1994

Quotative tense shift in American English authority-encounter narratives

Anna Marie Guthrie

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QUOTATIVE TENSE SHIFT
IN AMERICAN ENGLISH
AUTHORITY-ENCOUNTER NARRATIVES

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
English Composition

by
Anna M. Guthrie
June 1994
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Approved by:

Wendy Smith, Chair, English

Rong Chen

Peter Schroeder
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ABSTRACT

In a study which reevaluates one of Wolfson’s (1982) rejected hypotheses, that the alternation between say and said in introductions of reported speech may be related to the relative status of the reported speakers, Johnstone (1987) finds a general pattern which she describes as ‘He says’/‘I said.’ Johnstone finds that the tellers use the Historical Present (HP) (says, goes) far more often to introduce the speech of authority figures, and the past tense (said, went) to introduce the speech of non-authorities. She feels that the tellers use these choices in tense to track shifts in ‘footing and authorship’ (Goffman, 1981).

This thesis re-investigates and refutes Johnstone’s findings, based on an analysis of a corpus of narratives in which storytellers re-create conversations with persons of authority. In a quantitative analysis of the corpus, there is no significant difference in the tellers’ use of the past tense or HP quotatives which is related to the relative status of the speakers. Rather, through qualitative microanalyses of the individual narratives, the choice of tense seems to be related primarily to the pragmatic sense of the teller. The teller marks, with shifts in tense, significant portions of the narrative, which supports Wolfson’s (1982) conclusion regarding tense alternation in action verbs.

The major points in this thesis are (1) that Johnstone’s (1982) findings do not hold for these data, that (2) Labov’s (1972) structure of narrative and Hymes’ (1974) definition of performed narrative are maintained, that (3) Schiffrin’s (1981) observation that verbs in either tense tend to cluster together is supported, and that (4) the tense shift of quotatives in these data is consistent with Mayes’ (1990) work with direct and indirect speech. These points all reinforce the hypothesis that the shift in tense of quotatives is related not to those persons involved in the event being narrated, but to those involved in the narration—the teller and the hearer.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing of any thesis represents not only the research and work that has gone into that particular project; rather, it represents the years of study which eventually shape and define a focus within a specific field. Therefore, there are a number of people for whom I would like to express my appreciation.

I would like to first thank the members of my thesis committee: principal reader Wendy Smith, not only for her guidance on this work, but for encouraging me to pursue this project in the first place, for introducing me to AAAL and UCLA, and for being a friend. Many thanks also go to Rong Chen and Peter Schroeder, for their insightful comments and suggestions as this work began to take shape.

The entire English department at Cal State, San Bernardino also deserves recognition for a strong and diverse graduate program; I would like to particularly thank Ed White, Rise Axelrod, and Bruce Golden for their willingness to nurture and cultivate the growth of a lone applied linguist in a lush garden of composition and literary theorists and practitioners. Thanks also, to Carol Haviland, for giving me the opportunity to learn more about writing in the Writing Center than I could have ever learned in a classroom. And Greg Gilbert, thanks for the Heap, the general support, and for being a special friend.

But this strong graduate program does not only consist of the professors and the courses and requirements for the degree—a very important component of this program, for me, has been the other students, without whose support I could not have made it through. Candace, Kandy, Teri—your friendships have made this journey not only more meaningful, bit easier.

Moving away from the Cal State community, I would like to give special thanks to George Yule, for listening to those little "Guthrie bells" and sending along numerous sources, and for agreeing to read a first draft of this thesis. Your comments were instrumental and invaluable in solidifying the final conclusions.

Thanks also go to my mother, M.J. Lewalk, for passing on that magic Guitteau writing gene, and to my dad, Len Adams, for all of his encouragement and help. But most of all, I need to thank my husband, Bruce, without whom I would
have possibly not even finished my B.A. Bruce, your patience, understanding, willingness to sacrifice weekend camping trips and to eat leftovers again and again have been phenomenal—I may not always tell you how much your support means to me, but without it, none of this would have been possible. I love you.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Often in both written and spoken narrative the present tense is used in describing events which have clearly occurred in the past. This phenomenon, generally referred to as the Historical Present (HP), while quite common, particularly in conversation, remains one of the many features of the English language which native speakers often both acquire and then employ quite unconsciously. The use of this linguistic feature raises several questions: who uses the HP, when is it used, and what function does it serve; in short, what are the unwritten rules which govern the use of the HP?

The present work, an investigation of this special case of the present tense, as well as reviewing the literature on the HP in general, will focus specifically on quotatives, or verbs of saying (such as say or go), in the reported speech which occurs in spoken conversational narrative. Based on Johnstone’s (1987) research, which, in turn, is based on Wolfson (1982), the scope is further narrowed to include only those narratives in which the tellers re-create conversations with persons of authority, and to determine the function of this phenomenon in this particular speech situation.

It is important then to first define what is meant by the terms narrative and the Historical Present, as they will be used in this thesis, as well as to try to establish the link between the two. Labov (1972) defines narrative in the following way:

...recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred...we can define a minimal narrative as a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation (pp. 359-360).
Labov goes on to state that while some narratives contain only the temporally ordered clauses, other, more fully developed narratives may have the following structure:

1. **Abstract**: One or two clauses at the beginning of the narrative which summarize the whole story and encapsulate the point of the story.

2. **Orientation**: A section composed of free clauses which identify the time, place, persons, and their activity or the situation being described. Although it is possible for all orientation to be placed at the beginning of the narrative, much of this material is placed at strategic points later on.

3. **Complicating Action**: The temporally ordered clauses which relate the events or action of the narrative.

4. **Evaluation**: The means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it is told, and what the narrator is attempting to get across.

5. **Result or Resolution**: Describes the outcome or final result of the events described in the narrative.

6. **Coda**: Clauses found at the end of a narrative which signal that the narrative is finished, and may also contain general observations or show the effects of the events on the narrator. A coda may also be used to bridge the gap between the narrative and the present, to bring the teller and the listener back to the point at which they entered the narrative. (Labov, 1972, pp. 363-367).

However, Wolfson (1982) feels that Labov’s definition, in which narrative can be viewed as a simple recounting of past events, does not begin to distinguish between two types of temporally ordered sequences of clauses which make up narrative: reports and stories. A report, in its recounting of a past event, merely conveys information. For example, the narrative, "I got home from work at seven o’clock, had dinner, and
went straight to bed," tells us which events occurred, and in what order, but nothing more. There is no central point, no theme, judgment, or ideology expressed by the speaker (p. 23).

Wolfson points out that stories, on the other hand, allow the speaker’s perspective to come through; the speaker not only presents the events in the order in which they occurred, but also offers a judgement of those events. While Labov (1972) sees evaluation as an important aspect of narrative in general, Wolfson uses evaluation as the feature which distinguishes between the categories of report and story, under the broader heading of narrative (1982, p. 24).

But, as Wolfson illustrates, not all stories contain the HP, so a further categorization of narrative is necessary—one in which a distinction is made between those stories which are likely to contain the HP and those which are not. Wolfson categorizes those which will contain the HP as performed stories, and from Hymes (1974), defines a performed narrative in the following way:

> When a speaker acts out a story, as if to give his audience the opportunity to experience the event, and his evaluation of it, he may be said to be giving a performance...performance is here used in a rather narrow sense, close to its theatrical meaning...the recounting of a past event enacted as a play...(Hymes, 1974, p. 5).

Wolfson goes on to list six elements of a performed story, explaining that while not all of these features will be present in any one story, all performed stories will contain at least some of the following characteristics:

1. direct speech
2. asides
3. repetition
4. expressive sounds
5. sound effects

The number of features present in any one story, together with the amount that each is used, determine the degree to which the story is said to be performed. Working then, with Wolfson's categorizations and definitions, we have:

The function of a story and the characteristic which distinguishes it from other kinds of narrative is that it is told to get across a point of view. The function of performance is to structure the experience from the point of view of the speaker and to dramatize it (Wolfson, 1982, p. 24).

But what distinguishes the Historical Present tense from other cases of the present tense, and how does the HP fit into this idea of a performed story? Although the present tense in English serves a number of purposes, it is a tense which in itself is timeless; it has no specific time reference in the present and overlaps with both the future and the past. It is ungrammatical in English to respond to the question What are you doing now? with a reply such as I study for a test, or Now I eat lunch (just as native speakers do not phrase the question What do you do now?).

Clearly the primary uses of the present tense have nothing to do with a specific point in time; the present tense is most often used to express general or eternal truths, such as Two and three make five (true at the moment of speaking as well as in the past and in the future), and habitual states, such as Bill drinks heavily (even though Bill may not be drinking at the moment of speaking). Another common use of the present tense is in academic writing--the present tense is used when writing about literature, research, and works of art which have been completed in the past. We find the
present tense used to describe both the work itself and the author or creator of that work, as in *We might also notice that Faulkner seeks strenuously to tap all of the resources for play in the language*... (Matthews, 1982), and *Caddy's betrayal of her honor and the fact that she is cut off forever from Quentin mean that he possesses no future he is willing to contemplate* (Brooks, 1963).¹ Because we are still reading and appreciating these works, and they still influence and affect us, we use the present tense when discussing them.

The cases of the simple present tense having the referent right now are limited: to express action at the moment of speaking (or writing), as in *I apologize for my behavior* (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, pp. 48-49), and in the play-by-play announcements of sports broadcasters: *Baker hits it off the end of the bat down to Scott* (Weber, 1985, p. 462). The present tense also includes both future and past forms, with the time reference for the future form made specific by the use of adverbials, for example, *Judy leaves for the coast next Tuesday,* or *The first race starts at three* (Wolfson, 1982, p. 33).

The present tense, when used for a past time reference, is also contextualized adverbially: *Last week I was walking down the hall and this guy runs up to me, grabs my hat, and runs off.* This use of the present tense to refer to past events, the HP, is limited to performed stories as defined, specifically—the more performance features, the more likely the use of the HP. However, no story, no matter how fully

¹ Both examples are from a Norton critical edition of *The Sound and the Fury* by William Faulkner.
performed, is ever told entirely in the HP; the HP always alternates with the past tense in narratives (Wolfson, 1982, p. 29). Wolfson defines the HP as such by the following conditions:

1. in spoken English, it is restricted to performed narrative;

2. the HP alternates with the simple past tense in such a way that:

(a) the simple past tense is always substitutable for the HP without change in referential meaning, and

(b) the HP is never found in all verbs where it could have been used (1982, p. 3).

However, the HP also contains variants—the present progressive and the (more rare) present perfect, when used in narrative to describe past events, are also considered cases of the HP. For example,

1. "So I don't even know this person, and here she is telling me her whole life history, and now I've got to sound interested even though all I really want to do is go home."

Just as the verbs in simple HP can be substituted for by the simple past tense with no change in their referential meaning of expressing a single finite action, so do the verbs in progressive HP take the place of the past progressive, having the meaning of action continued over a period of time (Wolfson, 1982, p. 31).

But what exactly is meant in 2b above, by the phrase "could have been used"? What other conditions restrict the use of the HP? In order to gain a clear understanding of the HP in general, as well as the factors which influence its use, it is best to review the literature on this phenomenon.
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Traditional View

The traditional view of the use of the HP, that espoused by prescriptive grammarians and linguists alike, holds that this is an attempt on the part of the teller to make the events more vivid, to bring the events into the time of the telling, enabling the receiver to experience those events for her or himself:

The historical present is much used to make more vivid past events and bring them nearer the hearer (Curme, 1931, p. 355).

In his discussion of the uses of the present tense, Jespersen (1931) explains:

Next, the present tense is used in speaking of the past. This is the case in the "dramatic present" (generally called the "historic present") which is pretty frequent in connected narrative; the speaker, as it were, forgets all about time and imagines, or recalls what he is recounting, as vividly as if it were now present before his eyes. Very often this present tense alternates with the preterite (p. 19).

While Jespersen is quite right about the HP alternating with the past tense, he offers, as do the others, no justification for this analysis. And Palmer (1965) merely accepts the view that:

The traditional explanation of this usage—that it recalls or recounts the past as vividly as if it were the present is adequate (p. 69).

It is interesting to note that, while most of these explanations are quite vague and make rather bold claims as to the speaker's state of mind or involvement in the story, the frequent use of such adjectives as animated and vivid to describe the narratives which contain the HP is quite consistent with the idea of a performed story
(Wolfson, 1982, p. 13). However, as we shall see in later research, the idea of bringing past events closer, in time, to the time of the telling has a serious flaw, and thus, the traditional view is shown to be invalid.

**Steadman**

In one of the earlier studies of the HP, James Steadman, Jr. (1917), in an historical approach, examines a body of representative texts in both Old and Middle English in an attempt to discover the origins of the HP in the English language. In his search for significant patterns of HP usage in a large number of texts, he determines four "facts" from those texts:

1. The historical present does not occur in Old English.

2. It is, however, very common in the Latin writings written in England during the Old English period.

3. The Old English translators consistently and repeatedly avoided translating a historical present of the Latin by an English historical present.

4. The historical present appeared first in English at the beginning of the thirteenth century; it became fairly common before the end of the century; and by the end of the fourteenth century it was used with the greatest freedom (1917, p. 21).

He then looks for explanations for these facts by examining the various theories which have been advanced to explain the appearance of the HP in English, as well as in other Germanic languages:

1. The historical present did not occur in Old English because the Old English poets lacked the vivid imagination necessary to the use of this tense (Maetzner, 1874).

2. The historical present developed naturally and logically from presents closely related to it (Wunderlich, 1901).
3. The historical present is a borrowing from Old French (Grimm, 1870-98; Maetzner, 1874; Brinkmann, 1884; Einenkel, 1887).

4. The historical present is colloquial in origin (Maetzner, 1874; Jespersen, 1914).

5. The origin of the historical present is bound up with the origin of the periphrastic future. Germanic had no characteristic future form. The present, therefore, had to serve a triple function: it might express general truths, present actions, and future actions. The use of this form to indicate past events would have caused ambiguity and confusion, for it would have crowded too many meanings upon one form (Grimm, 1870-98).

6. The origin of the historical present is bound up with Aktionsart in Germanic (Behaghel, 1899; Wilmanns, 1906) (Steadman, 1917, p.3).

Steadman very methodically applies each of these six theories to the four facts gathered from his data to determine which of the theories, if any, satisfactorily explain these facts. Based on his examples from the texts, he rejects the first theory as well as the second, and shows that there is insufficient evidence to support the third. The fourth theory, Steadman feels, can neither be proved nor disproved, due to the lack of colloquial documents from the period. He establishes that the fifth and sixth theories are very closely related, and concludes (after a thorough discussion, in German, of the concept of Aktionsart) that, "It is impossible to establish any theory with absolute certainty," but that these "...two theories may be right"; they do explain "the same phenomenon in two closely related languages, English and German" (p.44).

However, in his focused historical look at the use of the HP, Steadman offers no explanation for its use, although he says that his study shows that:
...the present and the preterit were easily interchanged. Since this interchange does not bear directly on our study of the origin of the historical present, it cannot be discussed here. The interchange seems to be for no particular reason. The use of preterit or present is probably determined by the choice of the individual writer...A glance at the examples will show that the preterit and the historical present occur side by side with apparently no difference in meaning. In some cases the preterit precedes, in others it follows, the historical present (Wolfson, 1982, p. 17).

