can always come back if you wanted to. But let’s go home and we can look after them and spend some time with them “ and then they went back to England. He finished school and went to Uni and decided... He studied law and decided: “Na, that’s not what I wanna do, quite dry, don’t want an office job” And they were advertising on Facebook that the Australian police force is hiring and ehm his mum was like: ”Richard, they are employing coppas at the moment, why don’t you apply for it?” So he put an application in for fun and they said: “Yup”. And one of his brothers is ehm...lived here already, so he came over and lived with them for a while and it took him like half a year to get to the police force.

If we had kids I would like my mum to be around, so I can say: “Hey mum, take the baby so I can have a night off”

22:18

P: I was applying, applying and applying, so I was like: “Fuck off, I’m over it”. like: “I don’t even want to keep going” because people don’t even say: “No we don’t want to
employ you” they just, they don’t come back to you at all. I mean if I get 10 people to tell me on a daily basis that: “No we don’t want to employ you” then that’s difficult.

22:59

There was this post on Facebook that there is a doctor’s practice and that they’re looking for a typist and I was like: “Okay typing, that’s something not too difficult” So I messaged that girl and she was like: “Yeah, I give you an email address” And then apparently she gave this email address who...to the person who is my manager now to like 30, 40 girls or something. So I messaged that lady, I was like: “Hey, nananana” She was like: “Yeah, just send me your CV through and I am having a look” And then she rang me and so we chatted on the phone for like 20 minutes, she was just like: “Why don’t you come in on Monday and I show you everything and we can get to know each other” I was like: “At least an interview” So I walked in there and she’s like: “Yeah, hi how are you going bla bla la” And I was preparing myself at home going: “Okay what am I doing and what are my weaknesses” and you know, this typical interview conversation. So she was like: “what have you been doing and dadi dadi da” and I was like: “Alright so where is the interview here?” She was like: “Okay”, So ehm… I came around, sat down, sit in front of the computer screen, I was like: “What am I doing?” So yeah she showed me. I was just, you know, expected to go there having an interview and see how it would work out, seeing if she liked me... But then she was like: “Yeah sit down, why don’t you come back on Friday?” And I was like: "Sounds like I got the job!” And then we went down to the café and had a chat about, you know, and all that. So I started working a 1 day week as a casual for ..yeah when was that... in May and basically I only had you know, I was here I was there just I mean I can’t really live of 8 hours a week ø:“how am I going to pay my rent with that?” She was like: “In mid-November our casual is going to leave so you can take over”

26:45

P: I came and I was like: “I had shit loads of money in Germany, I could go shopping every week and I could get the nicest clothes and handbags, a new phone and jewelry.” Men, I have been rich in terms of how rich you can be when you do you’re A-levels and still go to school and stuff, but I had a lot of money and I came here and I was just so poor.

32:12

P: I really miss that. I mean I can teach myself some stuff but I like to be taught. And I just, you know, like to have a chat about it and you know let your thoughts spin and go: “Hmm, what do you think about that idea? Or:Is that right or am I thinking it in the right way?” So people can say: “Look that’s not quite right“

33:07

P: When I am not sure I can say: "Anna, help please” You know when we catch up and have wine, two or three bottles of it sometimes you know it’s nice to talk about it and share your thoughts and ideas about certain things.
P: I saw her once a fortnight and she was like: “Do this, do that...” and then she was like: “Oh I’m sorry I don’t have the time” She was really nice but I think she has never done that before. I didn’t learn much about the stuff that I didn’t know before but what she gave me was a bit of a personal push.

P: So what I do and my job is, I answer the phone and say: “Hello Dr Benetry” And then they say: “Yeah I would like to make an appointment”. So I go through the whole appointment log, and because he is a specialist that’s a bit complicated. Just office stuff, yeah like a secretary... ø: “Do this this, do that, thanks for that, call this person...”

Because it’s a doctor practice I never had a clue how many spines your “word not understood” has. I had to learn all that. Because of these medical words I had no clue. I had to type what I hear. She had to realize that someone who is not a native speaker can’t understand what she doesn’t know. Obviously that’ very clear that you can’t, but she had to... She really had issues with that because she was like: “Get you words together” and I was like: “Helen, I can’t understand all these words”

P: Sometimes I am just “Oh” because I don’t understand people or they are talking about stuff that I like: “Sorry what?”

You know and my boss offered me to watch them do a brain and spines surgery and I was like: “Yeah I wanna do that” and she got like really pissy about that, I was like: “I am going anyway”

P: I was like: “Hi I am living in Innaloo, I need friends” I was like: “I live here permanently, I am not a backpacker, I am not an au pair, I live here” And so I got to know Valeria, who is German and lives here. She works for an event company. First I met her and then I met more people. You know you catch up with people and you go: “Okay we can catch up another time”.

P: There are more girls out there who I am not as close with any who are, who feel like I am a bit bitchy but I just go: “Look I am happy if we catch up as a group, I am happy for you to come, but I won’t just catch up with you on my own.”

P: So it’s basically the girls are sitting together, talking in German and the boys are like: “Oh ja hm...they are talking German”

And her name is Theres and she was like: “Yeah I invited Lotta and her boyfriend” Then I was like: “Okay I am absolutely cool with that, because I love meeting new people”
mean, you know if we can have a bigger group of friends who we can catch up with that’s amazing, you know. So at the end of the day we had our Christma dinner, that Lotta girl with her boyfriend turned up but not the connection person Theres with her boyfriend, so I was like: “Hey how are you and who are you?” and you know that kind of thing. Ø: “Join the crowd” but I was feeling really awkward for them because they were with a group of people they didn’t know. But that connection person who said: “I invited her to our group dinner”, wasn’t there.

She messaged her and said: “Ah we’ve got a fight we are not coming” instead of messaging someone to say: “Oh sorry we are not coming later today, how is she?” It was really cool that she turned up, but I was like: “That’s really awkward, like why would she. I mean good for them that they are a bit confident and say: “Yep, we are coming” and they are very nice people. So they got engaged and Lisa, Theresa, Nina and I made a lunch/brunch kinda thing at my place and she got there and she was, that’s the way she talks: “Girls, I’ve got the gossip” So we three we were like looking at each other Ø: “Okay, what’s coming now?” She was like: “Oh my god Lotta and her boyfriend got engaged!” and we were like: “Oh that’s amazing!” and we were really happy for them, you know like: “How cool is that” and “Oh” whatever, and she was like: “What?”

You should have seen her face, she got so disappointed because she just wanted to bitch about them and we were like: “Yeah we are happy” “That’s amazing” and stuff and she was like: “Oh I wanted to bitch about that, I’ve got the gossip” and we were like: “Why, why is this your business, is this your relationship? No, so shut up!” And she was like: “He is so ugly” and we were like: “It would be quite bad if you find him attractive and you have got your own partner so what’s your fucking problem? I mean, can’t you just be happy for her?” But they intend to be best friends and stuff.

So she had issues with her boyfriend because she went back to Germany and they split up because he was turning to drugs and then she was like: “Can I call you, I need to talk to you?” and I was like: “Alright then, just ring me” and then she was like: “We split up “So I was like: “Are you coming back or what?” Ø: “Yeah I don’t know, probably not” So I was like: “Sorry for you but there’s not much to do.”

52:00

P: So she was like: “We want to apply for the partner visa”. She didn’t tell me that but she told Lisa: So she was like: “Yeah my boyfriend said: “I am not going to do the visa with you anymore because if you don’t stop fighting and argue with me” and because she is 22 and he is 28 it’s like the little girl telling the man what to do and what not to do. He was like: “Well I only do the visa with you or I will only be your sponsor if you promise me that you would stop arguing and fighting with me.” So they did it. So Lisa told me and I was like: “Look I was reading the booklet again last night and when is her current visa running out?” And she was like: “Ah I don’t know I think today or tomorrow.” So I was like: “She has to make sure she is still on a valid Visa by the time she applies for it.” And so Lisa told her, she was like: “Yeah I was speaking to Laura and she said make sure you are on a valid visa”, otherwise your application is worth nothing and you spend 7 grant and you can leave the country straight away.” She was like: “Why did you tell Laura, that’s my private stuff, I don’t want you to tell her” Lisa was like: “Because we are all doing the same thing, we are all seeing an Australian boy and we are just trying
to help each other” like, what’s wrong with you? She was like: “No don’t tell her that’s my business and like..” So these are the people were you go: “Okay I don’t have any issues with you when we are in a group together, but I don’t consider you as a close friend, that’s it”

56:46

P: There is like a border where...in a relationship where both partners have their own friends but of course you have friends together and you are able to say: “Yeah I am doing something with Anna, for example” And then we say: “Oh let’s do something with Anna and Nick”

57:41

P: It also depends on what person, which person it is. With Anna I basically don’t care but Valeria for example, and she only got a couple of German friends, which basically is our friends group plus one or two other German girls ehm she would prefer to speak English for example. I find it awkward to talk to her in English because she is so: “blablablabla” She is so bubbly and “Balablab” I’d say: ”Okay okay, calm your shit down”

59:56

He was like: “you’ve got that off me?” and I was like: “Who else?” I mean you are my partner, probably the person I speak to the most.

