

**Describing and Teaching Spoken English:
An Educational-linguistic Study of Scripted Speech**

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Erklärung zur Dissertation

Ich erkläre: Ich habe die vorgelegte Dissertation selbständig und nur mit den Hilfen angefertigt, die ich in der Dissertation angegeben habe. Alle Textstellen, die wörtlich oder sinngemäß aus veröffentlichten oder nicht veröffentlichten Schriften entnommen sind, und alle Angaben, die auf mündlichen Auskünften beruhen, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

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Needless to say, any remaining errors and infelicities are entirely my own.

List of abbreviations and acronyms (incl. corpora)

AmE	American English
ANC	American National Corpus
BNC	British National Corpus
BrE	British English
CANCODE	Cambridge-Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English
CATS	Corpus of American Television Series
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CIC	Cambridge International Corpus
CLAWS4	Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System, version 4
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
conv.	conversation
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELISA	English Language Interview Corpus as Second-Language Application
ELT	English language teaching
ESP	English for specific purposes
FLT	Foreign language teaching
FSTVL	Fictional scripted television language
FSK	<i>Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle der Filmwirtschaft</i> (Voluntary Self Regulation of the Film Industry)
GG	<i>Gilmore Girls</i>
GLBCC	Giessen Long Beach Chaplin Corpus
ICE	International Corpus of English
ICE	International Corpus of English
ICE-USA	International Corpus of English, U.S. American subcorpus
KWIC	keyword in context
LGSWE	Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English
LINDSEI	Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage
LLC	London-Lund Corpus
LOB	Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus
LSAC	Longman Spoken American Corpus
LSP	Language for specific purposes
LSWE Corpus	Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus
LT	Language teaching
MD analysis	multidimensional analysis
MICASE	Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English
n.s.	not (statistically) significant
NOC	naturally occurring conversation
pmw	per million words
POS	part of speech
R	researcher (i.e. the author of the present study (cf. Ch. 8))
S	student(s) (cf. Ch. 8)
SACODEYL	System-aided Development and Open Distribution of European Youth Language
SBCSAE	Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English
SFU	<i>Six Feet Under</i>
SLA	Second language acquisition
T	teacher of the class (cf. Ch. 8)
TV	television
USAS	UCREL Semantic Analysis System
VM	<i>Veronica Mars</i>

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1 Introduction

1.1 What it's all about: Motivation and objective of the present study

1.1.1 The starting point: Spoken English and the EFL language classroom

A universal problem in Germany's EFL (English as a foreign language) classrooms is that even learners at an advanced level frequently display major deficiencies with regard to idiomatic spoken language use. Apart from the fact that students' speaking time in classroom settings still tends to be much too low (cf. e.g. Helmke et al. 2007), the type of spoken English they use is often not natural at all. The learners' spoken output is inclined to be much more oriented toward the norms of written English, and this can make them come across as stiff and awkward. Along these lines, Kieweg (2000) bemoans that

unfortunately, the type of English used in [German] classrooms is usually the written language, performed orally. The class speaks about written texts, about what they read, about printed material, about grammatical issues, about the foreign culture and society etc. and so the genuinely spoken form of language is often completely ignored.

[Leider ist das in den Klassenzimmern anzutreffende Englisch in der Regel die geschriebene Sprache, mündlich angewendet. Man spricht über Geschriebenes, Gelesenes, Gedrucktes, Grammatisches, Landeskundliches etc. und ignoriert das echt Mündliche oftmals vollständig.]
(Kieweg 2000: 8; my translation of the German original)

Many students are simply not able to differentiate between spoken and written language use. They end up speaking a variety pejoratively called 'classroomese' by some, sounding "bookish and pedantic, which is to say, inappropriate" (Brown 1979: 26).

Learners experience particular trouble when asked to speak unprepared, such as is typical in the case of a discussion or casual conversation. German high school students rarely master the wide range of spoken features which facilitate a smooth and natural interaction.¹ Conversation requires a great deal of spontaneity on the part of the interlocutors, and students need to learn to cope with the pressure of on-the-spot planning and production. Unfortunately, traditional language classes rarely provide students with the necessary 'equipment' to be prepared for such a challenge.

Indeed, the teaching of EFL in Germany has, at least until recently, mainly focused on characteristics of the written language. Especially grammatical aspects of spoken English have long been neglected in applied linguistics and English language teaching (ELT): The propagated grammatical norms tend to be based solely on writing, and the norms of speech

¹ The present study focuses on upper-level students (approx. age 15-19; 10th to 13th grade) of a German *Gymnasium*, the type of German high school which prepares students for higher education at a university. By the age of 16, most students have learned English for about five to six years. Students in 11th to 13th grade are usually expected to reach CEFR levels between B2 and C1 in Germany.

are relegated to a secondary role (cf. e.g. Mukherjee 2009b: 205; Rühlemann 2008a: 673). In fact, this does not only appear to be true for English language teaching in Germany, but also for other foreign language teaching (FLT) contexts.²