Wolfson

In a later study, Wolfson (1982--actually a publication of her 1977 dissertation, University of Pennsylvania) does look at this interchange; she comprehensively examines the various constraints on the use of the HP (she prefers CHP, for conversational historical present), determines in which speech situations it is most likely to be used and by whom, analyzes its function in narrative, and offers several hypotheses for what she feels are special cases of the HP in narrative--the quotatives.

A substantial portion of Wolfson’s (1982) work is devoted to an ethnographic study to determine the most favorable setting for the use of the HP. She used eight different observers, who were asked to listen to the conversations around them and to record the narratives which they heard. These observers carried a book with a tally sheet in which the following information was recorded:

A. speech situation
B. participants:
speaker/addressee
  1. sex
  2. estimated age
  3. occupation
  4. dress
  5. ethnic group (if known)
  6. speech (standard/nonstandard)
C. historical present tense--yes/no

D. topic of narrative

Over four hundred narratives, two hundred of which contain the feature of HP alternation with the past tense, told by a wide variety of people in a broad range of speech situations, were collected and analyzed to calculate "the relative order of importance of each of the factors in determining the frequency with which the variable was used" (1982, p. 75).

In a series of over twenty tables and graphs, Wolfson demonstrates that the more solidarity, in more areas, between the speaker and addressee(s), the more frequent is the use of the HP in narrative. She isolates and statistically calculates for the variables of age, sex, intimacy of relationship, ethnicity, status, occupation, and amount of time lapsed since the event being reported occurred, as well as various combinations of these factors. In each of these tables and graphs, the more variables which are similar for the participants, the more frequent is the use of the HP (1982, pp. 79-100).

Wolfson further concludes that speakers fall into two general categories: those for whom HP alternation is rare, and those for whom it is frequent, although, for those frequent HP-users, she finds no shared characteristics among those which she considered (1982, p. 100). Among those classified as frequent users are a sixty-five year old black woman with a fourth grade education, who has been a domestic all her life, a forty year old Jewish businessman with a B.S. in marketing, the seventy year old widow of a famous scientist, and a forty year old Englishwoman with a Ph.D. in crystallography (1982, p. 101).
But it is the section which Wolfson calls her "Internal Analysis," in which she analyzes the constraints on the use of the HP, as well as its function, which is most germane to the present work. She explains what is (or should be) an obvious point: that, if the present tense in English is timeless, which is agreed upon by a number of grammarians (Twaddell, 1960, p. 5; Crystal, 1966, p. 6; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, pp. 48-49), then it makes no sense to say that the use of the HP is an attempt to bring the hearer closer in time to past events. If the present tense does not represent present time, then past events cannot be brought into the present time (the time of the telling) by the use of the HP (1982, p. 34).

The choice of whether to use the past tense or the HP in a performed narrative is governed by several factors, the first of which consists of the two time orientations into which narratives are generally organized: the time of the telling of the story, and the time during which the events being described actually occurred. The use of the HP is limited to the orientation of time which is related to the events being described (Wolfson, 1982, p. 29). The following minimal recounting of a single event contains the simple past tense (event-time orientation), the general present tense (related to the time of the telling), and the HP (also related to the time of the event):

2. "This morning he came by and waved and he never comes by and waves but this morning he comes by and waves" (Wolfson, 1982, p. 30).

This example illustrates not only the importance of differentiating between these two time orientations in the narrative, in order to correctly identify actual uses of the HP, but also reinforces the fact that the traditional explanation for the HP does
not hold. This explanation simply cannot account for the switching between tenses which takes place within the event-time reference of a story—in fact, many stories are organized so that what seems to be the most important event is given in the past tense. And while many stories are often told entirely in the past tense, the same is not true for the HP; in all stories in which the HP is used, there is switching back and forth between the HP and the past tense—and it is the switch itself which is the significant feature (Wolfson, 1982, p. 34).

So, even within that portion of the performed narrative which is related to the time of the past events, as we have seen, the HP is not always used; there are other factors which influence its use. Wolfson’s (1982) data show that there is a very strong constraint on the use of the HP in subordinate ‘when’ clauses within the time frame of a story; that is, in forty-three examples of ‘when’ clauses within the time orientation of the story, only four are cases in which the verb in the head clause is in the HP. Most often, the past tense is used both in the ‘when’ clause and in the head clause, as in:

3. "So when I got home, I thought...;"
as opposed to the infrequent use of the past tense in the ‘when’ clause with the head clause using the HP:

4. "When we drove up, I see all these kids..."And in no cases at all did Wolfson find the simple HP used in the ‘when’ clause itself; the verbs found in the ‘when’ clauses are in the past tense rather than the HP because the ‘when’ specifically locates the action in time (1982, p. 42).
A close look at examples of the HP from Wolfson's data not only exemplifies that it is the switch between tenses which is the significant characteristic, but also leads to one of the more vital conclusions which Wolfson draws from her data—that the switch between tenses, in either direction, serves to partition off important events in the story from each other (1982, p. 36). She says:

As we have seen, the significant fact about the use of the CHF lies not in the verb tense itself, but in the switching from past to CHF and from CHF to past in the story. Actions occur one after another in a series but in order to separate the actions into events, to introduce a focus and permit the narrator to give his own interpretation of what happened, the alternation between two verb forms is used. By switching from one to another, the narrator creates a division between two events (1982, p. 45).

Wolfson explains that when the actions are seen as belonging to separate events, especially, when the verb represents an action which is at a different level of importance to the story, what she calls the CHF alternation rule is used to focus attention on the new action (1982, p. 46).

She uses the following story (told jointly by a husband and wife) to illustrate a common pattern of verb tense alternation—past (P), HP, P:

5. H: "For two weeks—we went down to Lake George and let the kids loose. Because Lake George is like Wildwood, you know, as far as all the things for kids."

W: "The thing was that we didn’t feel pressured by mealtimes at a hotel that we had to make this hour or that hour or be dressed in time for dinner or get up in time for breakfast. Whenever we got up, we ate."

H: "We sailed with extreme elegance up to this pizza place!"

W: "Oh, yes, we decided to go to this pizza place for lunch so we sailed—we left at eleven in the morning and we got there at
three, okay? Four miles--it was against the wind all the way. We get up to the place, we have our lunch, we get back in the boat, and I said to Bud, 'I think the wind died.' The wind died, it took us hours to get back. And we were shipping water because we had a hole in the boat. So by the time we got back, we had paddled three quarters of the way back. No wind. Absolutely dead. The sail was absolutely hanging there and I was paddling. And Bud finally took the daggerboard out and was using it as a paddle."

Wolfson offers the following diagram as a way to track the shifts in tense from past to HP, and back to past again:

Diagram I  Wolfson Narrative

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{HP} & \quad / \quad / \\
\text{P} & \quad / \quad / \quad / \quad / \quad / \quad / \quad / \quad / \\
\end{align*}
\]

In this diagram, the horizontal line represents the time during which all of the action takes place. The vertical marks beneath the time line represent single verbs in past time and those above it represent single verbs rendered in the HP (all verbs so illustrated are underlined in the above text) (Wolfson, 1982, p. 37). Wolfson offers several more examples of this same pattern, and points out that the pattern is typical in that the shift from P, to HP, and back to P is shared by these narratives, but that the stories given have no other common features with respect to topic, setting, or speaker background (1982, p. 39).

The fact that the switch between past tense and CHP is the formal feature which separates events from one another in stories is demonstrated by the co-occurrences and constraints on CHP alternation. Since CHP has no semantic value of its own and depends entirely upon its context for time reference, we would expect its use to be governed by the adverbs and adverbial phrases...which have a specific time reference such as 'yesterday,' etc. This expectation is completely borne out by the data (Wolfson, 1982, p. 39).

15
The point is, then, that those adverbials with a time reference related to the event may co-occur freely with the HP, and while Wolfson finds no examples of adverbials which occur solely with the HP, there are some time expressions which clearly constitute a favorable environment for the use of the HP—the most notable of which is the expression all of a sudden (1982, p.40). Out of the ten instances of all of a sudden in Wolfson’s data, only two are not followed by a switch in tense. Of the eight that are followed by a tense shift, seven are from the past to the HP, with one from the HP to the past tense. Wolfson feels that all of a sudden indicates an unexpected occurrence of some new event, and that it is not surprising that it is often accompanied by a switch in tense which also signals a new event (1982, p. 41).

But Wolfson finds a contradiction to her CHP alternation rule in the alternation between the verbs say and said—the quotatives. She finds that while in some examples from her data, said appears to function in the same way as all the other verbs, following the CHP alternation rule, there are many cases in which the switch between the two verb forms appears to be unmotivated. She points out that, while in some cases, the switch in form does serve to focus attention on a turning point in the story, or to separate events, aside from these (relatively few) cases, the says/said alternation "does not seem to arise from anything textually" (1982, p. 51). She offers the following hypotheses to explain the says/said alternation:

1. If the speech acts being reported for two participants in a story are parallel (insult-insult) then the tense will remain constant, while if they are asymmetrical, there will be a switch in tense.
2. The switch might be connected to the relative status of the participants.

3. Alternation might not occur unless there is more than one participant in the story—that if only one participant is quoted, the verb tense will be only say or only said.

4. Stories told in the third person will contain only the past tense form, said (1982, pp. 51-52).

However, she rejects all four of these hypotheses; without going into much detail, she states, in considering each of the hypotheses in turn, that she either found examples in her data which contradict that hypothesis, or merely that, "this did not prove to be correct." She concludes by calling this one lexical item an anomaly, and offers, as explanation for the instability of this form, the fact that it is so common—it accounts for approximately 35% of all verbs in stories—and may be a case of loss of significance through overuse, a "well known linguistic phenomenon" (1982, p. 52).

Schiffrin

Working with some of Wolfson's shorter publications (1978 & 1979, based on her 1977 dissertation), Schiffrin (1981) states that:

"Although Wolfson's analysis is an important step in this direction, it does not cover the full range of HP-P variation, and therefore, misses some distinctions concerning both the nature of the variation and constraints on its occurrence (1981, 47)."

Schiffrin uses data from seventy-three narratives, and addresses the HP from three perspectives: the constraints on the HP-P variation, the function of the HP in narrative, and the reasons for the significance of the HP (1981, p. 47). Among the various constraints which she considers is the location, within the narrative, in which
the HP most often occurs. Her data show that the HP "never occurs in external
evaluation clauses, abstracts, or codas," and that in orientation clauses, only 3%
(9/268) of the verbs are in the HP. However, she says that in complicating action
clauses, 30% (381/1288) of the verbs are in the HP (1981, p. 51). She feels that the
"almost total restriction" of the HP to complicating action clauses is not surprising,
for it is only here that "tense is freed from its main job of providing a reference
time," because the events are understood as having occurred prior to the time of

Schiffrin's (1981) findings concur with Wolfson's (1982): "the most typical
pattern" is one which begins with the past tense, shifts into the HP, may then switch
back and forth a few times, and, finally finishes up in the past tense (1981, p. 51).
She states:

The tendency to begin and end the complicating action with the
P is indicated by the fact that, in my corpus, the HP is used
with 18% of the verbs in the initial complicating action clause,
9% in the final clause, but 32% in the middle clauses (1981, p.
51).

Schiffrin notes further that "there is a tendency for verbs in the same tense to
cluster together," and points out that both the HP and P verbs are more frequent when
the prior verb is in the same tense. She concludes by saying that "sequences with
rapid alternation between the HP and P are not typical" (1981, p. 51).

Schiffrin also investigates the use of temporal conjunctions (so accounts for 2/3
of those considered) as they relate to the HP, and finds that they favor tense-switching
for three reasons:
1. they emphasize the temporal asymmetry of narrative clauses;

2. they often indicate something beyond conjunction, such as result or consequence;

3. the subject of a clause is more likely to differ from that of the prior clause if it is preceded by a temporal conjunction (1981, p. 55).

She goes on to say that these properties are "independent evidence" that temporal conjunctions occur when there is some break between events, and suggests that they function to separate events from one another, supporting Wolfson’s (1979) hypothesis that tense-switching separates events (1981, p. 55). However, she does question Wolfson’s allegation that the direction of the switch does not matter--Schiffrin says that her data show that more often (59% vs. 20%), when introduced by a temporal conjunction, the switch will be from HP to P, rather than from P to HP (1981, p. 56). She states:

Table 3 shows that the presence or absence of temporal conjunctions has no influence on whether tense will switch from P to HP, rather than stay in P. In contrast, Table 4 shows that switching from HP to P is more frequent than staying in P when clauses are introduced by temporal conjunctions,

and concludes that the direction of the tense-shift does matter; it is only when tense switches from HP to P that it separates events in the narrative (1981, p. 56).

Schiffrin finds, with verbs of saying and direct quotes, that the HP is much more frequent with direct quotes than with indirect quotes--63% as opposed to 5%--and further notes that, while most verbs of saying, say, tell, yell, can preface either direct or indirect quotes, the quotative go can only be used with direct quotes, and is,
therefore, much more frequently used with the HP; in her data, 97% of the uses of *go* are in the HP (1981, p. 58).

The final important conclusion that Schiffrin draws is that the HP is used as an internal evaluation device. She states:

Evaluation clauses which are *external* to the narrative action may be used to indicate the important point of the story to the audience; but, if narrative events convey their own importance, and make obvious contributions to the point of the story, then we can say that the evaluation is *internal*. [Therefore] The HP is an *internal evaluation device*; it allows the narrator to present events as if they were occurring at that moment, so that the audience can hear for itself what happened, and can interpret for itself the significance of those events for the experience (1981, p. 59).

While I do think that there is something evaluative in the use of the HP, there are two minor points here with which I disagree: first, when Schiffrin states that the event is presented as if occurring at that moment, she seems to be corroborating the traditional view of immediacy, in which the HP is seen as a device to bring the events into the time of the telling (which I think invalid, as does Wolfson, 1982). Second, and more importantly, in doing so, Schiffrin is saying that it is the HP itself which is the significant feature, rather than the *shift*—and, again, I must agree with Wolfson (1982) that it is the switch in tense which is significant.

**Johnstone**

Like Schiffrin (1981), Johnstone (1987) also bases her work on Wolfson; her study, a reevaluation of one of Wolfson's rejected (1982) hypotheses regarding quotatives, which Johnstone calls "dialog introducers," focuses on narratives which contain the reported speech of authority and non-authority persons. Specifically, she
looks at Wolfson's hypothesis which proposes that the *says/said* alternation is a function of the relative status of the participants. From a corpus of sixty-six personal-experience narratives, Johnstone selects

13 first-person stories which include clear examples of verbal interaction with figures of authority and which re-create this interaction with reported dialog (1987, p. 37).

From these thirteen, she narrows her data to nine stories which include "at least one reported interchange between an authority figure and a nonauthority" (1987, p. 38).