Sometimes you are just stuck and they won’t pop up in your head. And then I just describe it, or the other person says it and I am like: “Oh yeah that’s the one”

1:00:36

Not often but sometimes I am like: “How do you pronounce that? How do you say that word? ” And so I am very... and that’s when I get really very ø: “okay” and very ø: “I am not sure” I am not as confident anymore. And he goes like: “Okay you don’t say it that way” and I go: “Okay”

Sometimes we were like: “Excuse me but that word doesn’t exist. What the hell are you talking about?”
Transcription 5

Sex: Female  
Age: 26  
Ethnicity: German  
Occupation: Sales person  
Place of birth: French border/Frankfurt  
Amount of being abroad: 2 times (Australia and England)  
Time spend in Australia: 3 years  

I= Interviewer  
P= Participant  

7:20

His run out in March 2012 and instead of going home he went to New Zealand. My Visa run out in April, because I went home to Germany. And then he … So we were not really together at that time, we were kind of like: “Yeah, we want to but it’s kind of difficult like so far away.” And then yeah, he kind of decided to go home in August and he came straight to Germany.

08:00

At the time I started studying at university back home, was kind of difficult as well. England is not too far from Germany, doesn’t even take an hour to get there… but still, like he was working I was studying… And then at the end after I think a semester and a half I started thinking. I said like: “Oh I don’t like these studies anymore. What’s the point of studying something I don’t like”…I don’t enjoy it. It was just half the time I did not go anyway, I was like: “Yeah I just go for it”

10:02

Then after that I said like: “Oh do you wanna do something again?” And she was like: “Oh yeah that’s fine we can do that!” And then I was asking about ø: “So, when do you wanna go out again?” She was like: “Yeah I don’t have time right now” I was like: “Okay let me know”

She just never wanted to do anything again, I was like: “I just don’t know”

10:30

She was really nice. She was like: “Yeah we should really do something blab la bla” And then I invited her to my Birthday and she was like: “Ah sorry…like I can’t come out blablabla”

She left the company as well and then the last time she came in she was like: “Oh we need to do something” whatever…and I was like: “Well you are the kind of person who never has time or always just doesn’t reply or…”
If you wanna do something with someone you say like: "Yes we can do something", if you don't like someone then you just say like: “Na, I don’t have time”.

I thought like: “If nobody else is coming I might change the time to 6 o clock then.”

15:28

P: We couldn’t find enough people to actually get parties; you actually need to have 3 parties.

I: I guess Laura invited me, but honestly I am not a big fan of Tupperware.

P: No I was not either. I said like: “I am just hosting this party, if someone books something then book it, if not then I am not gonna do anything” I think we should have spoken about it before and then she could have started it if she wanted to and then I guess she could have had me as like..

I: So did you know that you guys want to start it?

P: Oh no no. We pretty much started at the same time. Like Laura had her Tupperware party a few weeks ago. The reason we decided that we do it was her colleague. We went to this Tupperware office and had a look at this cook show and whatever. And then they were all like: “Oh come on guys just just get Tupperware consultant, you gonna be good in it!” And we were both like: “Okay let’s do it then.” We both said like: “Do we both know enough people to actually have these parties in the beginning?”

17:24

P: It is kind of big. I don’t know why but I always thought Tupperware is kind of German.

I: I thought so too. Isn’t it?

P: No it is an American company. I didn’t know that as well. I was like: “Really, is it American?”

P: So now we are kind of like: “Okay..” I think Laura wants to wait until May until after her holiday to do it. Because most people she asked have a party, have not time. It is really stressing me out at the moment, the whole trying to find people. I said: I am just gonna do this one Party now”. I mean people can come it’s just a normal party. I they want to order something they can order, if not then just leave it.

I: You never know maybe people want to order because other people do.

P: Yeah I did that last time because Laura said to me to come to her colleague. I said to her like: “I am going to come but I am not going to order anything” because I said like: “I don’t have money to order Tupperware stuff” And I was never really into Tupperware, I was like: “Oh well its Tupperware” And then I was there and had like this coffee and I was like: “Ohh I want to buy a coffee mug to take away anyway, like I wanna take tea with me or something.”

21:04
I think I just posted somethings saying like: “Ahh someone wanna meet, just go to the beach or so?” And then I met her and another German/Italian guy. He is nice but he was kind of weird. He is like, he is really clingy. So if you meet once with him he is like he is really into taking selfies all the time. He's kind of like: “When do you wanna do something again?” I don't know if it's because he lives in a different country as well and just wants to meet people but it was a bit too much.

24:30

I mean out flat mate she is never there anyway. She leaves for work in the morning. I think 6 days a week and then 4 days the other week. So normally if she has a day off she is mostly in her room. She is just like in her room…she comes in and goes in her room and watches TV in her room. I mean ø: “It was nice seeing you”

27:32

P: At the beginning I didn't even like him. I was like: “What’s wrong with this weird English guy, like he is blond, I don't even like blond guys”

I: I was the same, my boyfriend wasn't my “type” either. It is funny

P: And then he was like…not typical. He was wearing these shirts all the time and weird wests, his chest was hanging out, cappy on and stuff. I was like: “Oh my god, what’s wrong with that guy?” And at the time my English was not very good as well. I couldn’t understand him. He was asking questions, I was like: "What is he talking about? Stop talking to me I don’t understand you!”

29:10

Because I live so close to the French border I was too lazy in school to learn another language. I was like: “Ah I already have French, I don’t want to learn another one. ” I only learned French. And I only went to Australia because my sister went for the first time and she was like: “Oh that was so nice” and I thought like: “Maybe I should go as well” I feel so strange about it now, but at the time it was just like things happen. Yeah I pretty much finished my studies back home in January and then I wanted to have another 3 months to have English. I thought like: “Na I do have to learn English I go to Australia, I need to know something at least” I was too lazy to do it, so I think when I got here I only knew like: “Hey how are you? My name is Lisa”

30:54

I would say though that my English probably got better when I met Scott. So that was in January 2012. I saw the last time some messages again when we were writing at the beginning. I was like: “Oh god, what does that actually mean” I was like: “I wouldn’t even know what I wanted.” I couldn’t translate it to him. I said to him: “How could you even understand what I was asking you?” But yeah it’s all good now.

32:00

I worked on the weekend with Valeria on sets on the Beach and I was in a position at the entrance. So I was standing at the entrance and had pretty much write security reports.
And the security kicked some people out. I had to stop them and say: “Okay what happened and blabla” And I had to write that down and then…like I was getting tired because I was there from like the morning till evening. On guy came out, he was like: “He was like trespassing” I was like: “He was what?” He was like: “Trespassing” I said: “I heard this word before, but I don’t know how to write it right now” I said to him: “Just write it down”. I was like putting a T there, he was like: “Ahh naa” and I was like: “Oops”.

33:05

I: Does your boyfriend know any German?

P: Just stupid stuff. He always says: “Ich mag Pony reiten” that’s what he always says, I don’t know where he got it from. Just some other things like.. He says: “lederhosen” all the time. Just stupid stuff.

35:07

He was like: “Ahh, well I haven’t done any German for a while, I can’t do it with Laura it is kind of weird”. I think Nina actually put an ad on gumtree that she actually can give like German lessons. I think he must have said: “Oh Nina can teach me German.” She is close to the area. And I guess her German… She says words that are not good enough for Laura then she likes that’s not what she wants.. that John could learn. She must have said to John: “No don’t go to Nina just ask Lisa.” I was like: “Okay alright”.

He said he wants to read some stuff, so he needs someone how to pronounce it. If he would want me to teach me grammar I would be like: “Okay I just get my grammar book”

37:24

Scott can understand some stuff. He was always like: “Oh you just talk about this and this” and I said:” Kind of but na, it’s like the opposite” He just understands a word or two and he thinks that’s what we talked about.