One major reason why the grammatical norms of speech have such a minor status in ELT is that little was known about what has been called 'the grammar of speech' (Brazil 1995; Carter and McCarthy 1995; Hughes 2002), 'spoken grammar' (McCarthy and Carter 1995) or 'the grammar of conversation' (Biber et al. 1999).³ Although speech has generally been prioritized over writing in modern linguistics (see also Chapter 2.1.1), the grammatical system of speech remained unexplored for a long time and thus represented a *terra incognita* for language researchers, as it were. However, the situation has changed substantially over the last few decades. Especially *corpus*-linguistic investigation into spontaneous spoken English has provided us with a considerable number of insights concerning the differences between spoken and written language in general and the grammar of spoken English in particular. Yet, these lexico-grammatical differences between speech and writing hardly ever find their way into the classroom. Timmis (2005: 117) notes that "descriptions of native speaker spoken grammar have become far more detailed and comprehensive. These insights, however, have been relatively slow to filter through to ELT practice." Similar concerns are expressed by a variety of other applied linguists (cf. e.g. Mukherjee 2004: 239; Thornbury 2005: 34).

It is perhaps not surprising that the fruits of linguistic research are not directly incorporated into language teaching.⁴ There are a number of issues to be resolved first, such as 1. *whether* spoken grammar is pedagogically relevant, 2. *which* features of spoken grammar should be taught, 3. *when* they should be taught, and 4. *how* they can be taught. While national curricula and international guidelines such as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe 2001) provide requirements and – albeit not sufficient – guidance for the first three issues, the question of *how* to teach spoken grammar still needs further analysis.

What is clear is that EFL classrooms are in need of a greater variety of natural spoken models, so that the learners have a greater chance of gaining the necessary knowledge and skills to communicate successfully in the spoken language. I understand 'spoken model' here not in the sense of 'target norm,' but rather as an 'input' which may be used by the learner as a

² See e.g. Imo (2009), Lüger (2009) and Schäfer (2009) on the (lack of) integration of spoken grammar features in the teaching of French and German as a foreign language.

³ Please refer to Chapter 2.4.3 for a more detailed terminological discussion on what has been labeled 'spoken grammar,' 'conversational grammar,' etc.

⁴ See e.g. Mukherjee and Rohrbach (2006: 207) on the tension between corpus-linguistic and language-pedagogical interests and on approaches to curriculum design, materials design, and classroom methodology.

model to imitate. While an appropriate language model is certainly only one of many other variables for successful spoken language learning (e.g. amount of practice, task design, etc.), it probably ranks among the most important and is in the focus of the present study. Apart from (written) textbook dialogues, the typical available models are the foreign language teacher – who, in Germany, is usually a German native speaker – and the occasional taped dialogue which accompanies the textbook. More recently, the use of spoken corpora has been recommended by applied linguists. Spoken corpora consist of large amounts of transcribed, naturally occurring speech (cf. Baker et al. 2006: 148) and thus offer language samples which were originally produced for genuine communicative purposes. In theory, this makes them very attractive resources for direct application by teachers and students and so their use appears to tie in nicely with the principles of modern communicative language teaching. In practice, however, while spoken corpora are able to provide many instances of authentic language use, they can be very difficult to handle for non-linguists and are often not suitable for teaching and learning scenarios. This is why various scholars have suggested using corpora which are designed especially for the language classroom in terms of their contents, size and data format. Such 'pedagogically relevant corpora' (Braun 2005, 2006, 2007b) are easier to manage for non-linguists and fit in better with the syllabus and the needs and interests of the students. To date, however, only few such pedagogical corpora are available.

The neglect of spoken language norms in EFL classrooms, the lack of awareness and spoken skills on the part of the learners, the lack of appropriate spoken models, and the lack of pedagogically suitable corpora are the central issues which inspired the present study, the objectives of which will be outlined in the following.

1.1.2 Research aim and methodological steps

This study aims to investigate the extent to which a corpus consisting of transcribed dialogues of American television (TV) series can be a suitable tool for the EFL classroom and thus be 'pedagogically relevant' and useful for the teaching of spoken grammar. It focuses particularly on its 'linguistic suitability.' The use of fictional and scripted speech for learning natural spoken English is not uncontroversial. Television language (e.g. in feature films and TV series) has frequently been suggested as an alternative or supplementary spoken model for the classroom (see also Ch. 4.1), but, in fact, there is still little knowledge about the exact nature of this type of language yet. Fictional scripted television language (henceforth: FSTVL) lacks comprehensive theory and description, especially in terms of its lexico-grammar. If it were to

be shown that FSTVL mirrors authentic language use to a great extent, a strong case could be made for its use as a language model for EFL learners and for its use in a corpus for educational purposes.

Of course, the question as to which language input is 'suitable' for learners is debatable and hinges on a multitude of factors. The present study focuses primarily on the 'linguistic authenticity' or 'naturalness' of the language of American television series in terms of its 'spokenness,' i.e. its similarity to naturally occurring speech. However, the study also attempts to keep track of the language-pedagogical perspective and tries to connect linguistic with language-pedagogical considerations. The question of 'linguistic authenticity' is therefore combined with the question of 'linguistic appropriateness' for the classroom.