In her quantitative analysis, Johnstone (1987) finds a total of twenty "interchanges" (which she defines as a "conversational move and its response," and notes which tense is used for each speaker. She offers the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Nonauthority</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While this table shows, for Johnstone's data, that the majority of the interchanges are cases of the authority’s speech being reported with the HP, and that of the non-authority being reported with the past tense, a number of questions are unanswered. First, this idea of "interchanges" in reported dialogue seems a bit hazy--

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a conversational move and its response seems fairly clear-cut in such things as utterance pairs. But, in reported dialogue, in which the moves may or may not occur in a clean, back and forth pattern, it seems less clear to define which is the move and which is the response. In addition, how does Johnstone count these? For example, if A opens the dialogue, and B responds, and A responds to B's response, are both moves, from A to B and B back to A counted as interchanges?

At any rate, Johnstone (1987) offers no help here; she does not make it clear exactly how she is counting her data, and, unfortunately, this is the only bit of quantitative evidence which she submits. Of this table, she states:

...in about half of the interchanges tellers choose to introduce the authority figure's dialog with a different tense from the one they choose for the nonauthority's dialog, and, in these interchanges, IT IS ALWAYS THE NONAUTHORITY WHOSE TALK IS INTRODUCED IN THE PAST; THE AUTHORITY FIGURE GETS INTRODUCED EITHER IN THE HP OR WITH θ [emphasis Johnstone's] (1987, p. 39).

Johnstone offers a number of examples which illustrate her conclusion, but many of these examples are quite brief—they are examples of only one "interchange," and do not show us what goes on in the rest of the dialogue; in short, to me the examples seem to be rather taken out of context.

So what does Johnstone make of what she calls her 'He says/I said' general pattern? She proposes a "version of Schiffrin's (1981) claim that the HP is an evaluative device"; the difference which she sees between her hypothesis and that of Schiffrin is that hers is restricted to the say/go system. She states:

That is, tense choice in dialog introducers is independent of tense choice in other, fully lexical verbs, so that an HP
introducer can be evaluative even if it follows a string of other HP verbs (1987, p. 43).

She then points out that a speaker reinforces the tellability of a story by the use of evaluative devices, and that one such device is the HP. According to Johnstone, it is not surprising that the HP is used in reported interactions with authorities, because the fact that the authority was there makes the event a potential story. Johnstone continues:

So it is the authority who gets the marked form, the nonpast form for a past event. When there is a tense differential at all in the discourse introducers, the nonauthority always gets the unmarked past tense (1987, p. 43).

Johnstone uses Goffman’s (1981) idea of "footing" to further explain how the HP serves as an evaluative device with quotatives. Goffman defines footing as:

the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance (Goffman, 1981, p. 128).

Johnstone explains why the authorities use says while the non-authorities use said:

If storytellers use a different tense to introduce authorities’ speech and nonauthorities’, they are indicating to their audiences that, in the story, the two characters were on unequal footings. Nonauthorities tend to have to be presented as having spoken more in accordance with prescriptive norms, while authorities can afford to be more colloquial, or can be put down a notch by being made to sound colloquial and slightly incorrect (1987, p. 45).

While this explanation has a certain intuitive appeal, the lack of clarity

3 This is consistent with Labov’s definition of evaluation in narrative (1972, p. 370), which Wolfson sees as the distinguishing feature between report and story.
regarding Johnstone’s data and how she interprets it is problematic. The following statement also seems questionable:

Nonauthorities tend to have to be presented as having spoken more carefully, more in accordance with prescriptive norms...(p. 45).

Does an analysis of the other forms of grammar used by the non-authorities bear this out? Is the speech of the authorities also reported as being "colloquial" in respects other than just the use of the HP?

While Johnstone’s conclusion and interpretation appear valid enough for her data, a number of questions arise concerning her work in particular as well as the generalizations which can be derived from that work. How are interchanges counted? Does this pattern of authority-HP/non-authority-past always hold? Are there ever any cases where the teller changes tense for a speaker’s reported quotatives within one narrative? If so, what does this change mean? And are the other grammatical forms for non-authorities generally more "correct" than those for the authorities? In an attempt to answer these questions, the chapters which follow include both quantitative and qualitative analyses of narratives in which tellers re-create encounters with figures of authority with a focus on the quotatives which introduce reported dialogue.

* Specifically, the lack of information regarding the method used to count interchanges, as well as the lack of access to the narratives, or contextualization of the examples, leads to confusion.
CHAPTER 3: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Methodology

According to Wolfson (1982), the techniques used in the collection of spoken linguistic data fall under two general headings: observation and elicitation. Observation includes ethnographic fieldwork on the culture of others as well as one's own, participant observation, and what Labov (1970) calls anonymous observation. Wolfson states that elicitation techniques, which all involve the speaker's awareness that what he or she says is being studied, include gathering linguistic data from one informant during one or more sessions, from numerous subjects during one or more sessions, from a large number of subjects in single interviews, as well as consultations with one's own intuitions. She further states that these two methods are not mutually exclusive—that data may be gathered by any one of these techniques individually, or by a combination of one or more of the methods (1982, p. 55).

Wolfson points out that all of these methods share in common the linguistic truism "that awareness of oneself as a subject of study may engender the validity of data," and mentions what Labov (1970) describes as the "observers paradox, that "we as linguists, need to know how people speak when we are not present" (Wolfson, 1982, p. 55). With this in mind, Wolfson goes on to discuss the "spontaneous interview," as described by Wolfram and Fasold (1974) in which:

The goal of spontaneous interviewing is quite straightforward and simple: the interviewer wants to get as much conversation

5 Stephen M. North defines this as "collecting multiple versions of what is held to be real by the people" of a particular speech community (1987, p. 279).
as possible. He wants the informant to focus on the topic of his conversation so that he pays minimal attention to the way he is speaking. The less attention paid to his speech, the more informal and natural we can expect his speech to be. In most cases, this means that what the informant talks about is less important than the fact that they talk. Therefore, lengthy narratives are tolerated, and in fact encouraged, even though they may be tangential to the specific questions asked (Wolfram & Fasold, p. 49).

And although Wolfson does feel that the spontaneous interview can elicit "excellent data," she points out that many people are quite uncomfortable when placed in a situation in which they are being interviewed by a stranger. As Wolfson explains, it is because the spontaneous interview is not a speech event—it does not follow the normal question-and-answer format which dominates the formal interview—that it can be an uncomfortable situation. Rather, after a beginning which appears much like a true interview, in which the subject is asked a few questions, the situation is suddenly altered as the interviewer then:

- does everything in his power to encourage the subject to violate the rules of speaking for an interview. His whole aim is to get the subject to speak freely, to introduce topics and to tell stories. He attempts, in fact, to create a completely different speech event: an informal conversation (Wolfson, 1982, p. 66).

The factors which enable one interviewer to elicit excellent data from one subject may also make it impossible for that same interviewer to collect anything at all from another subject. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), the determining factors are "connected with the issue of power and solidarity," and it is the spontaneous interview which most clearly shows this influence (Wolfson, 1982, p. 67). In cases where the solidarity between interviewer and subject in such areas as
age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, occupation, and gender, is great, the:

conversations are free in the sense that all the participants [have] the right to introduce topics, interrupt one another, talk and laugh freely (1982, p. 58).

Wolfson sums up by saying that although it may be "startling":

...there can be no better research site for the observation of free conversation than the circle of one's own friends and associates. It is only from the speech of those whom we know well enough to see frequently in a large number of different situations that we can get a view in depth of how a variable is used (1982, p. 72).

When I first began to elicit authority-encounter narratives for this study, I had not yet read all of Wolfson, but I soon discovered the truth in the above statement. No matter how guardedly or carefully I prefaced the prompt, I found that the average American is rather too suspicious of a tape recorder to comfortably give a natural narrative. After a series of quite frustrating interviews, I turned to those who know me, those who have grown reasonably comfortable with the fact that I always carry a small tape recorder and that I frequently record bits and pieces of conversation in a variety of situations. The prompt that I used generally went something like the following:

I'm looking for stories about run-ins with some kind of authority person, you know, like being pulled over by a cop. I especially need to hear what everybody said--like what the cop said, then what you said, and so on,

and I found that most people responded quite well, launching into performed narratives with little hesitation.

My data include a total of fourteen narratives, all of which re-create encounters
with some sort of authority figure, and all of which use quotatives for reported speech. The tellers include both males and females, although the majority are females, and range in age from seventeen to seventy. The educational backgrounds of these tellers vary—some never finished high school, some have college degrees, while others have advanced degrees. The occupations of the speakers are also diverse, and include: a high school student, several housewives, college students—both undergraduate and graduate, an enforcer for the South Coast Air Quality Management District, a waitress, a lieutenant for the California Highway Patrol, and an elementary school teacher.

While most of the narratives are told by non-authority persons, two are told by authority figures. Of the fourteen narratives collected, only two are told entirely in the past tense, and one is told with shifts between the HP and zero quotatives. The rest contain shifts between the HP and the past tense. In these narratives, a total of 167 quotatives are used, which include: says/said, go/goes/going/went, yells, asked, tell/told, screaming, and zero quotatives. In collecting these narratives, I came across 32 two rather new lexical variations which serve as quotatives—like and all. While these quotatives can be given in the past tense (he was like), in this corpus, I consider them to be special variants of the simple HP because they are contextualized

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6 Zero quotatives are instances in which "direct speech is reported with neither a reporting verb nor an attributed speaker"...often, "paralinguistic modulation of voice quality serves to identify different speaker attributions." (Yule & Mathis, 1994, p. 2).

7 See Blyth, Recktenwald, & Wang (1990), or Romaine & Lange (1991) for a full discussion of the quotative like.

in the present tense: *I’m like, he’s like, they’re all, and he’s all,* and they fit the rules of substitutability for the past tense which Wolfson uses to define the HP.

**The Quantitative Analysis**

Table II below illustrates the quotatives in a very general sense: frequency and distribution of total past and total HP quotatives in each narrative:

*Table II  Frequency of Tense in Each Narrative  N=167*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative #</th>
<th>Total HP</th>
<th>Total P</th>
<th>Total 0</th>
<th>Total Quotatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>167</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \bar{x} = 12 \)  

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9 The simple past tense is always substitutable for the HP without a change in referential meaning (Wolfson, 1982, p. 3).
The totals for the HP and the past tense are relatively close, with the HP being used in 43% of the total quotatives, and the past in 46%; however, of these totals for the HP, it might be interesting to see how the various types of the HP are distributed. In other words, how many of the total HP quotatives are simple HP, progressive HP, and how many are the newer simple HP variants, *all* and *like*?  

Table III gives a breakdown of the of HP quotatives used in each narrative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narr. #</th>
<th>Simple HP</th>
<th>Prog. HP</th>
<th>Like</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 The perfect HP is not included, as there are no cases of this variant in these data.
It is clear that at 58%, the simple HP makes up the bulk of the total HP used in the data, with the progressive HP relatively rare. The variants *like* and *all* make a rather decent showing, despite the fact that they appear in only four of the fourteen narratives. It seems that the same can be said of *like* and *all* users as Wolfson (1982) says of HP users in general—some people are frequent users; others are not. It is also interesting that the people who use these variants of the HP are among the youngest tellers in the group, and among those, it is the youngest person, the high school student, who uses *all* most frequently, while *like* is more common among those in their early twenties. These two variants, when totalled together, make up 34% of the total HP used in this data.

We have looked at relative frequency for the variable of tense in the narratives; however, these totals give no indication of the frequency with which the tenses are used for the quotatives in conjunction with the other variable—the relative status of the participants in the encounter. Table IV shows the frequency of each quotative type for the authority persons, and Table V shows the totals for the non-authorities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table IV Authority Persons' Quotatives N=76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 This supports Blyth, Recktenwald, & Wang, who state that "...teenagers and college-age speakers use *be like*...much more frequently than speakers from the older age groups" (1990, p. 219).
From Tables IV and V we can see that while there is more speech overall reported for the non-authorities, the percentages of quotatives used for reported speech, in either tense (or lexical variety), are not significantly dissimilar for the authorities and the non-authorities. Apparently, a teller is just as likely to introduce the reported speech in one tense as in the other, whether the reported speaker is an authority figure or a non-authority.

But will the teller use both the HP and the past tense for the reported speech of the same person within any one narrative? To tabulate these results, each time the speech of a participant is introduced, if the tense is different from that used to report that same participant's last introduced speech, that is counted as a shift. In other words, if A's first quotative is in the HP, the next is given in the P, that is counted as one shift. And if the tense for speaker A then switches back to the HP, that is a second shift. Table VI shows, for each narrative, the number of shifts in quotative tense for both the authorities and the non-authorities in each narrative.
Table VI  *Shifts in Tense, Per person, Per Narrative*  \( N=60 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative #</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Non-Authority</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
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<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
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Table VI shows that in all but 5 of the narratives, there is a shift in the tense of the quotatives for at least one of the participants. That three of the narratives have no such shift is not surprising—narratives #2 and #9 are those told entirely in the past tense, and narrative #5 is the one which is told primarily in the HP. Numbers 12 and 13, interestingly enough, are the two narratives in which the teller is the authority figure, and both of these two tellers use the HP exclusively for the non-authority person they are dealing with in the encounter and the past for themselves. And
although the pattern in these two narratives does follow Johnstone's 'he says/I said' (or other person-HP, self-P) pattern, it is a direct contradiction of the pattern that Johnstone (1987) finds in her data regarding the relative status of the participants.

So we have seen that the distribution of each tense within the narratives is relatively close, that the choice of tense for each of the participants--both authority and non-authority--is quite similar, and that, in most of the narratives which do contain shifts in tense at all, there is also a shift in the tense of the quotatives for each of the participants. We have also seen that in both of the narratives in which the authority figure is the teller, the HP is used for the non-authority, and the past is used exclusively for the authorities, contradicting Johnstone.

However, we still do not know exactly how these quotatives are distributed within what Johnstone (1987) calls the interchanges; we do not know if (other than the two narratives told by authorities), as Johnstone asserts, when the teller chooses a different tense for the different participants, the authority’s speech is reported with the HP, and the non-authority’s speech is in the P.

In counting these interchanges, again I will count each move between speakers—if A is reported as having opened the conversation, and then B responds, and then A responds to B’s response, I will count this as two interchanges. For example:

6. N: Well anyways um...then they’re all ya know well have ya ever had reason to suspect...

   N: an’ I’m like yeah... (1)

   N: an’ uh well he’s like... (2)
In this way, each quotative in question will be compared to the one given prior for the other speaker. However, counting in this manner is rather problematic as most of the quotatives used in the fourteen narratives do not follow a clear back and forth pattern, nor is there often a different tense used for the quotatives of the two participants as the conversation went from one to the other, at least within any given portion of the story. The following table illustrates the results:

**Table VII Status Plus Tense: Interchanges N=70**

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<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Past</em></td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>HP</em></td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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In a total of seventy interchanges, only thirty of these interchanges are occasions in which the teller introduces the authority’s speech with a tense different from that chosen for the non-authority. In forty of these interchanges, 57% of the total, the speech of both participants is introduced in the same tense, with the two strongest cases being P-P, followed by HP-HP. This finding certainly seems to corroborate Schiffrin’s (1981) idea of verbs in either tense clustering together. But most importantly, one fact is quite clear—it is not the case that when:

...the tellers choose to introduce the authority figure’s dialog with a different tense from the one they choose for the nonauthority’s dialog...IT IS ALWAYS THE NONAUTHORITY WHOSE TALK IS INTRODUCED IN THE PAST; THE AUTHORITY FIGURE GETS INTRODUCED EITHER IN THE HP OR WITH 0
In fact, when the speech for one participant is introduced in the HP, and the other participant's is in the P, quite the opposite is true—it is the authority's speech that is introduced in the past and the non-authority's speech that is given in the HP in the majority of cases.