I: Oh well you can't blame him.

Na not really. If we would move to Germany I would be like: “Okay you have to learn it now”

39:16

She is not too bad but she can’t understand everything. She is always sitting down like: “I don’t wanna say it now”. And then my Dad doesn’t speak any English at all. He doesn’t even know his name. He is always like saying: “What is he saying?” He was calling him like a weird name, I was like: “Dad, his name is Scott!”

40:04

Its funny because my Dad always starts speaking to him in German. Scot would be like: “What is he actually saying?” I have to translate it yeah. And then my Dad always
speaks like a proper conversation and he’s like so fast, that I can’t even get behind it...like translate it all. I was like: “Dad, just give me a second” My grandmother she is like, she does the same. She is just talking to him. She is like: “Do you want a piece of cake?” and he’s like: “What does she want?”

We are so far away, he’s kind of like: “Ohh” it’s too bad.

I was like: “Just send my Dad a message.” He is like: “I don’t know what to send him, can’t send anything in English because he won’t understand.” I was like: “Just use google maps if you want to” Ehh.. Google Translate.

44:45

I don’t know if Laura would like it. Laura is really judgmental. So depends where you bring her. I said to her already: “We should go there”, but now I am like: “Maybe not.”

I: You have been to that German place “Brotzeit”? Is it really that bad?

P: It’s not really gross, but not really German. They don’t even have a German cook there. When we went there I ordered Jägerschnitzel. It’s normally really good, you have Schnitzel, you have sauce and mushrooms on it. And I got it...the Schnitzel itself was okay, but then it was that much sauce on it (pointing out) and two mushrooms on top. I was like: “Who would call that ‘Jägerschnitzel’? It was okay to eat once, but I wouldn’t go again.

I: We should go to the place you said then.

P: Yeah. It’s quite cute and he is cute as well. He is gay and he comes to the table. He comes to the table and he’s like: “Ahh are you guys German?” He’s like: “I have to go back in the kitchen again”

47:20

I thought like: “Oh let’s take Laura and John there once” We went there and the two were just complaining about. I was like: “Arrgh” I was like: “I am not taking you anywhere anymore, you are just complaining about food.” So she is like really picky. It is just Laura. I would have to think about whether I take her there or not. I said to her already, I said like: “I don’t know if I would take you there” I think she would just make it bad for me. I said to her like: “Stop complaining about it”

49:03

I don’t know where else it was...she was complaining too. Oh yeah yeah... John and Laura helped us move our stuff into our house, so we invited them once to go out to the Italian pizza place just around the corner. They do like... they are proper Italian. She is speaking half Italian with you when she brings the pizza. The place is half this place probably, really unique and the pizzas are really good. So we invited them there for pizzas and then Laura is complaining about the pizza and I was like: “Woaah”. I just feel like everything I feel is pretty good she just doesn’t like it. I decided like: “I am just not taking her anywhere where I like it”
She didn’t get it last week. I said to her like: “Ah let’s just meet in the city and go to West Elm and just have a look around?” And then she was like: “Ohh I don’t have money anyway” I said like: “Well it’s still your birthday” so like...

I: Is that that shop..I don’t know if it’s the shop that I mean.

P: We can go there

I: Is it only furniture? Is it pricey there?

P: Depends what you get. If you get 40 % off. When I was working there people were like: “I want this, buy it for me”

I was like: “You still can buy something, it’s still you birthday” She didn’t get it, so she was like: “Oh I don’t know if I can come” I said: “Okay. A couple of days later I said to her: “Ahh I bought all your presents and stuff. I didn’t know what you wanted but I just bought the stuff now because you didn’t wanna come!” And she was like: “Ah did that mean.” I said: “I invited you to actually have a look for something, if you like something” Back home..We are just ø: “Ahh” We just go shopping together. I was like: “Okay, I pick something”
Transcription 6

Sex: Female
Age: 23
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: Childcare
Place of birth: Lübeck/ Hamburg
Amount of being abroad: Australia 1st time (America 3 months)
Time spent in Australia: 2 1/2 years

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

01:13
After school I didn't know what I wanted to do. So I went to this website, au pair world.

I: Did you always plan on coming to Perth?

First with my boyfriend at that time we planned on going to South Africa to do like voluntary work. But then he didn't wanna go and I was like: “I still wanna go, just somewhere safer where I can go on my own.” I didn’t know anything about Perth and yeah.

10:26
We had the whole car packed and then we got the message that it got cancelled. He was like: “Na we still have to drive down South” Because we had a room for the night after the festival and because we spend so much time down south. Almost every weekend we drive down south..because Ryan surves. So we had to go all the way to Denmark, the whole way around because every road was closed, takes like two days. I was like: “Why don’t we return!” and he is like: “No we have to go, we booked a hotel room, we have to go” I was like: “Okayyy”. And then we got there like Monday and he booked like a sweet. There was a pool and everything, I was like: “Oh my god” and he said: “Oh yeah, I called them and they just upgraded us because I was so nice on the phone!” I was like: “Yeah sure. Really what are you doing?

And then he took me down to like Dunsborough, where all those beaches are. He took me there and he was like: “Yeah close your eyes, turn around for a bit” I was like: “Oh my god what are you doing?” And he drew like a heart in the sand, it was like: “Marry me!” and then he kneed down and showed me the ring. I was like in tears.

14:07
They are like: “Oh yeah, now we have like a holiday destination to go to”
I got the childcare job through like a friend of my sister who works in childcare as well and she **was like**: “Oh yeah, we are looking for new stuff at the moment. Just come and drop your resume” And then I got it without any qualifications or anything. Yeah and then I am just studying my cert 3 in childcare online while I am working. It is like the lowest qualification to work in the system. You can’t really do much with them, it’s just the age where...yeah pretty frustrating. They sleep like an hour so you **are like**: “Ahh” But you still have so much paper stuff.

29:09

Na, just to the important games. Like now I would come to the last half of the game. Ø: “Didn’t you see me, behind the trainer?”

32:50

Ryan is doing a German class for 18 weeks now. He is really good in pronouncing the words and stuff, but if you asked him a question out of the context...If it’s not in this planned conversation type he is always **like**: “hmmm, what are you saying?” And then he doesn’t like...yeah its hard for him to connect the words and stuff.

I **said**: “If we ever have kids I want to speak German to them so you gonna learn the language or we just have our secret language and you don’t know what’s going on.” So that’s why he **was like**: “Okayyy”

36:41

I am still learning, I am not that great. Ryan teached me. I am not the biggest fan of water. I hate those huge waves that just crash down on you. You are out there and then the next wave crashes and you **are like**: “Ohh”.

40:40

P: Those boards are really big and your’e **like**: “Ahh”. Otherwise it’s fun.

I: I like the idea of it.

P: Yeah me too. That’s why I **was like**: “Oh yeah I’m gonna learn, I’m gonna be good”

41:50

I just saw this big (fishname not understood). Just like a big carpet underneath you. They are huge and I’m **like**: “Oh my god”. I was like there on my board like...But they don’t do anything, they are more scared of you, but yeah...I **was like**: “Oh my god”.

50:58

Once you are used to it you know **like**: “oh they are not saying something bad about me just about Germany and like hahaha” And I **am like**: “Alright, funny”

51:37
I watched it like right when I got together with Ryan, I was like: “Oh my god, what’s the movie about?” And then after a while I was like: “Why are all this people speaking Spanish, why are they always saying ‘gooronya’? In the end I was like: “Oh they are saying good on yaa!”