For the purpose of assessing the suitability of a corpus of FSTVL for teaching spoken grammar, five major methodological steps have been taken. These are illustrated in Figure 1-1. The five major phases in this research project are explained in the left-hand column of each block, while the corresponding partial objectives and intentions of the project are summarized in each right-hand column.

The question of how authentic FSTVL is (and can be), i.e. how well it mirrors actual language use, is first approached from a theoretical perspective (Step 1). Previous theories, assumptions and research studies relating to FSTVL are surveyed and evaluated. A taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness in FSTVL is furthermore developed. Subsequently, a new corpus of (transcribed) dialogues from four American television series is compiled (Step 2), taking into account the typical design criteria for 'pedagogically relevant corpora' (Braun 2005). This corpus (CATS = Corpus of American Television Series) is then analyzed quantitatively with regard to its similarity to naturally occurring conversation (Step 3). This is done by examining a selection of 'indicators of spoken style' which serve to approach the degree of linguistic authenticity in a simple and efficient way. In Step 4, the results are evaluated from a language-pedagogical perspective. Further quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted in order to investigate the extent to which FSTVL is an appropriate type of language for EFL learners, and to identify features of spoken grammar which can be sensibly taught with the help of CATS.

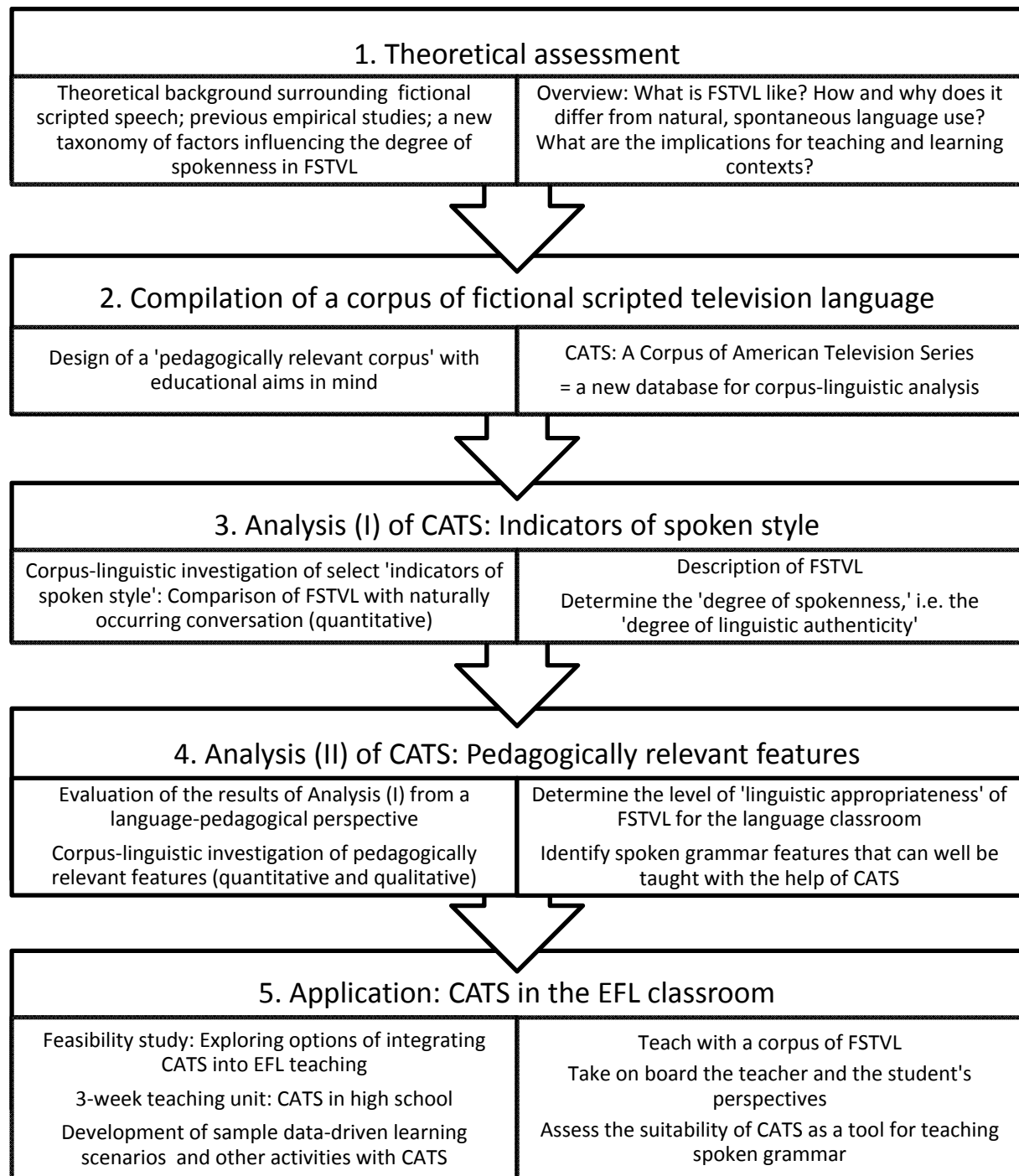


Figure 1-1: Research design: Five steps for assessing the suitability of a corpus of fictional scripted television language (FSTVL) for teaching spoken grammar

The last step, Step 5, consists of a small feasibility study with CATS in an actual classroom context. Here, I move away from assessing purely linguistic characteristics of CATS in order to explore options of integrating a corpus such as CATS into a regular EFL course. To this end, I develop a few sample data-driven exercises with CATS and run a 3-week project in an EFL class at a German high school (12th grade at a *Gymnasium*), in which CATS is used (inter alia) to teach spoken grammar. This final phase thus also takes the

intended beneficiaries into account, namely teacher and students, whose reactions are monitored, documented and evaluated throughout the unit.