So it seems that the two narratives in which the authorities are the tellers are not just isolated cases which give results different from Johnstone's. Johnstone's "general pattern" does not hold in these data, which leads to the conclusion that the choice of quotative tense in performed narrative is not a function of the relative status of the participants. The non-authority, in the telling of a performed story, is not using the HP as an evaluative device by putting the authority "down a notch by being made to sound colloquial and slightly incorrect," in order to equalize the footing between the two participants. Then why does the teller switch tense? What is the function of the shift in quotative tense in a performed narrative? Perhaps a closer look at when and where, in each of the fourteen narratives, these quotative tense shifts occur will allow us to determine exactly why the teller sometimes chooses the HP, and sometimes chooses the past tense.
CHAPTER 4: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

A close analysis of the fourteen narratives reveals several general patterns regarding the tense shift for quotatives; the two primary categories, into which eight of the fourteen narratives fall, are distinguished by elements which indicate that the shift in tense for quotatives is, as Wolfson (1982) says, a way of marking off or separating events within the narrative.

The Action/HP Pattern

The first of these two categories is one in which the teller primarily uses the HP for the actual face-to-face encounter with the authority. The "main point" or "action" is told in the HP, with shifts to the past, and less often to zero, when the teller is either giving additional information or details (which may or may not be directly involved in the actual encounter), describing his or her own emotions or thoughts at the time of the encounter, or giving other types of evaluation related to the story. Six of the narratives contain elements of this type of shift, several with multiple examples, making this the most common pattern found in the data.

Perhaps the best way to begin to look at the first of the narratives which falls into this category is with the use of Wolfson's time line, on which the quotatives are shown in order of occurrence. The quotatives are shown are above the line if they are in the HP, below the line if they are in the past tense, and marked with a plus (+) if they are cases of zero quotative (Ø). All the quotatives and only the quotatives for each narrative will be shown in this way; the verbs of action have been omitted. Narrative # 1 is illustrated below:
Diagram II Narrative #1

This narrative follows what both Wolfson (1982) and Schiffrin (1981) call a common pattern—it begins in the past, switches to the HP and, for the most part, remains there until shifting back to the past at the end. As we shall see, in doing so, it also falls into the Action/HP category. This is a narrative told by a non-authority, in which she describes a police officer coming to her house on Easter Sunday with a warrant for her arrest for not having a dog license. There are two major shifts in tense in this narrative—what follows is the part of the transcription which contains these two shifts. In all of the following examples, the ellipsis marks a part of the dialogue which has been left out, and does not indicate pause length, as it does in the actual transcription:

7. N: Easter Sunday? when I looked out the window in the kitchen an’ there’s a police car out in the yard? an’ I turned around ta Chuck an’ said Chuck there’s a policeman out there what’ ve you been doin’...

N: An’ the cop comes to the door an’ he says I have a warrant here...

N: ...so he handcuffed me an’ stuck me in the back seat...an’ I went ta jail that was when the jail was up in Twentynine...well even the police up there said boy that was a cold judge ta arrest her on Easter Sunday—fer this

The first shift, from the past to the HP, occurs when the policeman comes up to the door, at the point when the teller is actually face-to-face with the authority. The tense for the quotatives, indeed, for all of the verbs, then remains in the HP (except for one zero quotative), with several exchanges of "an’ he says...an’ I says,"
back and forth during the actual encounter. It is only when the teller steps back from the encounter to give the coda (which signals the end of the narrative) that she switches back to the past tense for the quotative. And in doing so, she clearly seems to be marking off, or highlighting, the most significant portion of the narrative, the actual face-to-face encounter with the police officer, with her shifts in tense.

Narrative #3, which also fits the Action/HP pattern, is interesting because it is the only encounter which is not told in the first person—the speaker is describing her husband's recent encounter with an authority, when he was pulled over for speeding:

*Diagram III Narrative #3*

This narrative starts in the HP and remains there, with only one shift to the past tense. Perhaps the best way to understand when this shift takes place is to examine the narrative:

8. T: Steve got pulled over just the other day? and uh he w's going thirty? in a fifty? so anyway he says that the cop comes up to 'im an' he's like I wasn't speeding he says well maybe like five miles over the limit but not twenty cop comes up an' says you're speeding...an' he asks fer his driver's license an' Steve gets out his driver's license an' registration...so he says...he goes now I'm proving ta you who I am you prove ta me that I was going fifty miles an hour...but first of all w-l but wait before that though first of all uh w-uh-w-Steve said well how fast was I going he asked...

As we can see, throughout the encounter the teller chooses the HP, but when she realizes that she has perhaps not told the story in the proper order, or that she has forgotten something, signalled by *but first of all*, she switches into the past tense. When she summarizes the encounter, rather than performs it, she chooses the past
tense: first of all uh w-uh-w-Steve said. It is hard to determine if she would have continued the entire narrative in the HP, had she not felt the need to repair. And although we cannot necessarily say that she is using a switch in tense to mark off significant portions of her narrative, she is following the pattern of the Action/HP category in which the face-to-face encounter itself is told in the HP. The step back and away from the action, or main-event portion of the narrative, is the point at which she uses a different tense.

Narrative #4 is a re-creation of a time, back in the seventies, when, because of a sugar shortage in this country, a group of people decided to go into Mexico to buy a number of large bags of sugar which they would then sell for a profit here in the United States. The pattern of tense shift is slightly more complicated in this narrative, because the tense shifts include zero quotatives, as well:

\[ \text{Diagram IV Narrative #4} \]

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In this narrative, which begins in the HP, there are two significant shifts from the HP to the past tense, although the second shift, as we will see, involves more than just tense. However, both of these seem to follow the pattern established for this category in which the teller shifts tense when stepping back away from the action, or actual encounter with the authority:

9. S:...the guy at the border sticks his head down ta talk ta Brian 'n' says oh I see ya got all this sugar what's it for? an' he goes my brother owns a bakery we just went shit an' uh so he goes well you can’t do that I mean you can only bring in sugar fer personal use...
In this example, the teller switches out of the HP when she steps out of the action, to offer evaluation (*we just went shit*), in describing what was going through the minds of the others in the car at the time. The teller then switches back into the HP to continue describing the encounter, with *an' uh so he goes*. The second example occurs a little later in the narrative, when the group has driven for several hours to a different border crossing to try to bring the sugar across:

9. S: ....so we drive up ta there an' they start talkin' ta Brian he says oh it's fer personal use an' all this other stuff but he didn't know what he didn't know was the fact that they had us on the computer with the license number of the vehicle an' ya know the guy started laughin' an' *said* somethin' about us tryin' ta smuggle it in an' if we persisted...we would be arrested for smuggling sugar into the country an' lying to them...

Here the shift occurs at a point when the teller has stepped out of the action to give the hearer "inside" information, an important point which was unknown to the participants at the time. What is also notable about this shift is that it is not only a shift in tense, but it is also a switch from direct to indirect speech, which makes *said* not a true quotative. The teller seems unsure of the border guard's exact words (*the guy started laughin' an' said somethin'...*), and it is the combination of the aside and the hesitancy which appears to trigger both the stepping out of the action of the narrative and the shift to indirect speech. Both of these shifts occur at a point in the story when the action is interrupted; in this case, it is the speaker's aside as well.

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12 This supports Mayes (1990), who shows that the deictic center (frame of reference) of the direct quote is that of the original utterance, while the deictic center of the indirect quote is that of speaking time. This includes "pronoun reference...place deixis...and tense choice" (p. 325).
as her hesitancy which interrupt the flow of the encounter, much as the speaker’s self-repair interrupted the action in Narrative #3.

Narrative #7, which contains a total of 24 quotatives and some rather complex tense shifts, also has elements which fall into the Action/HP category:

Diagram V Narrative #7
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into the past tense occurring when the teller’s attention is taken away from the
narration of the encounter. This interruption occurs as a result of the interviewer
asking a question which relates to a time about a year prior to the events being
described in the present narrative:

11. N: But um she says yeah um Melody gave me the printout an’ it says your G-P-A is point eight three
A: Still. that’s what they had last [time wasn’t it?]
N: [I think so yeah] an’ I told her I said well they did this to me before(.) she knew that because I was in two of her classes the quarter they did that…so she showed it to um Dr. Ehrler and he’s he’s like no something’s wrong…

Here it is the entire side sequence which takes place in the past tense. This
side sequence, with its subsequent shift out of the HP, is triggered by the
interviewer’s reference to events which occurred prior to those described in this
narrative (that’s what they had last time wasn’t it?). Once the teller resumes the
narrative, the tense shifts back into the HP. The narrative continues with both the HP
and zero quotatives until the teller uses a temporal conjunction (so) to shift to a
conversation which takes place sometime after the one just given with the political
science professor:

13. N: So I called Admissions and Records an’ they said no(.) we can’t tell you anything over the phone you hafeta come in…

The teller then switches back and forth, using one quotative in the HP, several zero
quotatives, and the majority in the past tense in describing this conversation:

14. N: …so I said I need my G-P-A so she has to get permission?
to give me my G-P-A she comes back 0 well what’s it for. I
tell her well there's a major screwup with my G-P-A...an' I wanna know if it's you know where it's coming from...so she told me an' they had it right...so I said well? um you know I told her about the printout an' I said somebody has it as point eight three I said are all your computers the same?...0 S' are they all the same? 0 oh yeah...I said fine (. see ya

Again, when the teller is in the action of the conversation, describing the confrontation with the person in Admissions and Records, the quotatives are given with zero and in the HP (0 well what's it for. I tell her...). But when we are removed from the action, when the teller begins to summarize what was said in this conversation (so she told me an' they had it right...), the shift into the past tense again occurs along with a switch to indirect speech. The only shift out of the past tense after this point occurs when the teller uses zero quotative for two direct quotes (0 s' are they all the same 0 oh yeah). These two quotes appear to be part of the action of the story again, and removed from the summary which has started. The teller then finishes up the narrative with the past tense (I said fine (. see ya), which serves as the coda, letting the hearer know that the narrative is finished.

The next narrative which falls into this category, Narrative #8, while it contains the most quotatives of all the narratives, does not have as many shifts as the previous story. For the most part, once the teller has shifted into a new tense, that tense is maintained for a period of time before the next switch occurs, and is therefore a clear example of Schiffrin's (1981) clustering tendency:

Diagram VI  Narrative #8

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This narrative, in which the teller is describing an occasion when several DEA
agents came to the door asking questions about drug traffic in the neighborhood, also
has several examples of the Action/HP pattern of tense switching. The narrative
begins in the HP, and after a shift to a zero quotative, the teller switches to the past
tense:

15. N: ...an’ I say who is it ’cuz I didn’t see there was no cars in
my driveway an’ um I’m all who is it an’ he’s oh sheriff okay
(.) so I open the door an’ he’s standin’ there in plain clothes
an’ I laughed in their face. I went (brrr) like ’cuz I thought
they were tryin’ i’was somebody tryin’ ta get me ta open the
door...

This is another clear case of the teller shifting tense when stepping away from
the actual encounter to describe her feelings and thoughts at the time (I went brrr).
The next quotative is given in the HP, after the DEA agent has properly identified
himself, and continues there until the interviewer interrupts the story with a question
as to when this occurred:

15. A: When was this?

N: About (. ) three weeks ago. an’ they said uh yeah they said
yeah we had an anonymous phone tip...I dunno who called ’em
but they said they had an anonymous phone tip that there was
alot of activity between this house an’ the house across the
street...

When the telling of the narrative is interrupted by the interviewer’s question,
the speaker switches from the HP to the past tense with about three weeks ago. an’
they said. This shift to the past tense is consistent with the speaker’s stepping away
from the telling of the narrative. But after this switch, with its two subsequent past
tense quotatives, the speaker seems to step even further away from the narrative when
offering an aside to the interviewer. Since the speaker is already using the past tense,
indirect speech is used to mark this next shift: *I dunno who called 'em but they said they had an anonymous phone tip*. After this aside given with indirect speech, the teller moves back into direct speech, with the next four quotatives for her own reported speech given in the past tense, substantiating Schiffrin’s clustering tendency.

The subsequent shift in tense back to the HP, where it remains for the next ten quotatives, appears to be unmotivated. However, perhaps at this point, the shift occurs just because enough time has elapsed since the interviewer interrupted the narrative, and the teller is free to continue in the tense which was chosen prior to the interruption:

17.  N: I *said* well who called? I know he said anonymous but I thought (.) he *says* I dunno it’s called the we-tip an’ we have no idea who it is an’…

One more shift which fits this general pattern occurs from the HP to the past tense when the teller gives an aside to the hearer:

18.  N: …he’s *goin’* um (.) he’s (.) I can’t remember what he came over an’ said somethin’ but he said he had her license an’ um (.) she goes by Gina so I didn’t know it-she had the same name as her mother so I *said* um (.) they *said* Regina whatever her last name is…

Again, it is when the teller’s attention is taken away from the direct telling of the story, in this case, when giving additional information as to the identity of the neighbor to the hearer, that the switch from the HP to the past takes place.

Narrative #11 is the last one in which we find evidence of this same pattern; however, as we shall see, this is a rather special case of the pattern. It is another story about being pulled over for a traffic violation—this time the person telling the
story had been drinking at a party. After an abstract and an orientation, the teller opens the quotatives with the HP, and continues with HP and zero quotatives with two exceptions:

Diagram VII Narrative #11

The first switch from the HP to the past tense occurs toward the end of the narrative; although the policeman has just asked for the narrator’s license and registration, his attention is interrupted:

19. C: An' he goes so X you live at (3 syll San Berdino) (. ) 0 yes an' then he starts his radio's on goin' chh-chh-an' he flashes his lights over the car into the bushes? an' he sa-he's talking to someone (. ) er he said something (. ) an' I said what (. ) he said no I wasn't talking to you an' it was all very bizarre an' I was a little under the influence...

Here again, the action has been interrupted, although this time, it is the actual encounter which is interrupted by the police car’s radio, rather than the telling of the encounter which is interrupted. However, the action which is being described here in the past tense is clearly different from that portion of the narrative, given in the HP, in which the driver is being interrogated—the policeman's attention is elsewhere, and the pressure is off the driver. When the officer turns his attention directly to the teller of the narrative, again, his speech is given with an HP quotative:

20. C: I wasn't really sure if I wasn't understanding what was going on or if he was being really weird (. ) an' his radio goes again? an' he flashes his lights (. ) again? an' he takes my driver's license an' throws it at me over the window an' he says well I guess you win this time an' he walked away an' drove off in his car
So while this is a variant of the general Action/HP pattern, it still represents a break in the action, a stepping back away from the main portion of the encounter, and so can be seen as marking off or separating the different events within the narrative.