We have Irish parents at work and when they pick them up its like: “Uhhhhaaa”
Transcription 7

Sex: Female
Age: 21
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: Student
Place of birth: Landau in der Pfalz/Germany
Amount of being abroad: 2 times (holiday in England and Australia)
Time spend in Australia: 1.6 years

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

I: Soo, what’s your name?
P: Nina. Oh last name as well, Pahler.
I: How old are you?
P: 22, eh 21 (laughs)
I: 21...and how long have you been in Australia for?
P: 1 year and today it should be six months, or tomorrow... so 1 year and 6 months yeah
I: wow, a long time.
P: yeah, too long (laughs)
I: So just don’t feel weird when talking English, just feel like I would be an English person
like your boyfriend or who ever
P: (laughs)

I: So, how did you meet your boyfriend?
P: Oh my god that’s the embarrassing story ever. I was living in a host family in Perth,
actually not far from here and like the host mum was...she was alright, the host Dad
never talked with me, even not “Hello”, ”Goodbye”, nothing.
I: So you didn’t like the family at all?
P: Ehh... the mum was okay, but like I thought they are fine, but the host Dad not, but I
thought she is fine but after I changed my family I thought she was not fine as well. So
like they never talked really with me and like she said...sometimes she had a
conversation with me, but like it was once a week, otherwise it was only Ø: “Can you
change the nappy from the chart?”, “Can you do this?”, like only this conversations.
I: Like working conversations?!
P: Right, yeah. Otherwise she never had a conversation with me or like in the evening
they never talked with me or anything so like I was going in my room.
I: Oh that’s horrible
P: (laughs) And yeah, my English was soo bad when I was coming to Australia, that was
the reason why I went to Australia, to get my English improved for like study and
everything.
I: It is good now!
P: I know yeah, it's improved a lot.
I: But that’s what happens if you really live in an English country. I was the same before I went to America. I studied English but you don’t have to practice …yeah.

P: Yeah, my English was so bad and I had a chat to my friends and said: “I don’t know what I should do because if you catch up with German guys you talk only in German and like there were not a lot of other girls, only French ones, but the English of them was also not very good and like so I said: “I need something to improve my English, can’t go home and like my English still is the same!” Only learned like words like “nappy” or stuff like this. She said: “Why are you not using an app where you can talk to people?” ø: “I don’t know, is there an app like this?” She said: “I don’t know, I got Tinder, Tinder is like catching up with someone”

I: So you met your boyfriend on Tinder?

P: Yeah (laughs) wait wait. So like She said: “Yeah, but you can use it only to chat to people, you don’t have to catch up with them” So I said: “Oh yeah, let’s try there”. So I had Tinder…And like my boyfriend like… I swapped from mistaken his profile from left or right…doesn’t matter, I liked him and he did the same and he was starting chatting to me and I chatted to him and we chatted like nearly 2 months, because like I never had an intention to go out with someone or anything like this, so I never wanted to catch up with someone and like he asked me a few times if…

I: You probably didn’t want a boyfriend in Australia either

P: Yeah and also I thought it is a bit weird and like he asked me if I want to come on a boat from him and I hate boats because I get sick of them

I: So he has a boat?

P: Yeah, his dad got one…and I said… I ignored this question the whole time, but he never asked me: “Do you want to go for coffee or dinner?”, only if I want to go to the boat. And one time I had a chat with this girl…

I: It’s a bit weird…”Do you wanna come on my boat?”

P: (laughs) I know that’s what I thought and I like…I chatted to him and my English was like getting a little bit better with this, like I was learning new stuff like how you build sentences and everything, and I was catching up with yeah the other girl sometimes. I saw her a few times and we were really good friends and she was like: “I really want to go a boat one time, be in Australia, everyone’s got a boat. It’d be so awesome to go to a boat before I go home!” And I said: “Should I tell you something funny there is this guy and he asked me the whole time if I want to go to his boat” and she said: “You don’t tell me this, the whole time?!” ø: “No why, I hate boats”. And then it was before Australia day and he…

I: When was that, last year?

P: yeah, last year January. And then he asked me: “Ohh, ehm…Do you want to come on Australia day, to the boat?” And I said: “Ah no sorry, I want to spend my day with some friends” and he said: “Ahh ok okay.” And then he messaged me and said: “Oh you can bring all your friends on the boat”. So I messaged the other girl and said: “If you want go to a boat, he asked” and she was: “yeah, let’s go there”. And then he texted me: “But you have to catch up first with me”, ø: “ehhh, I don’t want to catch up with him.” So I texted my friend and said like: “If you want to go to the boat come as quickest as
soon as possible to the city and go meet me and the guy, otherwise you are not going to the boat!” So she was coming..
I: It’s good that you asked a friend, I wouldn’t go alone.
P: (laughs) So she was coming from the beach, covered in sun cream and sand and like it was hell funny it was such.. and we went to this nice pub. He was sitting there with some friends and watched like tennis, was it this time, Melbourne open?

I: Melbourne cup?
P: Melbourne cup yeah, and I expected like, he’s like a guy like I don’t know… Most Australian guys, that are kind of weird like. Do you know what I mean?
I: What do you mean?
P: Like some play guys, only like… I don’t know, we expected something else… And we went in this pub, and there were like sitting 6 guys there.
I: 6 guys?

P: I know, and they were all so friendly and like bought us a drink and had a chat to us like, completely different to what we thought. And I said: “Okay let’s go to this boat” I caught up with him on the next day, went to his boat..
I: Did you like his appearance and all that, when you met him or was it more like…?
P: Ehh... he was fine, I didn’t care but my friend she liked his friend like she: “Oh that’s such a nice guy” and yeah…we went to the boat saw some other girls and I didn’t have a chat with him at all on the boat, only some small talks but like nothing else… and there were some other girls on the boat as well, I though he got a girlfriend..

I: Why would he if he is on Tinder?
P: I don’t know but a lot of guys do this… (laughs) but whatever.
I: If my boyfriend would do this I would kill him (laughs)
P: I thought that’s a bit weird, but I was not sure if she was his girlfriend or not like. And on the same day he asked me at night time if I want to go for dinner with him. I was: “Ohhh, to dinner?” He’s nice, but like yeah nothing else, but my friend said: “You have to go for dinner, he tooked us on his boat”, ø: “Ohh okay.”
I: As a reward.
P: Like yeah, he was friendly to us, let’s go with him for dinner that’s it. And I caught up with him for dinner and he was so nice and there was a part when I started liking him and I caught up on the weekend with him and his friends and catched up more times…so that’s how I met him.
I: Wow, how old is he? Is he same age as you?
P: Na, he’s 25.
I: 25 and you are 21.. yeah that’s good and what is he doing?
P: He sells businesses.
I: Studying business?
P: No no no, it’s like selling businesses, like selling houses besides its businesses, does that make sense? (laughs)
I: That sounds good to me. What’s his name?
P: Gregory. Ah I call him Greg but his real name is Gregory.
I: Oh nice.
P: But he is also not Australian, he is from Zimbabwe
I: Zimbabwe.
P: Yeah, South Africa.
I: Oh wow.
P: So he is not actually an Australia, he’s only living here for 10 years.
I: Wow. So he’s got a South African accent I suppose?
P: yeah..
I: I like the South African accent. I met two sometime and yeah they are really nice people .. I mean I don’t know I only met those two but yeah..
P: yeah I really like the accent. I don’t like the Australian country slang, so I don’t understand anything at all ø: “warwarwarwar (sound)”
I: I think I do like it because I think it is funny but I am not good with understanding anything.
P: I tried to learn it like when I was on the farm. I was like the family was awesome..
I: Oh you were on a farm?
P: Yeah I went to a farm for 3 months for my working holiday visa, my second one.
I: Ah okay. So was that when you were an au pair first and then the farm or an au pair on the farm?
P: No I was an au pair and then went to a farm for my second visa.
I: Where was that?
P: It was in Beverly, like Shorehouse, 11 hours from here, in the country. It was the best thing ever that you could do I loved it.
I: Really? What did you work there, what did you have to do?
P: They had like a sheep partly crop farm and this summer I was coming to the seeding time. So they were driving the tractor to seed all this. So I was coming with him on the tractor seeding or like … he didn’t let me do rock picking, I was quite happy about it.
I: Is that, do you have to do that by hand?
P: Yeah yeah, so the guys had to get like stones like this: (showing me), heavy. So I was going seeding with him, he took me like…we were feeding sheeps, so you have to drive around and visit the big paddies?, it took ages…a whole day feeding sheeps.
P: I’d love to do that but I just never had.. I just can’t get a working visa as an Austrian, don’t know why they changed the law.
I: It is such awesome, I love it I go see them every year. A month or twice a month I drive to the farm because I love it, you go there and you open the window, or even you don’t have to open it, it’s like quiet, you can’t hear anything, a word, a dog.…
I: Do they have this massive land?
P: yeah yeah it’s like massive big. It tooked him 3 weeks to show me the whole farm.
I: 3 weeks?!
P: It’s so big, like already the paddick? were they were living on was like 30 mins down, 30 mins left. Like 30 mins for each corner. Driving, not walking.
I: And did they have kids as well?
P: Yeah they had kids as well, but they were going to school. Only young one was not going to school, but she was coming with us the whole time, so I tooked her with me then. So I was like a bit of a mix actually of both, because I stayed there with her the whole time.
I: But weren’t you bored there, or what did you do when you were off?
P: I thought so, like when I said I was only going to the farm because of my working holiday visa so I get a second one...ø: “Oh my god, I am going in the middle of nowhere, 2 hours from Perth away, no one is around no one in my age, I have to live with a family where I don’t know, I’m there for 3 months..”
I: Yeah that is why I always thought maybe not a farm, maybe something more central
P: But yeah it was the best experience in my live and the family was such awesome ...
I: If you like the family is perfect bad would be if you wouldn’t
P: They treated you as their child ..And like I went there and thought: “Oh my god this will be the boring three months in my live” but it was so good, like … I went like driving with the motorbike and the hills around, went for like seeding, he showed me like the feets ehh not feets...sheeps when they were sharing. I was seeing the seeding and driving this big massive tractor stuff