1.1.3 An educational-linguistic study

Educational linguistics is a relatively recent area of research which was named and defined in the 1970s by Bernard Spolsky (1971, 1974, 1978). In a nutshell, "[e]ducational linguistics is an area of study that integrates the research tools of linguistics and other related disciplines of the social sciences in order to investigate holistically the broad range of issues related to language and education" (Hult 2008: 10).

The present study takes a fundamentally educational-linguistic approach because it has a starting point which is rooted in language education, and then combines (predominantly corpus-) linguistic methods with other approaches to tackle the identified problem. The theoretical and analytical components of the study are followed by a hands-on application of the ideas previously developed. The study is thus problem- and practice-oriented in nature, one of the three major characteristics of educational-linguistic research projects suggested by Hornberger (2001). For Hornberger, "the integration of linguistics and education ('the relevance of linguistics for education and the reverse'); the close relationships among research, theory, policy and practice ('a problem-oriented discipline'); and the focus on language learning and teaching ('scope with depth') [...]" (Hornberger 2001: 5) are the most important dimensions of educational linguistics. All these dimensions are reflected in the present study.

1.2 What it's not about: Beyond the scope of this study

It should be noted that the major concern of the present study is the *shape* of spoken English which is taught; more precisely, the nature of grammar in spoken or conversational English. It tries to assess an alternative model and tool for teaching students this 'other kind of English,' of raising awareness of how the different registers of the English language work and interact. It is thus concerned with 'teaching spoken English.'

This study is not primarily concerned with the question of how to teach students to speak English, i.e. it is not about 'teaching speaking English' or speaking skills in general, although this is certainly also a major concern in the language-pedagogical discussion nowadays. Much research has been published on the development of speaking skills, ranging from more theoretical treatises to concrete suggestions for speaking activities and practical guides for

teachers on how to raise the percentage of students speaking during class, how to motivate students to speak at greater length and in different contexts, how to assess speaking, etc. (e.g. Folse 2006; Hughes 2002; Klippel 1985; Thornbury 2005).

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that 'teaching speaking English' and 'teaching spoken English' are closely related and cannot be completely separated from each other. The relation between these two concerns, i.e. 'teaching speaking English' and 'teaching spoken English,' will be addressed again in Chapter 3.1 and 3.4.1.

1.3 Preview

The present study is organized into three major parts with a total of nine chapters.

Part I (Chapters 2-4) provides the theoretical backgrounds which lay the foundation for the subsequent analyses. It examines in detail the four major themes which are brought together by this research project: Spoken English, language teaching, corpus linguistics, and film and television. Figure 1-2 illustrates the numerous ways in which these themes are related. Each bilateral (i.e. A-B, B-C,...) and trilateral relation (i.e. A-B-C, A-B-D,...) will be addressed in the following chapters, as the research questions of the present project are situated within this network of relations.

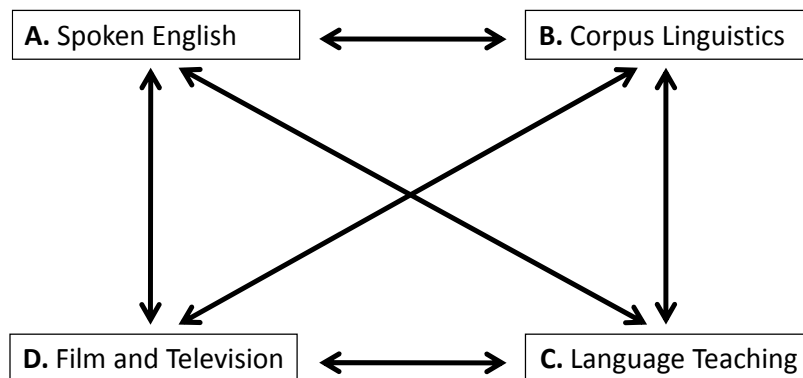


Figure 1-2: The locus of the project: At the intersection between spoken English, corpus linguistics, language teaching, and film and television

Some of these relations are still under-researched and under-theorized to date. For instance, as mentioned above, the interface A-D (e.g. 'spoken English in film and television') and the interface B-D (e.g. 'use of film and television material in corpus linguistics') have received little attention in the linguistic research community, either on a theoretical level or on a

practical or empirical level. It is hoped that the present study will contribute to filling these gaps.