This pattern, in which the teller switches out of the HP when stepping away from the "action" portion of the encounter, manifests itself in several ways. First, the shift occurs as a result of the narration being interrupted by both the speaker and the interviewer. The teller self-initiates the shift for purposes of offering evaluation, asides, or additional information, as in Narratives #4 and #8. The interviewer also initiates the tense switch by asking questions which focus the speaker's attention on a past event different from the one being narrated, as in Narratives #7 and #8. The shift from the HP to the past tense also occurs at the point in the telling of the story in which the actual encounter is interrupted in Narrative #11, when the police car radio takes the officer's attention away from the driver.

In perhaps its most simple or direct form, this pattern occurs because of the structure of narrative. Schiffrin's (1981) data show that the HP "never occurs in external evaluation clauses, abstracts, or codas" (p. 51). This is evident in Narrative #1, in which the abstract and orientation are given in the past tense, the clauses which describe the "action" are given in the HP, and the coda is the point at which the tense shifts back to the past.

Another interesting aspect of this pattern is that in several of the narratives (#4, #7, and #8), when the teller steps out of the action to offer asides or evaluation, or as a result of hesitancy, a switch from direct to indirect speech can also accompany the
shift in tense. This supports Mayes' finding (1990, p. 325), in which the deictic center coincides with the time referent of the utterance. In other words, when the speaker is referring to the event-time, we can have either tense, but when the HP is used, most often we will have direct speech. And when the time referent switches back to the time of the narration, for asides and evaluations, quite often the past tense is used; this switch to narrative-time can also be further marked by the use of indirect speech. The fact that indirect speech accompanies the past tense for speech related to the time of the narration corroborates Schiffmin (1981), who finds that the HP is much more frequent with direct quotes (p. 58).

The Confrontational Shift Pattern

The second general pattern, while not nearly as frequent as the first pattern, is not altogether unrelated to the first. This pattern is another way in which the teller is marking off a significant portion of the narrative with a switch in tense. In this pattern, the teller shifts tense when directly contradicting or confronting the authority—something definitely worth marking for the benefit of the audience.

This pattern is especially notable in Narrative #6, which is another traffic/police encounter, because the teller uses two of these shifts quite close together:

Diagram VIII Narrative #6

The teller opens the quotative in the HP, as many do, at the point of being pulled over, with the first words spoken by the authority:

21. D: So he pulls me over (.) an’ he says uh lemmse see your driver’s license an’ registration an’ he checks that out an’
comes back an' says you didn't have your seatbelt on. I said oh yeah I did. 'cuz I-all I did was just slip it over my shoulder. w-when I seen 'im ya know pull in there after (1 syll) he's right there so I (3 syll) he said you reached down an' pulled it on. I says no I w's fightin' fightin' with the seatbelt. (.) he says what's all that ice in the back seat I had four bags of ice...

Here we have two examples of this shift when directly contradicting the authority. After the first switch from the HP to the past (I said oh yeah I did), the tense seems to begin to cluster, for the speech of the authority which follows that of the teller is then in the same tense (he said you reached down an' pulled it on). But the tense switches again to mark the second time that the speaker tells the authority that he is wrong (I says no I w's fightin'), and the quotative which follows for the authority, in fact, all the rest of the quotatives in this narrative are in the HP, again giving more evidence of Schiffrin's (1981) clustering tendency.

The second narrative which contains an example of this pattern is Narrative #10. The narrative opens in the past tense, and remains there, except for two occasions when the teller's own speech is reported with an HP quotative:

Diagram IX Narrative #10

While the status differential between the participants in this narrative is not as clearly evident as that between civilian and police, there is definitely a hierarchy at work in this setting, at least in the eyes of the teller. And it is precisely the teller who needs to be aware of a difference in status both during the encounter itself, and in the telling. The teller is a person who waits tables, at a fashionable restaurant in
Palm Springs, and the encounter is with the chefs:

22. D: ...so anyway when I come out an’ I hang the ticket I said I need a baked potato an’ I need fettucini in garlic an’ oil (. ) so I went to pick up the dinner I had no baked potato...I had alfredo sauce (. ) an’ they wanted the chicken on the alfredo (. ) I mean on the fettucini an’ they said (. ) I says where’s the baked potato (. ) you didn’t tell us you had a baked potato you didn’t say that you needed garlic an’ oil...

Again, the teller, the non-authority person, marks this portion of the narrative as being significant with a shift in tense, with I says where’s the baked potato. This shift, from the past to the HP, occurs when the teller directly confronts the authorities, the chefs.¹³

The last example of this type of tense switch occurs in Narrative #11, which also had an example of the Action/HP pattern. This is the narrative in which the actual encounter was interrupted by the police radio. The example of this pattern occurs during a discussion over why the narrator was pulled over:

23. C: An’ I pull over an’ the policeman says do you have any idea why I stopped you? 0 well because I didn’t make a full stop at the stop light (. ) 0 well no you’re in the middle of an intersection (. ) I said no I just pulled over...

In this example, at the point in which the narrator contradicts what the authority has said, the tense switches from zero quotative to the past (I said no I just pulled over). The story then switches back to the HP, and continues there until the authority’s focus is on the bushes and the car radio, away from the narrator.

¹³ That the chefs are considered to have a higher status than the teller is evidenced not only by the difference in the wages between the chefs and the servers, but also by the deference given the chefs by the owners and management.
So, as we have seen, the Confrontational Shift is also used to mark off significant portions of the narrative—in this case, to draw the hearer’s attention to a contradiction or defiance of the authority. These two patterns, the Action/HP and the Confrontational Shift, account for eight of the fourteen narratives; the remainder of the narratives fall into two more categories: the he says/I said pattern which occurs in those narratives which are told by authorities, and the last category in which the tellers give the entire narration in one tense.

**The Authorities Speak**

There are only two narratives which fall into this category, and as we have seen, they follow the same format—the teller’s speech, that of the authority, is given entirely in the past, while the speech of the non-authority is given with HP quotatives. The first of these two narratives, Narrative #12, has two switches in tense—from the past into the HP, and back to the past:

*Diagram X  Narrative #12*

| / / / |
| / / |

The teller begins the narrative with an abstract and a lengthy orientation which sets up the situation—the narrator, as part of his job with Air Quality Management, is assigned to investigate violations of Open Burning Regulations. The narrator goes to the scene and:

24. R: ...an’ the man invited me into his backyard where I-I found a large pit about twenty feet in diameter an’ three feet deep filled with trash (.) so I took photographs an’ then I told him that (.) I asked ta see his burn permit an’ he did have a valid burn permit that said tumbleweeds (.) an’ I asked him would he please show me where the tumbleweeds are that he’s
burning so he goes well I’m not burning tumbleweeds(.) I’m burning trash...

After this exchange, the narrator immediately switches back into the past tense to continue telling the story, and it is not until the non-authority threatens the authority that the tense shifts back to the HP:

25. R: ...an’ I told him I was going to issue him a notice of violation...an’ then he grabbed a pitchfork...an’ then he he looked he looked me directly in my face an’ he goes ya know I hope I meet you in a dark alley after you come out of a bar one night...an’ I said ya know? if you were a normal man an’ you had yer balls where they were supposed ta be (.) uh you would do somethin’ about it now an’ ya wouldn’t threaten me you’d take action with that...

Interestingly, the only two verbs in the entire narrative which are given in the HP, including the action verbs, are the two quotatives for the non-authority. It is not clear exactly why this is the case—if the speaker were merely marking the two participants with different tenses, then it seems that the other verbs for the non-authority would also be in the HP. It seems probable that the speaker is marking something which relates not to the participants or their status, but to the events in the story itself, or to the telling of the story. It is perhaps the case that this is following the pattern of the Confrontational Shift—that is, the only two marked quotatives are those which are contradicting and confronting, in this case, threatening, the authority.

Narrative #13 is the other case in which the teller is the authority figure--this time, a lieutenant with the California Highway Patrol. This is a short narrative, with only one shift in tense:
Diagram XI  Narrative #13

This narrative begins with an orientation describing the situation—the narrator was on duty to help control a crowd in the late sixties or early seventies during a civil rights or anti-war demonstration. A civilian had been filming the action with a video camera:

26. 

F: ...one of the first video cams I'd ever seen an' he had kleig lights an' this kinda stuff an' he turns it off an' he keeps asking questions real pointed racist questions about what occurred (. . .) an' uh—I'm bein' very careful so uh when he turns ta leave he walks away an' he comes back an' he says I wanna tell ya somethin' (. . .) you just passed a helluva test an' he looks down an' says the lights went off the red light on the camera went off but it's still rolling an' anything you'd a said I'd a had yer hide on a barn door...an' I said thanks alot

Again, the speech of the non-authority is nearly all in the HP, with that of the authority in the past, but in this narrative, many more of the action verbs are also in the HP. In fact, this appears to be much more like the Action/HP pattern which is so evident in these data. After the teller sets up the situation, describing the camera and the man who has the camera, he switches into the HP when giving the details of the actual confrontation with the person, and remains there until the very end of the narrative.

When he does switch into the past tense, with an' I said thanks alot, it is not clear if he is really giving the exact words that he spoke to the man with the camera, or if he is expressing to the audience what he thought or felt at the time. The tone of voice which is used for this last remark seems to make it more of an evaluative
remark than merely continuing the reported dialogue. However, because the narrative ends rather abruptly at this point, this last remark can also be seen to function as a coda, by returning both speaker and audience back to the time of the narration. Either way, whether this last remark serves as evaluation or coda, the teller is, in a way, backing away from the action, and from the entire story, which tends to put this narrative into the Action/HP category.

The Non-Shifters

The last category which some of the narratives fall into is that in which the narrative is told entirely in one tense. There are two narratives which are clearly in this category, and one which is marginally so. The first narrative which is told all in one tense is Narrative #2. It is another being-pulled-over-for-speeding story, and all eleven of its quotatives are given in the past tense. After an abstract and orientation, the teller reports a number of, "she (the Highway Patrol Officer) said, and I said" exchanges (I said w'll ya know what in the world did ya pull me over for an' she said speeding), finishes the actual encounter, moves into the coda, and completes the narrative all in the past tense.

The second example of Non-Shift is Narrative #9, a story about being pulled over for stopping at a stop sign too far into the intersection. This story also goes from the abstract to the orientation, and on into the actual encounter all in the past tense, with exchanges similar to those in Narrative #2 (an' I said you're gonna write me a ticket an' he said yes an' I said for what (. ) he said you ran that stop sign back there). The story continues in the past tense, even though the setting changes from
the street encounter to traffic court.

The narrative which marginally fits into this category is Narrative #5; it is marginal in that although the vast majority of the quotatives are in the HP, there are also three zero quotatives:

Diagram XII Narrative #5

This narrator begins with an orientation, with the action verbs given in the past, and when she moves into the actual story, she shifts into the HP. She opens the reported dialogue with the Highway Patrol officer with a zero quotative for each of the participants, and then moves into the lexical variant *all*:

27. C: 0 'S hi how ya doin' tonight (.) 0 oh fine well what's the problem (.) he's all he's all you didn't have your lights on I'm all are you sure? well aw-I couldda sworn they were on 's all oh well he's all well turn 'em off for a minute...

The first case of zero quotative is actually more of an HP, because of the way it is contextualized--'s hi, which means, "he's hi," which is in the present tense, and appears to be a case of sliding through or omitting the *all*. The last zero quotative is truly a zero quotative, as is the one which occurs toward the end of the narrative:

28. C: ...he's all so oh lemme see your license an' registration I'm all crap here goes a ticket 0 so you're only sixteen? I go yeah I just got my license...’s all oh a new driver I guess I kin let ya go...

It is interesting that, of all of the HP quotatives, only one is not a *like* or an *all*--it is a *go*, making this narrative quite different from the rest. It is also unique in that it is the only narrative which does not contain any past tense quotatives at all.
The shifts in this narrative between the HP and the zero quotatives do not seem to be marking off or separating anything in the story; in fact, the zero quotatives are so similar to those in the HP in tone and overall style, and fit so unobtrusively in with all of the HP, that there really does not seem to be any shifting of tense here at all.

One narrative remains to be discussed—it is Narrative #14, which does not seem to fit into any kind of a pattern at all. It is told all in the past tense except for two special cases of the progressive HP which appear fairly early in the narrative:

Diagram XIII Narrative #14

This is another story describing events which occurred in the early seventies. The teller and her fiancé had received a call from a friend who had just flown in from Florida and wanted to be picked up at L.A. International—the catch is that he was carrying ten pounds of psilocybin mushrooms in his suitcase. The narrative is the lengthiest of the fourteen, although it contains only the average number of quotatives (12), and only two shifts.

The switches in quotative tense occur at a point when the teller, her fiancé, and the friend have all been escorted into a small office for questioning. The teller begins the reported dialogue in the past tense, but switches to the HP after the phrase all of a sudden:

29. S: ...an' then we found out that they were DEA and um my heart sank I thought I was gonna be in prison forever an' ya know (.). God I didn't know what was gonna happen ta me fer sure (.). all of a sudden we hear Mark screamin' fuck you get the fuck away from me you have no right ta do this an' all this other stuff um (.). then I hear them screamin' where's the key
an’ there’s alot of commotion in there ya know like things slammin’ an’ all kinds a stuff goin’ on...

It is interesting to note that following the all of a sudden, with both uses of the word screamin’, what we have is not just a single quotative, but an amalgam of a quotative and an action verb (hear). This use of all of a sudden seems to be a pattern particular to this speaker, for there are only three occasions throughout the entire narrative when the speaker switches from the past tense to the HP. One, as we have seen, is the combination action verb/quotative above, while the other two, which are strictly action verbs, are also introduced by the phrase all of a sudden. In all three cases, the teller follows this phrase with an HP verb; in the case of the action verb/quotative, several HP verbs follow, while in the cases of the action verbs, only one HP verb follows the phrase before the tense shifts back into the past. In this narrative, the switch in quotative tense does not appear to be necessarily related to anything textually; rather, it seems to be a variable which, for this speaker, co-occurs with this specific phrase.

This last narrative is the only one which does not fall into any pattern. As we have seen, eight of the fourteen narratives clearly fall into the two primary categories—the Action/HP and the Confrontational Shift. Of the two narratives told by authorities, one seems to fit the Action/HP pattern, while the second appears to be a

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14 A special thanks goes to George Yule for helping to clarify this.

15 That a shift in tense co-occurs with all of a sudden is not surprising. Wolfson (1982) finds that in eight out of ten uses of this phrase, it precedes a shift in tense, seven of which are from the past to the HP.
case of Confrontational Shift. Of the remaining three narratives, two are told entirely
in the past tense, while the third is the one which is told between the HP and zero
quotatives.

What do these patterns mean in view of the other studies of the HP and
quotatives? Is there a way to tie together all that we have looked at--the review of the
literature, the quantitative analysis, and the rhetorical analyses of the narratives?
What kind of overall picture of the Historical Present and its shifts in tense can we
gather?
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

In a synthesis of all that we have seen including both the prior studies of the HP, as well as the quantitative and qualitative analyses presented here, with the statistics and patterns found in each--several general conclusions can be drawn from this investigation of quotative tense shift in authority-encounter narratives. These conclusions all support the hypothesis that shifts in quotative tense are related not to the participants in the encounter, but to those involved in the narration of that encounter--the speaker and the hearer.