I: You saw real country Australia, that’s cool.
P: He took me for a lot of funny stuff, like he took me shooting and I saw kangaroos and like I saw big eagles.
I: Did you shoot kangaroos?
P: I didn’t, my boyfriend shot one. Like, he said like: “Do you want to go for shooting a kangaroo it is like a deer in Germany?” ø: “Oh let’s go”, I was so excited about it and my friend who was like a au pair here she was coming with me as well on this time, and she was on the farm for like a weekend and like he was: “Oh yeah, let’s go shooting”. And like my boyfriend was there as well and like we went all for shooting with him and saw two kangaroos and we both ø: “Get it!” and then he get it and in this moment we both were scared ø: “Noo, the poor kangaroo!”. Then yeah, I was feeling so bad for it. But the other thing it was like their pest there, so... it’s like a deer in Germany so I thought like: "You kill also a deer in Germany so you can kill the kangaroo." But for us they are such cute, but like yeah, after this ..
I: Deers are cute too, but you don’t shoot actually the babies.
P: It was also not a baby, but like then he said like...I was feeling so bad and then he said: “But yeah, you loved the sheeps as well”, and I said: “Yeah that’s right” and he was like: “I killed them as well!” I was like: “Yeah okay, that’s true.” But actually like yeah it’s true.

I: Wow you did a lot of experience here then, that’s awesome. How often do you see them now?
P: for a whole weekend, I go up Friday afternoon
I: wouldn’t be worth for just a visit.
P: Sometimes I went up for a day only but like...the most time I go Friday night or afternoon, drive up there and then I stay till Sunday and go late back.
P: Awesome I would love to see a farm like that. I mean I saw one cause my boyfriend has an uncle who has a farm as well.. and we saw (…)
P: If you live here I can take you, they’d love if I take some people up.(laughs)
I: If you get your visa we can catch up more often
P: I stay here
I: See that is a good thing about my thing here, I meet the people who really stay in Perth.. I could you know, get some friends that are from home. I mean, I love to meet Australians as well
P: That is such hard, I thought it is easier.
I: I know the friends of my boyfriend but it’s not really like my own girly friends, you know who you can just call

P: It’s a different friend. It’s like … they don’t. Like I don’t know but a lot of people said this already, in Australia or especially Perth like it is so hard to find friends when not international and I thought: "I don’t know should not be so hard". I thought it’s not so hard.
I: Na they are really nice

P: Yeah they are all nice but they don’t need you. I don’t know it is so hard like, that’s what you said, like there are some friends but like they… like…I don’t know but like in Germany you… I had friends like catching up with them and talking to them every day like: “How was your day?” “What did you do?” like stuff like this. Or like they called you ø: “Do you want to come and have a drink, a coffe? or “Do you want to come out an hang out in my …?” “Should we cook something,”? and stuff like this. Or like: “Do you want to go in the cinema?” and this. And like they ask you but it is not actually like you are in this thing.
I: Yeah, you are not part of the
P: part of the thing
I: the group, or whatever you call it. Yeah. It is hard to get friends. My boyfriend has friends and the girlfriens of them catch up with me every now and then […]
P: Yeah it’s the same with mine, they are all older, like he is 25 and his friends are most 27 or 26 and girlfriend is the same, so I am 21. They are thinking about babies, getting married, this stuff..
I: I am 25 this year and I have many friends back home who in their studies and they don’t want to have babies until they are 30 or 31, so I am the same I am not planning on that stuff yet
P: I mean I would love to have one, but I feel too young for this… so like yeah, it’s not like
I: It depends, whatever you feel like, I guess. I don’t feel it yet, maybe in two or three years but not now.
P: Yeah no..I would want now but I am too young for it, but like yeah its like the age gap is like the thing between us
I: It depends, me and you it’s not a problem but if you are 20 and you meet someone who is like 27 it’s a bit of a gap
P: yeah it’s like such a big gap. I got one good Australian girlfriend, not girlfriend, a friend, and she is also 25 like but like it took me ages like to find someone like this, like actually were you can really like getting a friend with it.
I: How did you meet her?

P: Oh I was meeting her in, how is it called, Foodtrucks, like food truck? I was like working with her and we had a chat to each other and then changed the number and she asked: “Do you want to go for coffe?”. And I ø: “Yeah why not.” We went out for coffee and like there was like ..like otherwise like to get in this with my boyfriend’s friends, also a lot are single as well, is hard.
I: I know what you mean, now you know me (laugh)
P: (laughing) And there are girls like Laura, you catch up with her I think next week.
I: Oh yeah, you know her.
P: Yeah I know her. I study with her the same together
I: Sorry I got so many messages, is she blond?
P: yeah. She is a blond girl and I like I know another girl.
I: She sounded really nice, is she German as well?
P: I mean I understand me good with her but like Do you know this when you meet people, like you understand each other good but there is not a point where it is more, like no connection. Yeah. It is such hard.
I: Yeah that is what I mean. I like the friends of my boyfriend but not that I really would talk about issues with my boyfriend with them or something more private, you know? Because that's friendship for me… More than just: “Hey, how are you?”

P: Yeah that's just not there, that's like we catch up for studying together, like talk about our day but like not actually that we say like: “Oh, do you want to come over for coffee?” Girls night or stuff like this. So like there's not this connection where you talk ages about it. You talk about issues when you talk about Germany and stay here and visa problems and stuff like this.. but yeah.
I: Is she older? She 25, isn't she?
P: No she is 22. But like yeah, there are not a lot of young Germans in like my age like from 20-25
I: There a lot of au pairs but they leave again. If you catch up with them they might be gone in a month anyway(…)

Stopped recording word for word after 20 mins

20:22
P: I was meeting Laura because she was posting something when I was an au pair about like her online study and I connected her and said: “Oh hey I was searching a way to stay here”, but I said: “I don’t want to stay here doing nothing.” The University, I couldn’t pay this, like it is 100.000 for the whole study.
I: Oh fuck.
P: I know because you are an international student and I didn’t know if my English was good enough. I was catching up with her and like she explained me this, and like I had a look at this and decided to do this as well.

21:10 min
P: If you like fit with each other and like… yeah, I got this with this Australian girl like it was like fitting perfect like I don’t know, but like other people got different things what they see like for friendships, but I had this really close one with friends and hanging out was for stuff like, some might say: “Oh, do you want to come to me it’s such a shit day?” or like catching up with them … do you know what I mean?

23:41 min
P: Where are you living in Austria?
I: In the southern part in Kärnten, like where all the lakes are it’s a small area.
P: I went a lot of times to Austria
I: I study in Graz, I don’t know it’s like the Eastern part.
P: I went a lot to Austria took a lot of hiking there. My parents love hiking, I hated it as a young child every time: “Everyone goes to Spain, for like holidays, why do we go hiking?” and now I think actually it was quite good.

24:48 min
P: Na he wants to go to a home open, I said: “I don’t know how long it takes”
I: Oh well I need about 40 minutes of material but I feel we are natural..
P: Oh no that’s fine he can go alone there.
I: If you need to go just let me know!
P: That’s fine. I said to him: “I don’t know if I can come with you, otherwise you have to go alone”. It’s like we were finding this yesterday and I said: “oh bugger, that’s on Saturday and I already said to you (Susi) that we catch up this time, so you have to go alone”.

26:59
P: Or maybe your suburb is turning like more expensive like one of the womens where I now... I work for her and like her husband’s uncle bought, na build, he builded a house in Yellingup. Do you know Yellingup?
I: Yeah, I have been there actually.
P: It’s down in Margaret River and he builded it there, there was nothing except the beach he builded it. And they were like: “Oh you are stupid, why do you build a house down there?” And now she said like the house is so much worth, because it’s exactly near the beach.