Chapter 2 sheds light on the central object under investigation, i.e. the nature of spoken English, and so prepares for Chapters 3 and 4. It discusses the general differences between spoken and written English, provides an overview of what is meant by 'spoken grammar' and looks at how it can be approached theoretically and analyzed empirically, focusing on corpus-linguistic methods. Chapter 2 serves to provide the necessary terminology and the theoretical framework in which the remaining background chapters and the corpus analysis of the present study are to be located.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the place of spoken English (grammar) in Germany's EFL teaching tradition. References to other EFL contexts will be made, too. After a brief look at the curricular conditions for teaching spoken grammar in Germany, the actual teaching practice in EFL classrooms will be reviewed. The concept of 'authenticity' in the teaching of languages will be dealt with in detail as it is crucial not only for a discussion of desired target norms, but also for the controversy surrounding the role of corpus-based (i.e. usage-based) materials in class. The last two parts of Chapter 3 then describe how corpus linguistics has influenced language teaching and which type of linguistic corpora seem to be most suitable for direct application in classroom scenarios. The considerations in Chapter 3 finally culminate in the idea of creating a new spoken corpus which is specifically designed for classroom use but which, unlike traditional spoken corpora, uses the language of scripted television series instead of genuine language samples. The language of film and television is then at the center of the next chapter.

Chapter 4 first briefly surveys previous assumptions regarding the potential of audiovisual media as a model in ELT, specifically for discussing language phenomena and developing language awareness. The remaining part of the chapter is concerned with the nature of FSTVL (cf. Step 1 in Figure 1-1). It starts with a more precise definition of the object in question (i.e. TV language as fictional scripted speech) and a review of a number of previous theoretical considerations regarding scripted speech. This is followed by a description of the current place of FSTVL in corpus linguistic theory and practice as well as a summary of previous empirical research in this largely unexplored area. Then, a new framework is developed with the intention of capturing and systematizing all the factors influencing the degree to which FSTVL is (dis)similar to NOC in terms of its spokenness. This framework finishes with a 'taxonomy of factors' (see also above) which will help us to hypothesize about FSTVL, but also to interpret and evaluate the results of a data-based

comparison of FSTVL and naturally occurring speech. At the end of Chapter 4, it is argued that a corpus of television series dialogue could indeed be a useful new tool for teachers and students, provided that the television data used in this pedagogical corpus mirrors natural language use to an equally great extent as in previous studies of FSTVL.

Part II (Chapters 5-7) comprises accounts of the methodology as well as the corpus analysis of the present study. The methodological decisions and steps taken are outlined in Chapter 5, which includes a description of the compilation and design of CATS and a brief overview of the technological and statistical tools and methods used for corpus analysis. It also explains the selection of indicators of spoken style and introduces the reference data (i.e. the natural spoken data) which CATS is compared with.

Chapter 6 presents and discusses the results of the quantitative comparison of FSTVL and naturally occurring conversation in terms of 'spokenness' (cf. Analysis (I) in Figure 1-1). The results are then evaluated from a language-pedagogical perspective in Chapter 7. Further analyses of pedagogically relevant features complement the first analysis (cf. Analysis (II) in Figure 1-1). The findings finally lead to an evaluation of the linguistic authenticity and the general linguistic appropriateness of FSTVL as represented by CATS.

Part III of this study links theory with practice (cf. Step 5 in Figure 1-1). Chapter 8 reports on the implementation and results of the feasibility study with CATS, which was carried out at a German high school. At the end of that chapter, I try to arrive at a final assessment on whether a corpus of television series such as the one designed for this study can really be a suitable tool for teaching the grammar of spoken English, and I point out which requirements need to be fulfilled for this purpose.

Finally, Chapter 9 takes stock of the major results of this study and provides some suggestions for further research.

— PART I —

2 Spoken language, spoken English, spoken English grammar

This chapter starts by outlining the significance of the spoken language in linguistics and in society as well as the complex relationship between the terms 'spoken language' and 'written language.' Subsequently, the chapter is concerned with the relatively recent description of the grammar of spoken English, the contribution of corpus linguistics in this area, and the different approaches which have been taken to compare the grammar of spoken English with the grammar of written English. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of some key grammatical features of spoken English. In essence, this chapter serves to 'clear the ground' conceptually and terminologically for the following chapters, which then deal with the teaching of spoken English and with spoken English in film and television. It also provides the necessary background for the corpus-analytical part of the study (cf. Part II).

Since the topics of 'spoken and written language' and 'spoken grammar' have been discussed extensively for several decades in a multitude of publications, this chapter only offers a summary of the major issues which are relevant to the present study. It is beyond the scope of the present study to offer a comprehensive account of this large area of research.⁵

2.1 The spoken language in linguistics and society

2.1.1 The status of speech in linguistics

Since the 20th century, the spoken form has undoubtedly gained the status of the primary form of language within the language sciences, while the written form is considered secondary and dependent on the spoken form. For instance, two of the most prominent early 20th century structuralists, Ferdinand de Saussure and Leonard Bloomfield, clearly privileged speech over writing:

Language and writing are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first. The linguistic object is not both the written and the spoken forms of words; the spoken forms alone constitute the object. But the spoken word is so intimately bound to its written image that the latter manages to usurp the main role. (de Saussure 1959 [1916]: 23f.)

Writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks. (Bloomfield 1933: 21)

⁵ For the relationship between and characteristics of spoken and written language, also from different philological perspectives, see e.g. Cornbleet and Carter (2001), Esser (2006), Günther and Ludwig (1994), Halliday (1989), Horowitz and Samuels (1987), Hughes (1996), Koch and Oesterreicher (1985), Miller (2006), Ong (1982), and Tannen (1982). For works focusing on the lexicogrammatical characteristics of spoken English (especially conversation), see e.g. Biber (1988), Biber et al. (1999), Carter and McCarthy (2006), McCarthy (1998), and Rühlemann (2007).

In fact, Bloomfield did not consider speech the *prioritized* form of language, but the *only* form of language. This extreme viewpoint on the primacy of the spoken language has been refuted since. Writing is certainly more than just a transcribed version of speech (cf. Crystal 2003: 291), and the 'beneficial' aspects of the written form of language and its important functions in society have been pointed out by various scholars (cf. e.g. Coulmas 1989: 12–14; Ong 1982; Stubbs 1980: 29ff.; Vachek 1949: 93). Writing clearly has a firm place in modern linguistics, too. Yet, as Lyons (1981: 11) states, "[i]t is one of the cardinal principles of modern linguistics that spoken language is more basic than written language." Lyons uses the term *basic* in the sense of 'primary'/'fundamental,' not 'simple'/'primitive.' Spoken language is the basis, the foundation of written language. It takes center stage in linguistics for a variety of reasons, which have been cited by numerous authors (cf. e.g. Fasold 1990: 276f.; Lyons 1981: 11–17; Stubbs 1980: 23–28). Among the most typical arguments are the following:

Speech came before writing in the history of humankind (historical priority); individual speakers *acquire* speech before they *learn* writing; human communities have a spoken language first and only optionally a writing system, which is developed later; the spoken language has more functions than the written language and is used more often (functional priority); it appears that the human body is naturally equipped and adapted for speech, but not for writing (biological priority); and the written letters of writing systems tend to represent sounds, so that the combinability of sounds determines the combinability of letters (structural priority). In the light of these reasons, then, it is difficult to see why writing should be placed over speech from an attitudinal point of view – neither in the language sciences nor in society in general.

2.1.2 The status of speech in society

The general picture is that of written language as richly endowed, while speech is a poor man's assemblage of shreds and patches. (Halliday 1987: 67)

Halliday's metaphor nicely captures the fact that the primacy of speech over writing in linguistics clashes with popular beliefs. Speech is held in lower regard than writing in most modern societies. Among non-linguists, writing is commonly seen as more important or simply 'better' than speech. Crystal (2003: 291) points out that "[s]peech [...] is often judged by its closeness to writing [...]." Similarly, Kreyer bemoans "the common assumption that spoken language is a more or less unrefined and formless variant of the written language" (Kreyer 2010: 151). Since spoken language usually 'fails' to adhere to written norms and

seems rather incomplete compared to it, it is considered as deficient, or as the imperfect version of writing. There are several reasons for these rather negative attitudes to the spoken form, i.e. for the conviction that written language is the one and only model. Carter (2003) explains that

[f]or many centuries, dictionaries and grammars of the English language have taken the written language as a benchmark for what is proper and standard in the language, incorporating written and often literary examples to illustrate the best usage. Accordingly, the spoken language has been downgraded and has come to be regarded as relatively inferior to written manifestations. (Carter 2003: 6)

The prestige of writing also has to do with the functions it fulfills: For instance, official documents such as contracts and laws are in writing. The spoken form, due to its ephemeral nature, seems less reliable and less trustworthy than the written form: The spoken form is transient, while the written form is permanent. In school, students usually learn the skills of reading and writing, while speaking and listening are often treated as a 'given' and so they receive less attention. The skills of reading and writing, i.e. literacy, are considered a requirement (and possibly a reflection of sophistication, education, intelligence, etc.) in modern societies, while comparatively little value is ascribed to spoken skills. Likewise, written forms of art such as pieces of literature (narrative prose, poetry, etc.) are considered an integral part of a nation's culture, while spoken forms of art (e.g. story-telling) rarely exist and are of secondary importance. The case is, of course, different in illiterate societies and in cultures which have a stronger oral tradition. Especially in the latter case, speech in general is held in higher esteem.

2.1.3 Overview: Major contrasts between speech and writing (Hughes 2002)

It is useful to briefly review the main natural contrasts between speech and writing. While some of the differences are quite obvious, there are a few aspects which are more subtle, but still deserve explicit mention here. I will adopt a comparison of characteristics developed by Hughes (2002: 9–15).⁶

Hughes describes and contrasts the nature of speech and writing according to two categories: 'Aspects of Production,' which have to do with how the language is generated, and 'Social Aspects,' which concern e.g. language attitudes. Most factors relating to social aspects have already been addressed in the preceding sections, while the aspects relating to language

⁶ See also Crystal (2003: 291) for a tabular comparison of speech and writing. While Hughes (2002) includes primarily language-external elements and does not specify their reflection on the linguistic level (e.g. in lexis and grammar), Crystal (2003) includes some typical linguistic features to be found in either speech or writing.

production will receive more attention in the following sections. The table below (Table 2-1) reproduces the ideas of Hughes' two original diagrams (2002: 10f.). The column 'Aspect' with the corresponding headers for the individual aspects (1 to 11) has been added by the author of the present study.