Since this study was designed specifically to look at Johnstone's (1987) assertion that quotative tense shift is a function of the relative status of the encounter's participants, the first conclusion to be drawn is that Johnstone's findings do not hold for these data. The pattern of tense choice in the interchanges, illustrated in Table VII (p. 35), shows that when the teller chooses to introduce the speech of the participants with a different tense, it is not the case that the authority's speech is given in the HP, with that of the non-authority in the past. In fact, more often just the opposite is true. The two narratives which are told by authorities also clearly contradict this assertion, with the quotatives for the authorities given in the past, and those for the non-authorities given in the HP. Therefore, since the non-authority is not using the HP to bring the authority "down a notch" or to sound more "colloquial," the tense shift of quotatives cannot be seen as being related to the participants in the encounter, but rather must be looked at textually, that is, as being related to the narration of the encounter.
Schiffrin's (1981) claim, that verbs in either tense tend to cluster together, is strongly supported by these fourteen narratives. Again, attention must be drawn to Table VII--it clearly demonstrates that the strongest pattern of quotative interchange is same tense to same tense: either past to past, or HP to HP. The time-line diagrams also show that the clustering pattern is maintained in many of the narratives; Diagram VI, Narrative #8 (p. 44), is a particularly notable example of this tendency. We see that once a speaker is using a particular tense, that speaker tends to remain in that tense until something significant occurs, in the telling of the story, to cause a shift.

That the use of the HP and tense shifts are related to Labov's (1972) structure of narrative is also supported (Schiffrin, 1981), as evidenced by the Action/HP pattern. In this pattern, as Schiffrin states, the HP is not used for evaluations or codas (p. 51). Indeed, we have seen a number of examples in which it is precisely at these points in the narrative that the teller switches from the HP to the past tense. And in keeping with Hymes' (1974) definition of a performed story, which is the environment in which the HP is found (Wolfson, 1982, p. 24), we see that it is the "more performed" portions of the narrative, the complicating action clauses, as opposed to the clauses related to orientation or evaluation, which most consistently contain the Historical Present tense.

These narratives also corroborate Mayes' (1990) work which deals with direct versus indirect speech. Mayes shows that the deictic center of an utterance is that of the time referent--when the speaker is referring to the time of the telling, indirect speech can be used. And when referring to event-time, direct quotes, often with the
HP, are used. Several of these narratives have examples in which a switch from direct to indirect speech accompanies a shift from the HP to the past tense. These cases of indirect speech co-occurring with the past tense seem to be instances in which the speaker is indicating (to the hearer) an even further stepping away from the action of the encounter.

As we have seen, in both the Action/HP pattern and the Confrontational Shift, tense is used, as Wolfson states, to mark off, or separate, significant portions of the narrative. And in doing so, the choice of tense and the switches in tense are used as evaluative devices (in a modification of Schiffrin’s conclusions) in both patterns. For, in choosing a particular tense at a specific point in the narrative, the speaker shows that there is some sort of judgement being made about the importance of what follows.

In the Action/HP pattern, the speaker primarily uses the HP to cue the hearer in to the most important parts of the story—the action. When the speaker uses the HP to describe the main event, or actual encounter with the authority, and then shifts to another tense for asides and external evaluations, the speaker is making a judgement about, and offering a comment on, the story that is being told. By the very nature of switching tense to mark off the face-to-face portions of the story, the speaker is pointing out the tellability of the story—it is important just because it is an encounter with an authority—and is making decisions about the telling of the story, which cue the hearer in to the most important parts of the narrative. By shifting to the past tense for evaluations, asides, or codas, the speaker also makes sure that the audience is aware.
of the switch from event-time to narrative-time.

In the Confrontational shift, that the shifts in tense are more closely related to the time of the narration rather than the event-time is perhaps even more evident. As Wolfson (1982) has shown in her ethnographic analysis, there is a relationship between the use of the HP and performed stories (p. 24), as well as a relationship between the use of the HP and the amount of solidarity between speaker and addressee (pp. 79-100). In all of the narratives in this corpus, a certain amount of solidarity already exists between the participants because the narrators are all friends or acquaintances of the interviewer. For many of the speakers, these narratives were just another case of casual conversation being tape recorded.

As Cheepen and Monaghan (1990) show, the "internal" goal of much conversation relates to:

the shared world of the participants...the importance of...topics...is not the imparting of new information...but the mutual achievement of a new evaluation of a situation as part of a congruent world picture (pp. 3-27).

Viewed in this way, the tense shifts evident in the Confrontational Shift clearly tell the audience that what follows is worth listening to: defiance of authority, an action which is generally not condoned by society, but one which we can identify with, or which we would like to do.

In all but the two narratives which are told by authorities, both speaker and addressee are non-authorities. And the status differential between the authority/narrators and the addressee is somewhat negated by the friendship which exists--never has the interviewer had an encounter with these authorities in an official
capacity—the relationships are strictly that of casual friends. In this respect only does Johnstone’s idea of relative status have meaning—by the teller’s pointing out to the audience that she/he dared to say, face-to-face, that the authority was wrong, the teller is further reinforcing the solidarity between speaker and hearer. By marking the occasions in which the speaker defies the authority, the teller is identifying with the addressee, another non-authority, stressing the "us" versus "them" concept.  

So, as we have seen, Johnstone’s (1987) assertion, that the shift in quotative tense is a function of the relative status of the participants, is rather limited. She confines her view of this linguistic phenomenon to the event-time only; she does not consider the time of the telling, nor does she consider the relationship between the speaker and hearer. It is only through examination of a number of elements: the speech event of a narrative, as defined by Labov (1972) and Hymes (1974), the environment in which the HP is found, illustrated by Wolfson (1982) and Schiffrin (1981), the use of direct and indirect speech, investigated by Mayes (1990), as well as the goals of conversation, as clarified by Cheepen and Monaghan (1990), that we are able to gain a thorough understanding of the function of the phenomenon of quotative tense shift in these American English authority-encounter narratives.

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16 This idea of "identification" is supported by Kenneth Burke (1950) in A Rhetoric of Motives.
APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE NARRATIVES

Narrative #1

N: W’ll I got one I’ll tell

A: Okay

N: You probly remember it (. I mean you don’t remember when it happened but ya remember the story. I’ve told it so many times

A: Doesn’t matter

N: Easter Sundy? when I looked out the window in the kitchen an’ there’s a police car out in the yard? an: I turned around ta Chuck an’ said=Chuck there’s a policeman out there what’ve you been doin’ (. as if I didn’t know

A: ((laughs))

N: A::n he took off that’s when we lived in the Morongorosa he took off an’ went down in his room?=

A: =Uh huh

N: A:n the cop comes to the door an’ he says I have a warrant here for Naomi George..0a’s ↑Naomi George ((laughs))..what’s it for?..an’ he says number bluh bluh bluh bluh bluh an’ I says well I don’t know what that. number is an’ he says I don’t either but it can’t be very much (. the bail’s only like thirty two dollars

A: ((laughs))

N: So he takes me off ((ha ha)) (. ta go ta jail. an’ Chuck yells out the window (. hey didn’t ya forgit somethin’? (. an’ the cop says what an’ he says. ya didn’t handcuff her..so he handcuffed me an’ stuck me in the back seat
A: ((laughs))

N: ((laughs)) An' I went ta jail that was when the jail was up in Twentynine=

A: = Uh huh?...fer what

N: Uh..not havin' a dog license=((laughs))

A: ((laughs))

N: On Easter Sundy =well even the police-wa-up there said (.) boy that was a cold judge a-ta arrest her on (.) Easter Sundy (.) fer this
A: Right now. tell me your story about being stopped by a cop

C: Well actually it was a-a year ago (.). Memorial Day (.). my mother an' I were coming home (.). it was right after the riots an' the only reason we were out an' about on Memorial weekend 's because we had tickets ta see Richard the Second (.). an' they got postponed (.). 'cuz of all the riots=

A: =Uh huh

C: A:nd? we were in my mother's old car (.). that doesn't go that fast anyways an' we had the two kids with us (.). an' we had the rolled up pool cover which's 's very heavy= we couldn't even close the trunk on it i's huge (.). in the back an' I was going up the Moron. the Moron. the Yuca grade=

A: =Uh huh..

C: And uh there's lots of cars out (.). an' some (.). four wheel drive truck zoomed by me an' I happened to look over (.). to my left an' at the same time..this (.). cop was going back down the other side an' she looked an' we locked eyes I forget her name but [you'd know her]

A: [Abby St. Charles]=

C: =Abby St. Charles..that was her

A: ((laughs))

C: So anyway. so she turns around. an' she's (.). she's behind me an' there's a bicycle (.). beside me right?. an' there's no way I thought she's wanting me..right? so she said she went by me she yelled something at her of her intercom at me an' my mother. an'
I had no idea what she was saying to me. Neither one of us understood a word she was saying. I thought she was saying something to the guy on the bike. So we saw her pull the four wheel drive over. I kept puttin' up the hill. An' I was goin' maybe forty up that hill. I know? So next thing I know she's behind me 'n' she's wavin' a-rah-rah stop. So I'm not gonna just pull over right? So I thought okay if ya get pulled over you're s'posed ta go ta the very? Safest place before ya stop not just s'posed ta stop. So I went all the way up to the top of the hill. Pulled off ta th' side by this time speaking of livid? She was mad. Ya know? She came up she said. What she yelled at me was fer me ta follow her an' pull over. She's pulling over me with this guy.

A: O:h

C: She clocked us. She said this is so funny. She came up I had no idea I w's I thought it had somethin' ta do with the pool cover. Locked in the back of the trunk. I definitely wasn't speeding. So anyways. So she comes up to the window, an' I said w'll ya know what 'n the world did ya pull me over for an' she said speeding an' I learned later on the next question I shouldn't've asked. I learned this in traffic school I said w'll how fast was I going.

A: right

C: Ya know 'cuz I knew how fast I was going. But I thought I'd dunno I just asked her that an' she said seventy.

A: Umm

C: ((laughs)) An' I nearly started laughing...that's what I said. I said. I said ya-no
way (. ) an' then ya know ya a's said I learned (. ) I learned when I w's a teenager ya don't argue with cops. right so I wasn't going ta do that. so I just looked at my mom an' she's lookin' at me ya know my mother is all nervous an' tryin' ta find the registra-it's her car (. ) can't find the registration. what's her name's mad 'cuz I didn't stop right away an' I's I told her I didn't hear ↑ what you said? I said everything I've heard is you stop at the top of the hill...so she got over that. she wrote me up a (. ) she wrote me up a ticket fer speeding. an' uh. I took it. ((laughs))...an' then I went on my way..an' that's my cop thing=an' ya know the next day my dad told me this (. ) he saw (. ) her-her picture in the paper. what am I (my favorite cop?) yeah (. ) she had like the record fer the most tickets er something like that (. ) ya know?
Narrative #3

T: Steve got pulled over just the other day? and uh. he w's going thirty? in a fifty? so anyway he says that the cop comes up to 'im an' he's like I wasn't speeding he sa-says well maybe like five miles over the limit but not. twenty..cop comes up an' says you’re speeding you’re spee-an’ he an’ he asks fer his driver’s license an’ Steve gets out his driver’s license an’ registration. an’. this ya hafeta know my husband to ‘preciate this but he gives he he’s handing ‘im. so he says the driver’s license an’ registration he goes now I’m proving ta you who I am you prove ta me that I was going fifty miles an hour ((laughter))..but first of all w-I but wait before that though first of all uh. w-uh-w- Steve said well how fast was I going he asked= C: =that’s not a question (2 syll) you’re supposed ta know=

T: =And uh. and that’s when Steve said the bit about ya know now prove ta me I was goin’ fifty miles an hour and then= A: =what’d the cop say ta that

T: Well. h-he didn’t really say anything I guess w-according to Steve an’ then they they got into my husband he just worms his way inta people with through conversation ya know he-he didn’t get a ticket. he totally got off the whole thi-thing
Narrative #4

S: One time. back in the seventies. when I was married ta Jim. an’ there was a sugar shortage an’ a-like he sold pot ‘n’ stuff=

A: =Oh the sugar shortage. [I remember the sugar shortages]

S: [†yeah..yeah. in the seventies?] well (. ) fer some reason er other we learned that (. ) if you went down ta Mexi-er down to um (1) Rosarita Beach?

A: =Um hmm?

S: You could buy..†fifty kilo bags?=hundred pounds?..

A: Sounds ’bout right=

S: =Yeah (. ) two point two pounds..except fer some reason they put it down ta two pounds so it’s even hundred (2 syll) fifty kilo bags of sugar (. ) you could buy them real cheap there (. ) an’ sell them fer like four times as much up in restaurants..

A: Up in the states

S: Yeah=

A: =Uh huh=

S: =An’ ’cuz we lived in what the Encinitas/Arcadia area..an’ we did that a coupla times we’d go down we’d have lunch an’ at Rosarita Beach an’ we’d come back an’. you could have one fifty kilo bag.. per person in the vehicle (. ) an’ you could claim it as personal. an’ that was fine..well this one time we went with these bunch ’a guys (. ) one guy’s name was Brian I’ll never forget then we had these two other guys. so there were five of us. so (. ) we went do:wn (. ) we bought the five (. ) pounds of (. ) er five
five bags of sugar we went out. partied a little bit. an’ we’re driving back
(1) this is for personal use. ’Y know I mean because if they think it we’re going to
sell it (.) they won’t let you. bring it across (.) they’ll they’ll make you (.) it’s it’s
smuggling at that point. ya know an’ um it’s not smuggling if they catch you I guess
(1) that’s right there. but you can’t bring it across (.) unless it’s for personal use if it’s
only for personal use you can bring it across. so when we got up we were waiting it
was Sunday..late Sunday eight million cars in line down there in Tijuana an’ you’re in
the sun an’ (.) we finally get up to the thing an’ the whole time we’re tellin’ Brian it’s
personal use it’s personal use. the (.) guy at the border sticks his head (.) down ta talk
ta Brian ’n’ says oh I see ya got all this sugar what’s it for? an’ he goes my brother
owns a bakery ((laughs)) we just went. ↓ shit. an’ uh so he goes well you can’t do that
I mean you (.) can only bring in (.) sugar for personal use so we had to turn around
an’ go back. at which time then we drove over to what (.) Tecate? is that the next
little town?.. east?.
A: Could be
S: ’Kay. this was like six o’clock. Sunday night (.) when we did this (.) had ta go
back through...an’ so we got over to Tecate (.) an’ um. went up to the border there. it
turned out we were on a computer. the (.) license number. and uh..we went up to the
n-it-it’s a much smaller border it’s a real little rinky dink type thing there in Tecate
it’s a real God-awful scary place. um. it looks like Casablanca in the movies ya know
like all those thieves an’ I mean really...interesting. an’ uh=
A:=((laughs))

S: So we drive up ta there an' they start talkin' ta Brian he says oh it's fer personal use an' all this other stuff but he didn't know what he didn't know was the fact that they had us on the computer with the license number of the vehicle...an' ya know the guy started laughin' an' said somethin' about us tryin' ta smuggle it in (. . .) an' if we..persisted that we would be arrested an' thrown in jail down in Mexico (. . .) for ever (. . .) for smuggling sugar into the country an' lying to them (. . .) so he gave us the option of (. . .) either giving them the sugar (3) or going to jail?.er-of-or going back to Mexi-I-I don't remember exactly our option (. . .) but it was ya know like going ta jail for smuggling or g-turn around an' go back. so we went back (. . .) an' um..what did we do (. . .) we actually went back ta Rosarita Beach. ya know ↑this is like eight or nine o'clock at night now so we actually went from back ta from Tecate back to Tijuana then back down ta Rosarita Beach. sold the sugar back ta those people fer quite a bit less. at the store..an' decided to (. . .) ya know (. . .) we just wanted ta go home. that's that's all we wanted ta do (. . .) we wanted ta go home. went to go back through Tijuana's border..an' at which time we got like the third car from the little station? an' all of a sudden all kinds of armed people started comin' out. ya know like with guns? an' (. . .) stuff comin' out of the building (. . .) an' just hangin' around right in our lane ((laughs)) not right by us but right by our lane because there's like eight million people behind us? (. . .) there's ya know I mean there's like ten rows (. . .) that ya hafeta go through. ↑well..we got up ((laughs)) ta talk ta the guy (. . .) an' (. . .) he pulled out his gun (1) sh-he came up to the vehicle we have no sugar..at this point there's no sugar.
not even a drop of sugar in the vehicle. we went an' sold that. an' we got...escorted to secondary. where they take everything apart. ↑well at that point=

A:=What'd he say? anything?