32:42
P: But like it’s such a grey zone, because like some people that had already kids, married and they didn’t get it straight away, other people they were married 1 year and had one child they get it straight away permanent residence, so it’s like kind of tricky.
I: See, that’s why I thought it might be a good idea to ask someone to help, because they might know how..
P: But they do are not doing anything else, still you have to find all the paper stuff together and like fill them out...So they are not actually doing anything. They are only loading it up... because you like have to get all the paperwork together and everything.
I: Oh okay.
P: But you could get like where you stay at the moment you probably rent a room or?
I: yes.
P: See...and like your boyfriend is renting the same, you both say: “Oh we rented a room together there, like we lived together in this share house”. “We lived there together” or like the other time where you were here, the people who lived with you they can say a certificate, it’s like a form and you have to be a permanent resident for this, that what you say is actually true... And they can write in this that you actually stayed there, lived with him together and like yeah, that’s what we do.

34:10
P: See but that will be in your account then, that you transfer him the money the whole time. See, then you can say: “See I paid my boyfriend the rent.” That’s how she explained this to us and it’s quite good.

35:18
P: Yeah see, that’s like also you can say: “Oh see we travelled together, he was coming to Germany to see me, I was coming when it was possible...like we lived there together and did this together and he paid for my flights”, and stuff like this, that’s what he said.

38:30
P: That’s so weird. I thought: “What the hell, a shot gun wedding would be cheaper” (laughs)

40:05
P: I pushed him the whole time, because my parents don’t speak any English really.
I: yeah that’s a good reason, same for me
P: Like my mum, her English is like... you understand her but not very good, my Dad is like:” Do you want a beer?”(in a mocking voice)
I: Yea, that’s my family as well (…)
P: Yeah. So like...so he thought maybe he should go to German classes, and like all he can say is (in French): “Je ma appelle Greg”, “Ich möchte ein Bier” and “Ich habe schöne Schuhe”, that’s it. And he can say: “Yes” and “Noo”, “Nein Danke”,
I: Nein Danke, Ja bitte.
P: yeah that’s like all he can do ø: “Nein danke”. So like No, we couldn’t live in Germany.
I: yeah
P: I don’t want to live in the UK, so...
I: Would that be an option? Oh for him?
P: For him, yeah. Like if we want to go to Europe we would have to live there, but like: “No thank you.”

42:07
I: Did you every experience anything funny because you were German or your language or anything, like..
P: Oh my god, yeah.
I: Any troubles or any funny kind of things?
P: I was travelling with my friend and like if you go in a hostel, they see like your passport and they also know your nationality and like they said: “Oh you are Germans, can we have your passports?” So we were giving the passports to them, this guy looked at it ø: “I thought you are German?” I said: “Yes”. He said: “Why is on your passport ‘Dutch-land’?”
I: Dutch-land (laughing)
P: (laughing) I said: “Dutch-land?” watched at my friend she’s like: “Dutch-land, hae?” And he ø: “Your passport, there is ‘Dutch-land’, I thought you are German, is that not your passport?”
I said: “No, it is my passport that’s my picture”, and he said: “In my computer system it’s not here how you coming up with Dutch-land, there’s Dutch-land written?” I said: “No it
means Deutschland!” He said: “Deutschland, what’s that?” I said: “Germany” and he said: “Germany, do you not call it Germany?” I said: “Noo (laughing)!"

I: Yeah that’s funny because my boyfriend and people we met in America they never know that we translate country names, they think that Germany is called Germany or Austria is Austria.

P: I know, that’s what he thought.

I: When I said I was from Österreich, they were like: “What I thought you are from Austria?”

P: Yeah that’s what he said: “I thought you are German” I said to him: “It doesn’t mean that because we are from Germany you call it Germany like we don’t call it Australia, we call it “Australien””. He said: “That’s weird.” I said: “Na, that’s not weird”

51:22

P: like flying somewhere is not so easy, like a German is ø: “Oh yeah, I’m going to France for a weekend, I go to the UK or Austria”, can’t do this here.

54:10

P: I thought like they are not coming back (sharks) to this little area where you can stand, but like they told me they do, they even swim in the sand to like, they go like, they stuck in the sand to catch like fish .. ø:“You shouldn’t told me this”, because I thought this area is safe and when I went to surf I was only in the background but now they told me they also going to the beach and they’re stuck sometimes there, like not a lot but like they do. Like when you go up in the north, there. ø:“Jesus, thank you for telling me this!”

56:19

P: I saw a video of a guy, he was like sitting in a kayak paddling around and like there was the jetty and he said there was a shark and it was a really big shark and the guy said: “I don’t care, can’t see him.” And this shark was exactly in front of his boat, it was a massive shark, maybe like the table. Its’ like the kayak was looking so small next to him and the kids were screaming: “Shark, shark!” He said: “Oh yeah a shark”. I would be sitting in this boat and screaming!

57:24

P: I saw a lot of cockroaches.

I: Yeah me too, we have them in our house, I live in a share house at the moment.

P: (name not understood) told me we have them as well and I killed them all, like sprayed anything on the doors and everything, sprayed like stuff on the doors and the windows and like the other guy, a friend from him said: “Why are you doing this? They are only the garden things!” And I said: “The garden ones?” He said: “Yeah, there are two different ones, this yuck ones and the garden ones.” I said: “It doesn’t matter, they are both yuck (laughs)’’.

58:14

P: They are walking through the kitchen and like: “wuahh, that’s so yuck”

I: Imagine they sit on your food
P: Wah, not thank you. It’s so disgusting, I hate it. And like the other guy said: “They do nothing anyway” and I said: “They even look disgusting lying there on their back dead in the kitchen, how much more discussing do you want it?”

59:20
P: No one can really get along with her, like a lot of things were she complains or get angry about it then she like last time, Greg went home like at 2 o’clock and his friends downstairs and they had only a chat downstairs and were doing some food and she was coming downstairs and screaming: “Oh shut the fuck up! It’s like 2 o’clock at nighttime I want to sleep!”
I: Wow she really seems to be annoying.
P: (laughs) And it was like on a weekend, like they were not really loud. But like last time she was coming home at 3 o’clock at night and starting like taking the dishwasher, put the stuff out at 3 o’clock at nighttime, it was so loud! Louder as the talk and like waked everyone up with it. She had music downstairs, dancing around... it’s like stuff like this.. like
I: U don’t get away with it, why do you do this now?
P: Or like a friend was sleeping on the couch downstairs because he was too drunk to drive. I said: “You’re not driving home, you can sleep here on the couch!” And she ø: “We’re not fucking a hostel, we are old enough to go home and order a taxi!” And stuff like that, Jesus.
I: Yeah if I was you, I would move out...
P: ø: “Relax, he slept there because he was too drunk, like why should he order a taxi, like if he is not living far away and his car is here”.. and yeah she complains about everything.
Transcription 8
Sex: Female
Age: 23
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: Student/Au pair
Place of birth: Dortmund
Amount of being abroad: 1st time
Time spend in Australia: 2 months

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

0:53
P: That’s right, but sometimes I also think like: “Where is my home country and where are you really from?”

8:38
P: I asked my host mum and then she write…she sent an Email to the one teacher from year 1 and then she said: “Yeah of course, Pia can come!”

13:44
I can run for 2 minutes or something and then I’m: “Wuahh”

16:55
But she was like: “No I only will talk English because I am here to improve my English” and I was like: “I don’t talk to you” I was like: “okay we talk to each other but I really want… I thought like: “No I want to speak German.” I mean I enjoy to speak German and I also love my language.

18:35
I mean we can talk but sometimes I think: “What are you saying?” Or they choose words: “What do I think now, I don’t know what they mean.”

18:55
And also when children are sometimes talking to me... I mean with my host children its fine but when I also was staying at school it was really: “What are you saying to me? What do you want to say to me?”

At the beginning when they don’t know they can’t understand everything I really have to: “Can you say that again? What do you mean, I can’t understand it?”

21:05
And now I was **thinking**: “Oh I take the chance to improve a little bit of my English”

**22:30**

I’m really think that : “Okay it’s nice, but not that nice how everyone is talking”

I like the beach and go there and hang out there. It’s not my world. Everyone was saying: “It’s so great in Australia, it’s a so beautiful country” and I **was like**: “Okay”.