Table 2-1: Natural contrasts between speech and writing (based on Hughes 2002: 10f.)

	Aspect	Speech	Writing
Aspects of Production	1 Context	context dependent	decontextualised
	2 Spontaneity	unplanned	planned
	3 Transitoriness	transient	non-transient
	4 Channel	oral/aural	visual/motoric
	5 Dynamicity	dynamic	static
Social Aspects	6 Status	primary	secondary
	7 Functions	inter-personal	contractual
	8	informal	formal
	9	rhetorical	logical
	10 Innovation	locus of change	conservative
	11 Attitudes	stigmatized	prestigious

Note that Hughes' notion of 'speech' involves somewhat of a generalization, and her categories should be understood as tendencies rather than absolute differences. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.4.3, there are of course different kinds of speech, such as informal conversation, lectures, prepared speeches, etc. The term 'speech' first and foremost refers to language transmitted in the oral/aural channel (or: medium; see also Chapter 2.3 on terminological ambiguities in this area). However, since Hughes considers conversation as the prototypical type of speech (cf. Hughes 2002: 13), she uses conversation as the yardstick here. For example, Hughes classifies speech as 'unplanned,' although in fact there certainly exist prepared types of speech as well (e.g. a political speech).

The aspects presented in the table are not to be seen as isolated categories. For instance, the aspects of production influence the factors which Hughes lists as 'social aspects,' as e.g. the non-transient nature of written language is what makes it particularly apt for contractual functions, which, in turn, contributes to its prestige in society.

It is difficult for modern linguists to convince laymen, i.e. non-linguists, that there is no objective reason to consider speech as primitive compared to writing, and they hope to "redress the balance in favour of the unprejudiced investigation of speech and spoken language" (Lyons 1981: 12). However, it is always a challenge to convince someone of

something that can hardly be described and characterized on a scientific basis. While there are plenty of descriptions and prescriptions for the written language, the description of the spoken language is in its infancy compared to written language. The major reason was and is the scarcity of natural speech data, though the situation has changed substantially over the past few decades.

2.2 Speech data in linguistics

Despite the officially declared (theoretical) primacy of speech over writing, it was not until the second half of the 20th century that speech data became the center of attention in a variety of linguistic fields (e.g. sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, discourse analysis), some of which were newly emerging fields. Before, the study of language had necessarily always been the study of written text – either originally written texts or handwritten, approximate transcriptions of spoken language as they were heard or recalled by the researcher – and so the norms which were described for the written language came to represent the norms for language in general.

The spoken language has [...] been largely underdescribed and undertheorised within linguistic science. [...] The history of linguistics in the twentieth century has mainly been a history of the study of detached written examples, with all the characteristic features of spoken discourse dismissed as peripheral to the enquiry. (Carter 2004: 56)

The technological advances in the first half of the 20th century, notably the introduction of the (mobile) magnetic tape recorder, had a crucial impact on linguistic research methodologies (cf. Halliday 1994: xxiii). Researchers were now able to systematically record, transcribe, and analyze natural speech, which made it possible to study spoken language empirically. Since then, the spoken form has been described from many different angles, and an increasing number of studies have employed quantitative instead of, or in addition to, qualitative methods for the analysis of the spoken language.

The new technologies opened up a lot of new research opportunities, providing us with innumerable new insights into the spoken form of language, which often turned out to be at odds with the rules and patterns previously formulated for the written language. The fundamental difference between spoken and written language (use) then became a new research interest in the second half of the twentieth century and has not waned since; in fact, new forms of communication such as presented by the Internet (e.g. chats, blogs) mix up traditional notions of spoken and written language in a way that has required linguists to rethink their ideas of orality and literacy.

2.3 'Spoken language' vs. 'written language': Resolving the terminological ambiguity

I have been using the term 'spoken language' more or less synonymously with 'speech' so far; language as it is spoken, i.e. delivered orally. However, the notion of 'spoken language' is characterized by an inherent ambiguity. On the one hand, when we say that something is 'spoken,' we may refer to the medium, i.e. to the fact that language is transmitted via sounds (as opposed to letters or other visible graphic characters). On the other hand, we may refer to the language style, i.e. to the fact that an instance of language displays certain linguistic characteristics which add a 'speech-like' flavor to it.

2.3.1 Medium vs. style

In order to avoid the polysemy of 'spoken language and written language' or 'orality and literacy,' a useful terminological distinction was introduced by Söll (1980 [1974]), who separated the *code phonique* and the *code graphique* (referring to the medium or substance) from the *code parlé* and the *code écrit* (the linguistic style).⁷ Koch und Oesterreicher (1985, 1994, 2011 [1990]) drew on Söll's distinction, which still bore a risk for confusion, when they developed a model distinguishing between the phonic and the graphic medium on the one hand ('medial orality' and 'medial literacy'), and spoken and written style, or in their terms, 'conception' ('conceptional orality' and 'conceptional literacy').⁸

Koch and Oesterreicher's terminological distinction has been very influential in the German and Romance philologies, but less so in the English language research community.⁹ Instead, a number of other corresponding terms have been used in English linguistics, taking account of the need for disambiguation between the two aspects. The following table (Table 2-2) provides an overview of some of the most common terms used in discussions of 'spoken and written language.' It shows that the terminology in this area is indeed very heterogeneous. The picture is also complicated by the fact that different terms are used for the same phenomenon, and the same terms are used for different phenomena.