S: No. he just θyou're goin' ta secondary you-ya-with his gun out he walked us over an' all those other armed people are there an' we got walked over ta secondary because we were on the computer as smugglers at that point..we weren't there fer tryin' ta smuggle sugar (.) we were smugglers=

A:=Oh↓ fuck=

S:=Yeah. an' uh (.) I mean this was a big deal they didn't. it was smuggling. well we get-a-as we're driving over to uh (.) secondary because I mean I have heard awful stories (.) in secondary (.) about searches an' stuff Brian hands me a little glass jar with a spoon on top half full of cocaine. I'm the only female in there..

A: O:h

S: An' I'm just going (.) well ↑what the hell am I supposed ta do with this. yeah. an' I have all these guy there just (.) fl:ippin' out. they don't want it on them they hand it ta me an' what did I do I stuck it in my underwear..because I was not gonna let them see me try ta throw it outta the car= A:=↑Right=

S:=Ya know an' that's it I-it was handed ta me (.) well we got pulled inta secondary an' they made us get out (.) these armed people with guns an' stuff (.) an' ((laughs)) we (.) they took the guys ta the one section an' they took me into the other one (.) well fer some reason there wasn't a female. border. patrol agent there (.) an' I sat fer
a good forty five minutes with this little jar of cocaine in my (.) underwear just (.) I mean (.) I knew I was gonna go ta jail for ever that was going ta be the end of me an’ in a Mexican jail at that =

A: = Oh shit

S: Uh (.) yeah an’ all this was because goof ball Brain went up an’ said something to the effect of my brother has a bakery (.) never said he was ya know it was in New Jersey ..ya know just 0 my brother had a bakery an’ I was just flippin’ out I guess they did the entire strip search on these guys (.) they took everything outta the vehicle..I mean completely .. it-I think we got home like about six o’clock the following morning
Narrative #5

C: I was going to the movies in my dad's truck an' I was up in the KMart parking lot. well ya know how they have those (lights on?)=

A:= Uh huh

C: 'Kay well (.) I was goin' out an' I was leaving.. I was going down the highway with no lights on..

A: Oh ((laughs))

C: Well it was like- there's like (2 syll) lights from the cars behind me (.) well I kin still see ((laughs))... an'..so he pulls?=

D:=She's been pulled over more than I've ever

C: An' then like I turned 'em on? an' I didn't even know he was behind me? he was behind me like (3 syll) forever..he said he'd been [(2 syll)]

A: [What'd he say]

C: 0'S hi how ya doin' tonight..0oh fine. well what's the ↑problem ((laughs)) he's a:ll he's all you didn't have your lights on I'm all. are you ↑sure?..well aw-I couldda (. ) sworn they were on..'s all oh well he's all well turn 'em off for a minute..he's like you see anything? I'm all no he's all. so oh lemme see your license an' registration I'm all crap. here goes a ticket. 0so you're only sixteen?..I go yeah I just got my license (3 syll) s' all oh a new driver I guess I kin let ya go ((laughs))..an' then? the same night? down right here by Senilis? I got pulled over again. an' the guy asked me for my phone number. but if you really want my phone number you couldda got it off my license. right?
A: I don’t know
Narrative #6

D: Oh yes. I was uh. at Avalon?...and uh the highway sixty two? an’ the sheriff drives by an’ looks at me (.) as he’s drivin’ by so he’s…it’s Avalon..wait a minute…it was right there where ya come out where Union Bank is (.) right there. I don’t know what street that is=

A: =Yeah

D: So he drives by (.) an’ he looks at me (.) like this. well ya know I always put my seatbelt on like this I don’t put the strap up=

A: =’Cuz it cuts in yer neck er cuts yer boob er does somethin’ weird=

D: =Well anyway. so he pulls into the double yellow line like he’s gonna make a left turn into Von’s. so finally the traffic goes by an’ I pull out..right?. so then he pulls out behind me. an’ pulls me over. so I drive through an’ pull into Del Taco er whatever that was there=

C: =Hey (.) you didn’t tell me this one=

D: =This was just last week

C: Oh=

A: =What’d he say?

D: So he pulls me over (.). an’ he says uh (2) lemme see your driver’s y-license an’ registration an’ he checks that out an’ comes back an’ says you didn’t have your seatbelt on. I said oh yeah I did. ’cuz I-all I did was just slip it over my shoulder. w-when I when I seen ’im ya know pull in there after (1 syll) he’s right there so I (3 syll) he said you reached down an’ pulled it on..I says no I w’s fightin’ fightin’ with
the seatbelt.. he says what’s all that ice in the back seat I had four bags of ice. he says
oh do you still live you u-where you used to live?. I don’t even know who this guy
is=
C: =What’s his name?.
D: Franks. the last name is Franks
C: Franks oh. oh. his first name is uh. John I think. John Franks? could that be it?
D: I don’t know
C: Well if it is (. ) I [know 'im]
D: [She knows 'em all]..then he told me (. ) he says you don’t have
your license plate on the front of your car. well doesn’t it look like my car is
primered an’ gettin’ ready to paint ya know (. ) I says oh it’s in the back..so (. ) he
goes an’ checks somethin’ else out an’ comes back an’ says s-see ya later
Narrative #7

N: A friend and I applied (.) to the honor society? for political science?. an' uh. we went in (.) an' talked to the girl an' she said yeah ya know fill this out an' do this an' do that (.) an' so we did=

A: =An' pay yer money

N: Yeah (. ) an' pay yer money of course

A: ((laughs)) how much do they charge fer that one?

N: twenty..I read the small print it said that if you weren't accepted you’d get yer money back ((laughs)))...but um.. anyway so we went in there a few days later certain G-P-A you hafeta be in your top third of your of your ah discipline an' ya hafeta have a three point oh overall?=

A: =Um hmm

N: An' so we went in there a few days later. an' she-sh turned around an' she said oh yeah by the way what is it with your G-P-A?..the. political science professor. an' I’m like I just (. ) sat back in my chair an' said what’ve they done now? an' she says well they get a printout like at the end of every quarter. of everybody in her department [(2 syll) G-P-A]

A: [Do they really?]

N: I’m not sure (. ) if she gets it because she’s in charge of the honor society?. 'cuz she has to keep up on it? or all of ’em (. ) somebody in each department I’m not sure

A: they may

N; But um..she says ↑yeah um Melody gave me the printout an’ it says your G-P-A
is point eight three

A: Still. that’s what they had last [time wasn’t it?]

N: [I think so yeah]. an’ I told her I said well they did this
to me before (. she knew that (. because I was in her two of her classes the quarter
they did that=

A: =Oh this is that same lady (. okay

N: Yeah. an’ I had (. she gave me a B in each of her classes (. so she knew. that
unless I had really chanked it somewhere. it was wrong anyway. so she showed it to
um. Dr. Ehrler. and he’s he’s like no (. something’s wrong (. figure it out (. ya
know that’s not that there’s no way. well the thing was they were saying my transfer
G-P-A is what’s in the dirt well I wouldn’t’ve never gotten into the school..what is it
(. less than two point oh?

A: Um hmm

N: They won’t even let you in.. an’ I had people argue with me on the phone..0well
this is what says your transfer G-P-A I’m like well how why did I ever get into
school?. why did you people enroll=0must have been an oversight..it-0no..it was not
an oversight..so anyway I called um (. admissions an’ records (. just because I
wanted I didn’t wanna talk to..my evaluator (. I wanted ta-ta (. chew out the right
person=

A:=(laughs))

N: So I called admissions an’ they said no. (. we can’t tell you anything over the
phone. you hafeta come in. 0fine. yeah (. so I went in on Thursday. an’ all I got (.}
was a student. I know she's a student she's in one of my classes, so I said I need my G-P-A. so she has to go get permission to give me my G-P-A. she comes back, well what's it for. I tell her well there's a major screw up with my G-P-A an' I wanna know if it's. you know (.) where it's coming from. an' so she told me an' she had it right, on their computer it's right an' so I said well? um... you know (.) I told her about the printout an' I said somebody has it as point eight three I said are all your computers the same? they're s'posed to be=

A: = Um hmm

N: OS' are they all the same? ooh yeah (.) it's this this the main computer... s' if it's on here (.) like this. then it's everywhere. I said fine (.) see ya..
Narrative #8

N: Um. they knocked on my door (.). an' I..uh.let's see always I mean he’ll unlock the door in a minute he doesn’t care (.). open the door..so I’m. ya know (.). fightin’ him off from the door an’ I say who is it (.). ’cuz I didn’t see there was no cars in my driveway..an’ um. I’m all who is it an’ he’s 00:h (.). sheriff..o’ okay (.). so I open the door. an’ he’s standin’ there in plain cloths...an’ [I laughed]. in their face

A: [Oh shit]

N: I went (brrrr)...like ’cuz I thought they were tryin’ i’was somebody tryin’ ta get me ta open the door=

A:=Right. insurance sales[man]

N: [Yeah]. an’ then he holds up this little badge an’ I was like..I was very embarrassed an’ I’m like oh (((laughs))). okay (.). what d’ya want. an’ um. anyway they stri-they were here an’ um. they were plain clothes. there was four of ’em..[driving a em.]

A: [wo:w]

N; one was driving a van. an’ the other ones were in a (.). nothing was marked an’ it’s just like a uh (.). Bronco? type?. thing?= 

A: =Bronc-o:h (.). narcs are driving a Bronco these days (.). huh?

N: Yeah. beware. an’ uh=

A:=I do so much heavy drug trafficking I’ll hafa watch over my shoulder

N: So I’m all (.). ya know er..then they asked=they wanted ta come in. I didn let ’em in. I could tell. they were kinda. doin’ this=

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A: four of 'em?

N: Well w-in my door there were two. an’ traipsin’ around the street there were at least two more =

A: Wo:w

N: An’ uh =

A: =when was this?

N: About three weeks ago. an’ they said uh yeah they said yeah we had an anonymous phone tip that um. how’d they put it "I cannot believe this (. I dunno who called 'em "but they said they had an anonymous phone tip that there was alot of activity between this house an’ the house across the street (. I’ve never been across the street. um an’ yeah. an’ it-one of the houses was (in possession of) marijuana. an’ I kinda chuckled an’ I said well (. it would be that one. yeah. ya know. ((laughs)) bring your dogs in my house. see if I care..an’ uh I said well that would be the house across the street. I said (. I said well (. who called? I know he said anonymous but I thought (. he says I dunno it’s called the we-tip an’ we have no idea who it is an’ I’m thinkin’..some fool. I’m mean we’ve never been across the street (. never (. they’ve come over here they’re always borrowin’ stuff (. an’ er tryin’ to=

A: =Oh izat right?

N: Tools always (. John has tools an’ uh (. just little piddly (. stupid things..well anyways um..then they’re all ya know well have ya ever had reason to suspect. an’ I’m like yeah. an’ uh. well he’s like why? = an’ I tell 'em well because ya know
people come ya know certain days there’ll be alot of people there but they’re all in an’ out (funny) entrances an’ nobody stays more than two or three minutes an’ it’s always the same crowd (. ) an’ uh. so I’m tryin’ ta tell him this an’ this. guy ’s so hot an’ bothered. he’s goin’ ( . ) every time I’d start a sentence he’d finish it. (oh he’s all) short stays (. ) like five minute stays. I’m like (. ) yeah...((laughs)) an’ they’re all=
A: =Well it’s real hard ta get testimony from somebody when they’re puttin’ words in your mouth=
N: =Right. an’ the other guy was really calm an’ cool an’ he would ask a question an’. let the other guy answer it an’ then let me answer it..
A: ((laughs))=
N: =an’ then he’d ask another one . round an’ round then this guy comes trottin’ across the street. with her license in his hand. an’ uh. w-this guy (. ) was almost worse. he’s goin’ um .he’s..I can’t remember what he came over an’ said somethin’ but he said he had her license..an’ um (. ) she goes by Gina so I didn’t know it-she had the same name as her mother. so I said um..they said Regina whatever her last name is an’ I said oh can I see the. the uh license ’cuz it’s the same name as her mom. they showed it ta me an’ I’m like yeah that’s her an’ they’re 00h well (. ) well. do you know what kinda car she drives? an’ I said well that’s the car right there (. ) it’s the only car they have= oh well wasn’t that the car that just about ran you off the road the other night talkin’ (. ) these cops (. ) between themselves? from some? some location that they ya know all had in common. an’ I’m just standin’ here goin’. I love my neighbors
Narrative #9

A: So tell me about your ticket

J: I had...I was going to Victorville after a funeral because (. ) I was upset. I went to see a friend of mine of mine to tell ’im about the funeral=

A: =Was it a friend that had passed away?

