

Attitudes towards new ways of reporting and intensifying: *All*

The newcomer quotatives *like* and *go* trigger strong reactions from linguists and laypeople alike (Buchstaller 2003, Dailey-O’Cain 2000). However, there is to date much less systematic evidence on the perceptual or distributional reality of *all*, the most recent addition to the quotative pool. First discussed by Wimmer (1990) and later briefly mentioned by Igoe, Lamb, Gilman and Kim (1999) and Singler (2001), the new variant *all* is under-researched.

This paper reports on folk-perceptions of *all*, both as a quotative (1) as well as an intensifier (2).

- (1) He was **all** “you gotta be kidding”.
- (2) I was **all** excited.

We propose that it is especially illuminating to investigate whether the same amount and type of stereotypes that have been reported for *like* (young MC California women, attractive, successful, etc.) have also been associated with *all*.

We report on results from a matched guise study (Lambert et al 1960) and a social attitudes questionnaire conducted with 75 US English respondents, 19-65 years, from various regions within the US, of both genders and 4 ethnicities. We used a written form of the matched guise test first proposed by Buchstaller (2003), where speakers are asked to compare two texts of transcribed speech, one containing quotative and intensifier *all*, and to ascribe the speech to a type of person. This set-up allows us to test not only for perceptions relating to age and class but also for gender and regional provenance.

The results are as follows: while early research has pointed to California youth as the perceived epicenter of *all*’s diffusion, our survey respondents from across the US differentiate *all*’s regional distribution more subtly. Furthermore, we show that *all* has significant associations with age, class and gender (as calculated by a univariate ANOVA, $p < .05$). Perhaps interestingly, these perceptions seem to hold across the US, as neither regional provenance nor age of the informants came out as significant when entered as independent variables in a univariate ANOVA.

Dailey-O’Cain (2000) has reported that *like* is associated with a number of social attitudes. A comparative test on *all* reveals that it does not share as many associations with *like* as we might have assumed. Finally, the results of the social attitudes survey show that our respondents are acutely aware of the difference between quotative *all* and intensifier *all*. In fact, the different functions of *all* tend to trigger quite different associations with respect to gender ($p < .05$) and class ($p < .01$). Furthermore, example sentences containing quotative and intensifier *all* also elicit quite different acceptability ratings.

There are two important conclusions from these findings: firstly, we demonstrate that the written version of the matched guise test developed by Buchstaller (2003) is a useful tool to collect regional and gender associations, which are impossible to get at with spoken guises. Secondly, this study shows that the ‘new’ quotatives *like* and *all* are not identical in terms of social attitudes and that stereotypes are not simply mapped from one newcomer to the other. [497 words]

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