**24:15**

And that’s also what I think...Then I am almost 24 when I am coming home and then I am also **thinking like**: “Oh yeah you can really move in that flat then and you don’t have to live in a shared flat anymore” I’m only, **think like**: “Oh get I bored or do I feel lonely then” or something. Sometimes I also was thinking like...when I’m ...was... When I was aupair then I was **thinking**: “No you can’t.” It was also too expensive to go in a own flat in the Netherland because the Netherlands are so expensive.

**29:06**

P: I think it could be really helpful if you could speak some Arabic. I think it could be really good, I don’t know. I saw about this a few weeks ago and I was **thinking like**: “Oh that would be really good, really clever!”

I: It is a really hard language to learn

P: It is, but I that’s also what’s funny, to make it more **like**: “Oh!”

A little bit. When you go to call them they also : “Hale malei kum”

**31:21**

Yeah the oldest were really bossy, **like**: “No we do this like that. You can’t do it like this” And I **was like**: “You are just 1 and a half, shut your mouth” And then I was **thinking** about: “I can’t work with this children when I am not alone with them, when I am always having the mum with them.” And they were also like always going to the mum and not to me.

**36:39**

P: And I am looking so forward of every day I am really like looking on my phone : “Oh what can I get and buy everything from Ikea” or something. I’m already looking : “Oh what are there for flats” and how expensive it is and what...

**38:40**

I am not very clean, but I am clean. And then I think it’s also easier and then I **think**: “Oh it’s just my mess.”

**39:06**
I also had one roommate and she was always like: “Oh I am doing so much here” but she never did something. But then someone: “You have to do this” and I am thinking like: “No, you can start to do something” She was really like...

42:23

My room really reminds me of him, because we spend so much time there together and then you are thinking about: “Okay I lie here in my bed and before you were lying next to me in this room” and like this. I was getting really crazy. But I think there are a few things. He was a police officer that was also...always when I see a police officer and they are also dressed in blue, and I like blue and dark blue, and I’m really like: “Noo, why?!"

43:40

It’s a crazy story. I was...with a friend and we both were single and then we said: “Oh just let go on Tinder” and it was really for a joke, it was really for a joke. And then I had her Tinder profile and I liked for her the boys and she liked them for me. And then I don’t know why but I was talking to him but I was talking just for fun for other ones... And I thought: “Oh he’s really nice” And then I really met him and it was so funny because someone: “Oh pia, I found your boyfriend”, like but was very funny.

46:30

P: He had really a heart break and he still texts me messages and he was like: “Oh pia”...

I: Did he meet someone else ever again?

P: I don’t know because then I was thinking: “Maybe, you can’t write me always” and like: “I don’t want to talk to you anymore, because I make it much more difficult for you then” and then I broked up. But then I could really like understand why Melvin did this because when I was with Hrüs I was also really like: “I have to text him. I want to write with him, but he don’t reply” and I got really crazy.

48:48

P: I don’t know why I’m really thinking when I meet a guy I want to have children with him in future and really want to, I don’t know, maybe I want to marry. I’m really thinking like: “Yeah how to get children together and move together”

I mean now I am thinking like: “Oh Pia! I can also wait until I am 28 or something, when I find the right one”. You know I don’t have to, I don’t need a boyfriend now.

56:05

Since I am here I never met people from other countries than from the Netherland or Germany. I didn’t. Because I really think: “No why should I meet the others?” When I was in the Netherland I also preferred meet them from all over the world, but now I’m
like: “Oh just the Germans that’s enough.” And sometimes I also think like: “I really miss my German slang” or something. I really love my language but I’m really not used anymore to speak so many German. That’s so weird too. I mean I also do with my friends but I had so much Dutch the last few years…

59:36

It’s also funny because sometimes the people are also saying when you are on the playground: “Oh hi, how are you going?” And then sometimes they also do this in all shops and then sometimes…in the shops I don’t answer it. But sometimes I think it’s rude when I don’t say this. When you are at the playground or something or at a school and then someone, a mother is coming to you ø : “Hey how are you going?” Do you say then something? Do you also say: “Hy how are you doing?”

I did this and sometimes I feel like: “Is this not rude if I didn’t reply or didn’t answer?” I mean I would never say: “I am very bad today, so how are you?” Also my host mums when they come home, they are also like: “Hey how are you?” And then I think like…Okay then I also think like …Because in Germany we don’t go: “Hy wie gehts?”, then you really want to have an answer

01:02:34

Because she said that you always do this when you meet a new person, you say: “How do you do?” and the other one is also saying: “How do you do”, but I never heard this here. It was so funny because I tried to listen to it if someone is doing this, but I never did like: “How do you do?” and then the other one’s also saying: “How do you do?” …

01:04:20

Sometimes it’s like: “How do you say tomato. Is it tomato or tomato?” something like this…

I’m just thinking like: “What kind of bike for start?” and “What do I have to do when I’m back?” and already thinking about what I am doing in a half year.

01:07:13

Sometimes I feel like: “Oh no, all my friends they are also like same age and they are almost finished with the studies” And then I am thinking like: “Okay and Pia was travelling around the world” I think sometimes I have to change my mind about how you should sometimes do things, like in Germany it’s like: “Okay, you go to school, have your A-levels then you are studying and then you can maybe do something else” but I really like the other way around. Like: “Okay I did school and then I was going to the Netherlands, I was thinking of going back but then I changed my studies there and then I was coming here and then I am going to study in Germany” And I hope that the study in Germany will be really the right..

1:18:22

P: I am not sure but they were saying it as assembly and they also had like a rhyme, like a poem at school where they also singing in class, like a poem how you should behave
or something. That’s so funny, we never had this. And also I didn’t saw this at a German school and also not at a Dutch school. And then Ø: “No we are not doing this here, there are rules here” or something like that. And then I was: “Ah, they really think … It seems a little bit like America…” but they are very intense like: “Your school” and that’s really Ø: “we are this big thing” and “we are at woodlands”, like you are at Howard or something and Ø: “we don’t do this here” like this…

They do it like in steps that they have to… they can choose in which room they go and then they do their work and they get a sign for it or something, in a book, in a special book. And they can see Ø: “Oh I did already this work and this work and this work” And then when you are seeing like: “Okay, but she should do something more in like reading or something, or should more write some stories” or something like…

And sometimes they can choose between the different things in the room and do the works. And they can see Ø: “Oh yeah we have 4 different things and you can choose one of them, what do you want to do?”

1:29:00

And when you see Ø: “Oh he is doing not so much at the moment” they can also make like for 2 hours a break. And then they can go in rooms where they can just play something. I think it’s nice if they can choose. I am only thinking: “Maybe they are always in the same classroom then” But I think after a while you can make a system that they don’t always go in the same classroom. I really want them that they have like: “Oh that’s really the Math room” and they really should see that this is the Math room.

1:33:00

And I really want to have like a test school. I really want to make a test school, so Ø: “Okay that’s my system” and once I really want to try my system and I want to be there and try my system at my school and that’s really my dream of my life.

And then I also want to talk some Arabic, not very much or something, but I want to also have a small conversation to the mums because then you get a better relationship to them. So just you can be Ø: “Oh I can also speak some Arabic” and much better, they will understand much better. And then they will understand Ø: “Oh why have you done this?” and also like talks about the children, because sometimes they can’t speak any German, the mothers.

1:42:00

I: They have such weird arguments about it, like they say: “they wouldn’t take us if we had to leave the country”

P: And also Ø: “They get all the money from our government” but I mean…And also Ø: “They get our jobs” … “Yeah, why are you not working? You are not working too!”

I: Yeah there is so many people in Germany who get Harz4..what about those ones?

P: Yeah amazing they are all like: “They are taking our jobs!” “What are you working now? Nothing!”… “But yeah…” It’s so stupid. Sometimes I see friends from when I was a
child or something, they are not my friends anymore but I have them on Facebook and sometimes I see what they are writing there... and sometimes I think like: “Oh my gosh, that’s so racism” And I really like...I do really think like: “That's so poor” I can’t understand why they are thinking like that.

The church is also against gay people and I really think: “Why?”
Transcription 9

Sex: Female
Age: 19
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: Student/Au pair
Place of birth: Hamburg
Amount of being abroad: Australia 1st time (5 weeks in Peru)
Time spend in Australia: 3 months

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

P: My teacher or my sister’s teacher just had this exchange and was looking for students who were interested and I was like: “Ja, I mean I am learning…” I was learning Spanish that time ø: “why not!” and Peru anyways...yeah that was cool.