J: Yeah (so I 3 syll area) (.) stopped at a stop sign. like right here. to the right was a cop stopped. so I’m sittin’ there thinkin’ this is great. I’m not speeding which I normally do=

A: =I’m takin’ my time [at the stop sign]

J: [Yeah] so it was my turn an’ I go through an’ about a mile down the road (. ) he stops me..he goes to write me a ticket. an’ like I thought he was doing a routine traffic check...but I think because (. ) of the Rodney King verdict now all of a sudden a police officer will not talk to you. he took my license an’ went back to the car. walked up an’ he’s got the little ticket booklet (. ) an’ the license on it. an’ he hands it to me (. ) an’ I said you’re gonna write me a ticket? an’ he said (. ) yes. an’ I said ↑for what ?. he said you ran that stop sign back there..an’ I said (. ) no I didn’t. an’ he said yes you did..an’ what he informed me is that that’s what the court systems are for. that. it’s his word against mine. an’ if I wanted to I could take it to court..so I thought all right...so I took off to my class an’ I told all my classes I w’s gonna win this (. ) ’cuz I know I stopped..well the moral of the story is (. ) I lost the case (. ) hundred an’ fifty eight dollars an’ I hafeta go ta traffic school. because (. ) according to the judge. running a stop sign is not going forty miles through it. it is stopping (. )
behind both lines. what I did was I stopped behind this line an' stopped halfway in
Narrative #10

D: Okay I was waitressing last night. an’ it wasn’t that busy an’ we had part of the restaurant closed off an’ some a the cooks were in the office uh watchin’ TV like they usually do when it’s not too busy so I hadda I had to place this order an’ I went in an’ told ’em I had uh linguini uh well no actually it was a fettucini garlic an’ oil=

A: =O:h yum sounds good

D: Yeah so when they heard fettucini y-I automatically thinkin’ of fettucini alfredo an’ alfredo is the sauce=

A: =Right=

D: =An’ fettucini is the noodle=

A: =Right=

D: =So I said [I bet]

A: [(2 syll)] sauce with tons of cream an’ an’ butter

D: Right. I said fettucini garlic an’ oil=

A: =Probably ninety eight percent fat

D: ↑A:nd. and I need a baked potato. w’ll the oil that they cook it with is um olive oil=

A: =Oh good=

D: So I said ↑and I need a baked potato. so while I’m tryin’ ta tell ’em my order while they’re in the office they’re watchin’ the Playboy channel in the restaurant in the office..I said c’mon guys. I said uh I gotta hundred a those at home an’
they said well. whaddya need ta watch ’em ta get a hard on ya know? ((laughs))

A: A what? excuse me ((laughs))

D: They said whaddya hafeta watch this. so you’re boyfriend gets a hard on is what they said ya know…anyway I says no it looks like you do..so anyway when I come out (. ) an’ I hang the ticket (. ) I said I need a baked potato. an’ I need fettucini in garlic an’ oil..so I went to go pick up the dinner. I had no baked potato=

A: =An’ you had alfredo=

D: =I had alfredo sauce..an’ they wanted the chicken on the alfredo (. ) I mean on the fettucini..an’ they said (. ) I says where’s the baked potato (. ) you didn’t tell us you had a baked potato. you didn’t say (. ) that you needed garlic an’ oil I said it’s written on the ticket I said you were watchin’ the movie ((laughs)) I said you’re too busy watchin’ the movie
Narrative #11

A: Tell me your story

C: Way back in nineteen eighty-four or five.

A: Okay

C: In my wilder days

A: ((laughs))

C: We were at a party. an’ had been drinking. an’ I was driving the car (2) it’s so funny because..

A: How old were you

C: Twenty or twenty one (1) an’ I had some friends in the car. an’ I made a right turn on a stop sign. an’ I didn’t stop completely..an’ then I see the red lights in my..rear view mirror=

A: =Um hmm

C: An’ I pull over an’ the policeman says do you have any (. ) idea why I stopped you?..Øwell because I didn’t make a full stop (.) at the stop light (1) Øwell no you’re in the middle of an intersection (2) I said no I just (. ) pulled over (3) an’ (. ) I guess I had pulled over (. ) and…it was our. it was a..real. residential? area? so I guess the front of my car was already inta the next? intersection? by the time I had pulled over?..um. so he asks me for my driver’s license an’ I get out my driver’s license an’ I give it to him an’ I give it to ’im out the window an’ he’s looking at it (. ) with his little flashlight.

A: Um hmm.
C: An' he goes so Christina you live at (3 syll San Berdino)...yes. an' then he starts-
his radio's on goin' chh-chh- an' he flashes his lights over the car into the bushes?.
an' he sa-he's talking to someone (.). er he said something (.). an' I said what..he said.
no I wasn't talking to you. an' it was all very bizarre an' I was (.). a little (.). under
the influence an'..

A: ((laughs))

C: I wasn't really sure if I wasn't understanding what was going on or if he was being
(.). really weird...an' his radio goes again? an' he flashes his lights (.). again? (.). an' he
takes my driver's license. an' throws it at me over the window an' he says well I
guess you win this time an' he walked away an' drove off in his car
Narrative #12

R: Um(.) my favorite one is I work for Air Quality Management District=

A: Uh huh

R: An’ about four an’ a half years ago(.) I was requested to: enforce the California Health an’ Safety Code about open burning. an’ as per the California Ho-Health an’ Safety Code the only thing that you are allowed to burn. are tumbleweeds an’ (. ) an on-the ag-waste from an ongoing agriculture operation we had a lot o’ problems in Lancaster Palmdale with (. ) the ranchers an’ the rowdy red necks burning (. ) their trash=

A: =Um hmm

R: So I was requested. I’ws ordered to go out there an’ issue notices of violation which are tickets (. ) our tickets carry a fine of a thousand dollars a day (. ) ten thousand dollars a day (. ) er twenty five thousand dollars a day=

A: =Wow

R: As per the Health an’ Safety Code..um I saw this huge. bonfire in somebody’s back yard. so I knocked on the door an’ asked if I c’n uh come look I identified myself. an’ I asked if uh my. my partner an’ I could come (. ) look at the bonfire an’ see what they’re burning an’ the man invited me into his backyard where I-I found a large pit about twenty feet in diameter an’ three feet deep (. ) filled with trash. so I took photographs an’ then I told him that (. ) I asked to see his burn permit. an’ he did have a valid burn permit that said tumbleweeds (. ) an’ I asked him would he please show me where the tumbleweeds are that he’s burning. so he goes well I’m not
burning tumbleweeds. I'm burning trash, so I thanked 'im fer that... an' I told him I was going to issue him a notice of violation. fer burning trash so I issue him a ticket an' he's getting hotter an' hotter an' hotter an' there was a another inspector with me. in fact I'll take some more, thanks... an' uh. I gave 'im the uh. the notice I issued him a notice of violation. an' then he grabbed a pitchfork an' he was I'm about six two an' he was about six two. I'm about two hundred pounds an' he was about two hundred pounds... an' he started walking closer ta me with his pitchfork. I'll take a coupla those an' then he. he looked with his pitchfork. he looked me directly in my face an' he goes ya know=

A: = with the pitchfork?=

R: = With the pitchfork an' he goes ya know I hope I meet you. in a dark alley after you come out of a bar one night. an' I was new an' the other person that was with me really didn't know me that well. an' um with that, 'cuz his wife was in front of 'im when he said this ta me... an' I said ya know? if you were a normal man, an' you had yer balls where they were supposed ta be... uh you would do somethin' about it now an' ya wouldn't threaten me. you'd take action... with that the uh my partner who was with me started walking backwards toward the gates as fast as he could go... (laughter) he he knew there was gonna be a confrontation. yeah he was like uh running backwards as quick as he could go? an' I stood there for a few minutes an' uh. I walked away very slowly looking at the guy an' after that I had a reputation fer um nonsense an'
verbal abuse. an’ I also had a reputation such that most people in the agency won’t go out with me anymore
Narrative #13

F: this was when there was alot a’ civil rights activities an’ anti-war stuff=

A: =Um hmm. oh yeah

F: An’ uh this guy had video-cam. one of the first video cams I’d ever seen an’ he had kleig lights an’ this kinda stuff. an’ he turns it off an’ he keeps asking questions real pointed racist kinda questions about what occurred (5 syll) an’ uh-I’m bein’ very careful. so uh. when he turns ta leave he walks away an’ he comes back an’ he says (. ) I wanna tell ya somethin’. you just passed a helluva test. an’ he looks down an’ says the lights went off the red light on the camera went off but it’s still rolling an’ anything you’d a said I’d a had yer hide on a barn door…an’ I said thanks alot
Narrative #14

S: Jim an' I were every fall an' every spring we used ta go to Dallas an' visit some friends cruise down outside ya know like around Houston pick psilocybin mushrooms =

A: =Um hmm

S: An' every year ya know pick ten pounds er somethin' bring 'em back. we actually ya know we sold 'em fer very little but we made enough to pay for the trip an' it was fun. 'at's all we did it for we di-it was not any major money making adventure or anything. well we were up. God we were stayin' in L.A. at his folks' house? er so-at Jim's folks' house?. I'was just before we got married. an' we got a call from this friend of ours named Mark from Florida. an' he was um coming in ta L.A. International Airport. an' could we come get 'im an' give 'im a ride home. ✅ hmm. no problem. well Jim an' I were not getting along real well at the time even though it was like a week before we were going ta get married. an' he was gettin' a little squirrley. an' uh he had just bought what a hundred mils of hash oil. it's like it used ta come in the baby bottles. an' I had gone earlier in the day an' got a bunch of the ten mil an' one mil bottles =

A: =Um hmm =

S: =So we could (. ) divide it up. an' I had these in my purse we were at L.A. International Airport ta go get Mark an' we weren't really getting along well (. ) an' we saw Mark come off the plane (. ) an' we went in for the-it was really nice ta see Mark because it was a diversion from us not getting along. an' we walked in ta where
ya get your luggage. ya know an' we're sittin' around waiting an' i-just bull shittin' an' (. ) with each other an' havin' fun an' all of a sudden I look around an' every doorway ( . ) had two guys in leisure suits w-(black sh- ) shiny shoes ( . ) an' I don't know why it scared me. so I decided I had ta go ta the bathroom. 'cuz I ( . ) didn't like being ( . ) enclosed in there. an' I-I don't know why...I felt that way ( . ) but I did I needed ta get outta there quick. so I went to leave ( . ) the luggage area at which time I was taken..by a..individual on either side of me ( . ) by the arms ( . ) into a. a um. observation room?=er something? I don't know it was an office. an' it turned out ta be where the DEA conducts business there when they're lookin' fer people. an' I was sat on a couch ( . ) an' um..I knew I was just going ta be in jail forever ( . ) an' all I could think of was I had these stupid bottles in my purse an' what the hell was I gonna ( . ) do with those. well in a few minutes they wouldn't say a word to me. ya know they just told me ta sit down an' that was it. well a few minutes later Mark an' Jim come walking in they're being escorted in along with Mark's suitcase. an' um. they told Jim ta sit down on the couch by me ( . ) an' they took Mark inta the back. an' there was like eight ta ten of 'em er somethin' that walked in there with 'im. an' we um ( . ) here was a guy at the desk an' Jim asked 'im ya know w-what's going on ( . ) ya know I mean we ( . ) just got a phonecall from out friend from Florida saying hey can we come pick ya up? ya know what's going on here. an' he said something to the effect of uh..them getting a call about somebody bringing in ten pounds a ↑drugs (3) I don't know but it was ( . ) ya know ( . ) bringing drugs. cross country an' then we found out that they were DEA..and um...my heart sank (((laughs)))..↑I
I thought I was gonna be in prison forever and you know. God I didn't know what was gonna happen to me. For sure, all of a sudden we heard Mark screaming 'f*ck you get the f*ck away from me you have no right to do this and all this other stuff. Um... then I heard them screaming 'where's the key... and there's a lot of commotion in there ya know like things slamming and all kinds of stuff going on... well when this was going on they took my purse and dumped it out... and all these little bottles=

A: How many bottles did you have?

S: Um... um... there was less than fifty of 'em but they were ten mil and one mil bottles yeah. great big-a bunch a bottles obviously something was up. but um they asked me what it was and I don't know why but I just said a friend of mine has a health food store or something's a candle shop. 'cuz I had a girlfriend named Carol that had a-she was foolin' around with Jim but I didn't know about it ((laughs)) she had a candle shop an' she actually made oils from flowers and different things=

A: =Uh huh?=uh huh?=

S: = And for some reason I remembered that at that split second an' said that I make. oils. ya know like massage oils and perfume oils ya know we sell 'em in the little bottles so they put 'em all back. an' gave 'em all back to me an' said. yeah... an' ya know I mean they're just little bottles so they couldn't really do anything... an' I-I don't know if I-I completely B.S.ed 'em about um different kinds of ya know 'cuz they were askin' me what different kinds of plants an'. I-I don't know why but I was able to do that well... well all of a sudden a DEA agent comes out
an' puts the suitcase right next ta Jim..who at that point was on the couch he put it on
the floor right next ta where Jim was sitting (.) Jim jumped over me (.) over ta the
other side of the couch (.) he didn’t wanna be anywhere near it ((laughs)) and um (.)
at which time they thought that was a little odd...an’ he just said he was nervous 'cuz
it was a very strenuous (.) whatever...um (1) Jim asked 'em what they were doing.
an’.the. um (.) DEA guy said. your friend has (.) a something culinary..unusual
culinary taste. er something like that (1) we had no idea what the hell he was talking
about. and um.. it turned out (.) psilocybin mushrooms are not illegal (.) in=
A: =At that time=
S: =At that time (.) they I mean they weren’t declared a drug. there. um here.. they
had gotten a call from some-from a narc in Florida stating that this person was
bringing ten pounds of drugs. to California (.) he was on this flight this was his name
they had two DEA guys (.) on the plane with him..coming (.) I mean this was big
time..whoever (.) called..they knew (1) so they thought it was drugs (.) it turned out
to be mushrooms..which are a drug..but (.) these guys didn’t know that. an’ I guess
what happened was (.) that-when we heard all the noise in the back room (.) they
were insisting Mark open his suitcase (.) an’ he refused ta open it. then they wanted a
key (.) he-he refused ta give ’em the key (.) because. it wasn’t locked=there was no
key. but he didn’t tell them that ((laughs))..Mark was a bad ass (.) I mean real (.)
hard core he wouldn’t say hey there’s no key. he just said fuck you I’m not givin’ you
the key. you know? eat shit an’ die you’re not gettin’ the key from me..an’ they said
open it an’ he said no. fuck you you want it open (.) open it yourself..you know type
thing..that’s what all the yelling an’ slamming an’ stuff (.). an’ Mark said it was so funny because he-he-ya know he thought he was goin’ ta jail so he was just kinda-he was used ta this. so he just kinda. ya know. was not cooperating...an’ I guess they finally figured out it wasn’t locked (.). an’ they opened up the suitcase an’ he said that they (.). they (.). I mean all (.). th’ only thing he had in there was ten pounds a mushrooms. no clothes. not a toothbrush (.). nothing..just (.). ten pounds a mushrooms. packed up exactly the way we told ’im ta ↑ pack ’em...an’ I guess the guy opened up the-the bag (.). an’ ya know (.). we had always told that him if anybody ever ↑ stops you you’re a vegetarian (2) ya know (.). I mean you eat that. you’re a vegetarian you don’t eat meat an’ (2) you eat alot a mushrooms. and uh...so he did all that an’ (.). they-they had decided that he was way too big an’ buff to be vegetarian (.). but (.). oh well..and uh. I guess (.). somebody (.). in tryin’ ta decide what the hell these things are had picked up (.). some of the mushrooms an’ went an’ went ta smell it (.). an’ he got-he had cow shit (2) he didn’t pick a piece a mushroom he picked a piece a cow shit up ((laughs)) he was-he was not happy ’cuz he had cow shit all over his hands an’ on his nose an’ stuff (.). so he was(.). I mean it was real intresting. but they let us go an’ gave us the suitcase..and um. said they were real sorry that obviously their informant was wrong because they were told ten pounds of drugs were being (1) brought. an’ they thought either cocaine or heroin..ya know an’ these were like DEA guys an’ I thought I was going ta die..two days later-no i-the next day on the ↑ news (.). in L.A. (.). we heard there is a (.). new drug in town an’ it’s psilocybin mushrooms...and it was illegal (.). they didn’t know it...because they were so focused on heroin er
cocaine...and all they heard was ten pounds a drugs

A: what a trip...what a trip
REFERENCES


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