3:05

P: There was this hill, I was only told about because you do not go there like sightseeing and ø: “Let’s check out the homeless people” but you could see it.

3:45

I: What do they eat?
P: Ehmm for example Churros. Do you know these?
I: Yeah they have them here.

P: I saw them I was like: “Uhhh” but the Australians are so into Mexican food, at least my family. We have taco Wednesday, every Wednesday.

P: They eat a lot of seafood and also fruit, which is very different from German fruit. I tried everything and I was like: “Okay that is weird, that tastes weird”, but I tried it, at least I tried it.

7:20

P: I didn’t receive anything until late March and then it was like: “Oh we are sorry but there is currently nothing available” I was like: “Oh thanks for telling me so early!” Ehmm because I was like preparing for the final exams, writing exams and everyone else was already...they had plans. So I was like: “Oh yeah, so what I am going to do with my life?”

Also I did this team leadership course , you know you can get a certificate...So I thought: “Yeah well, maybe let’s do this. I mean I am good at English and why not.”
P: In October my mum was like: “Well you could have applied for several organizations and just to double your chances” I was like: “Okay, I have to do that. My bad, and now what?”

I got like 5 requests within 2 days… I was like: “Ohh. Okay!” Actually I picked one family, just send them a request and they were like: “Oh hi, yeah we are interested” and that is my family now.

I was like: “Okay. That’s so weird because I’m…” I had this family then within 5 days, I could have done it so much earlier if I had known about this website.

P: I was really into it, so like: “I really want this. I am available right away. Take me!”

I: Do you have this family feeling there?

P: Hmm I mean, I am so close with my family, my real family.. So, it is good but right now it’s like: “Well, I miss you guys so much!”

It’s ø: “No we don’t touch” you know. I don’t know, like the last real hug I got is I think Christmas, something like that…There was like: “Merry Christmas” I was like: ”Oh …wow” that surprised me, I didn’t expect that.

When my family confirmed that I was going to be their next au pair my family at home was all like: “Uh why not plan our next family holiday going to Australia”. I was like: “Yeah I mean I am there anyway”

Because my family, my host family said: “No we are fine. You just stay as long as you want to stay here and then we are going to look for our next au pair when you’re done.”

Sometimes they are like so cute like Austrian, they sound so cute when they talk. ø: “I really want to take you seriously but you sound so cute”

Just doing Scandinavian studies was a bit limited. I was like: “Yeah I don’t really see myself doing anything after graduating with this subject” and I was like: “Okay”. They also offered this Sciences of Media and Theatre, so weird these names. And I was like: “Okay this sounds really interesting” and on the website you can really kind of see what it is about, which is good.
Funny thing is that Darren is kind of working in the same field. He said: “Oh I know this company” My dad said: “Oh I know this company. We are like competitives actually.”

No because there is so so many teachers who are just there and you ask yourself: “Why did you do this? Really you do not do anyone a favour, not even yourself!”

I caught myself picking jeans out of my closet in the morning and I was like: “Wait a second, I don’t need them!”

Actually I wanted to learn surfing. But I don’t know… I thought they had surfing lessons on every corner, because it’s Australia. There is so much other stuff that is going on and you are like: “Where to start?”

I have my friends at home and therefore my own life. And here you are like: “So okay how do I do that?” So you always have to go and meet and then you think: “Okay that was nice” or “it wasn’t, I don’t need to meet you again”. On the weekend I am like: “Okay, I mean I should go somewhere because it’s Australia “and then I go like: “Come on. I live here now yes, but you don’t have to kind of push yourself to do stuff just because…”

So my Dad would always kinda pull out this tourist guide and read out stuff and we were like: “Really?! No one else does it. I don’t know this man” No and now I’m like: “See that’s what you told me.”

I was like: “It’s hot, so everyone has a pool” but it’s not like that.
Transcription 10

Sex: Female
Age: 19
Ethnicity: German
Occupation: Student/Au pair
Place of birth: Stuttgart
Amount of being abroad: 1st time
Time spend in Australia: 5 months

I= Interviewer
P= Participant

6:58
P: I said to the swimming teacher of my children: “Ehm I'm an au pair”, and they didn't really know what an au pair is. I have to say: “I'm a nanny” because then they didn't understand what an au pair does.

8:56
P: That’s my problem to I always looking around and say: “Oh that’s really nice and I have to buy that”, but then I think, it’s not about the money for me but then it’s about my place, my suitcase.

9:52
P: I walked around in summer and I thought: “Oh they’ve got so many pretty dresses and so colourful things.” I think we don’t have that in Germany. And I was shopping the first time I was here and I came to my host mum and I said: “Oh my god you got so many cute things!” She said: “Oh what do you mean? That’s normal.”

16:58
P: Yeah it’s really strange because I said: “I am never… I am not like my dad and I’m…” It’s really… I never knew that I am doing that because the last year it was, for me, when I was like: “Oh yeah I really like it, and that would be something for me” and before then I thought: “Oh no, I couldn’t do that”, but now it’s different I don’t know.

19:37
P: They had like an offer and then they…they said: “Can you come over?” and then they came over for 6 months or something like that.

22:00
P: Everyone told me at the beginning you are skyping a lot, in the beginning and then in the end not that much and I said: “No, I would never do that” and now I skype maybe once a week.
24:50
P: Maybe it’s because they are from England and they are really…say always: “Thank you” and “Please, can I have this?” They have really good manners.

27:00
P: And I texted my host parents after that, because they have to work and come home about half an hour after me and I said: “Really take care of that speed camera, I drove into it!”

P: She said: “We have to take a picture from that picture”, because it’s so funny how I look.

I really paid attention here, because my host parents said: “Yeah, be careful there are speed cameras all over.” And they said: “It’s really expensive” and I said: “Okay I am really careful.”

**Tape 2**

3:17
When you have to turn or something like that you have to think: “I have to stay left” but after a couple of days it was alright.

9:39
When you say: “Yeah I wanna go to America for three weeks for holiday” they say: “Ehh yeah, you’ve got to work and earn money and then you can go.”

25:50
(Describing the museum) I thought it’s boring and then I get there and saw ø: “Oh yeah that’s really nice”

31:49
I didn’t bought that much when I …my time here last 4 months and now I think: “Ohh, I’ve got so much money on my bank account maybe I can..” But I didn’t pay my things for my travel, that’s why I have…

And that’s why I think: “Ah I can’t spend that much but I have got that much on my bank account and I could spend it but I shouldn’t spend it.”

35:12
My mum said: “I don’t know if that works” because my sister is coming with us too and we are three you can’t spend that much money to travel around. But then she said: “You are always, you will be once here” and she is older than, she would probably be one time here in Australia and then she said she wants to do that.
He's not that emotional but he wants to skype with me every week and normally he is not talking that much and not that emotional and now he is talking, talking: “Oh na, I am so sad that I can’t come” and I thought: “Oh I didn't know that you are like that.”

Because always when you are at home you say: “Oh mummy can you do that for me?” or then I don’t have to do it, or “You know how to do it, you do it” or yeah, it’s different.

I am always asking my parents about their opinion but I am not saying: “You do it” or something like that, because when I...I've got some a little bit tough moments with my host family here because I was...yeah sometimes there are bad times or they are a little bit stressful or yeah. And then I am asking my parents at home what they think I should do and they say something to me but they say: “Yeah you do it how you feel” and that’s only my opinion but I wanna know what they think.

It’s different now because at home, when you are younger your parents say: “Yeah you do that, you do that and act like that”, and now it’s like I am asking them what they think but I am doing it myself.

When you are not really happy at the time you always, sometimes you are saying something which is not serious or not really nice. It’s not like they are rude or something but sometimes in your voice is something you think: “Oh that was not nice to say” but it was not, I never had a problem with them.

She said: “It’s not like you are the cleaner, it’s like you are their nanny and you are not, you don’t have to clean after ourselves”

But that’s why I said: “I am going to them” because that’s the real, that’s a good thing to think.

We went to the city and asked a few people if they would answering our questions, it was only 5 or 6 questions and they always said: “No, we don’t have time, we don’t have time.” And I thought: “That’s so sad because it’s only a few questions”, that was five minutes. That’s why I thought: “I wanna do that” because it would be the same.

They were a bit slow and I was like: “Can you hurry up a little bit!” I was a little bit embarrassed because I said to you yesterday: “I can’t” and then I said today: “Oh I can’t be there…”

I was so sorry because I was sitting in the car and thinking: “Oh no no no that can’t fit. I can’t be here on time”