⁷ However, the idea that the medium/substance needs to be distinguished from structural/formal aspects has been expressed in a variety of much earlier works. See e.g. Abercrombie (1967: 1), Behaghel (1927 [1899]: 24ff.), Halliday et al. (1964: 10), and de Saussure (1959 [1916]: 122).

⁸ Koch and Oesterreicher's terminology is originally German. They distinguish between *mediale Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit* ('medial orality/literacy') and *konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit* ('conceptional orality/literacy'). In the present study, most of the English translations for their terminology are adapted from Koch (1999), which is one of very few contributions published in English. While the terms 'conceptional orality' and 'conceptual orality' now seem to be used interchangeably in the research literature, I will consistently use the former to refer to notions of style.

⁹ An exception is e.g. Culpeper and Kytö (2010), who draw on Koch and Oesterreicher's model, too.

Table 2-2: Spoken language and written language as 'medium' and as 'style': An overview

	Medium	Style
(ambiguous terms)	spoken vs. written	spoken ↕ written
Söll (1980 [1974])	<i>code phonique</i> vs. <i>code graphique</i>	<i>code parlé</i> ↕ <i>code écrit</i>
Koch und Oesterreicher (1985, 1994, 2011 [1990])	medial orality vs. medial literacy	conceptional orality ↕ conceptional literacy
	(medium)	(conception)
Hughes (1996, 2002)	aural/oral channel (spoken channel) vs. visual/motoric channel (written channel)	spoken mode ↕ written mode
Esser (2000, 2006)¹⁰	phonic substance (spoken realization) vs. graphic substance (written realization)	spoken style ↕ written style
Jucker (2000)	spoken code vs. written code	orality ↕ literacy
other terms occasionally used in the literature	speech vs. writing spoken mode vs. written mode	speech ↔ writing spokenness ↔ writtenness speech-like ↔ writing-like spoken-like ↔ written-like oral-like ↔ literate-like informal ↔ formal colloquial ↔ formal

A few further comments are in place here. It should be noted that the distinction expressed by the contrastive pairs in the column 'Medium' is a clear-cut dichotomy, while the contrast concerning style is polar and best seen as a continuum, with the two terms at the end points of the continuum. This is marked here by the '↕'-sign instead of the 'versus' (vs.). Language can be 'conceptionally oral' to different degrees, independent of the medium in which it is realized. For example, a personal letter, while medially written, is considered to have a very oral conception. In contrast, a legal text is typically a prime example of 'conceptional literacy' (cf. Koch 1999: 400).¹¹ Medium and conception/style are furthermore to be seen as independent of each other because utterances in the spoken medium (with all its typical linguistic characteristics) can be transferred into the written medium, e.g. when a conversation

¹⁰ A corresponding conceptual distinction is already made in Esser (1984: 1f.), where, drawing on Söll (1980 [1974]), he distinguishes a 'spoken vs. written type of realisation,' (G. *gesprochene* vs. *geschriebene Realisationsart*), which relates to differences in substance, from a 'spoken vs. written code,' (G. *gesprochener* vs. *geschriebener Kode*), which relates to differences in form.

¹¹ Also note that Hughes reserves the term *medium* "to refer to the precise method and/or material substances to convey the discourse" (Hughes 1996: 7), taking account of the fact that discourse in the same channel can be produced via different media (e.g. letter vs. e-mail vs. poster).

is transcribed. This phenomenon is what Lyons calls 'medium transferability' (Lyons 1981: 11). This does not mean, however, that there is no relationship at all between medium and conception: There is an affinity between 'phonic medium' and 'conceptional orality' as well as between 'graphic medium' and 'conceptional literacy': Medially oral texts are more likely to be conceptionally oral, too. This does not primarily have to do with the medium per se, though. Rather, it has to do with the functions that language transmitted through the spoken medium usually has and with the extra-linguistic circumstances under which language in the spoken medium is produced. This connection between the extra-linguistic circumstances of an utterance and its conception will be discussed further below (see especially Chapter 2.5.2).

While the distinction between medium and style is probably the most fundamental one when it comes to disambiguating the meanings of 'spoken and written language,' there is one further aspect to be considered. Esser (1994, 2000, 2006) does not only distinguish medium (substance) from style (the abstract grammatical and lexical form), but he adds the dimension of 'origin.' Due to the medium-transferability, instances of speech can be written in origin (e.g. when reading aloud) and instances of writing can be spoken in origin (e.g. transcription of a dialogue). As Esser (2006: 24f.) rightly points out, the importance of this distinction becomes particularly clear when different linguistic corpora are observed: 'Spoken corpora' (which consist of the transcriptions of speech) for instance, may either offer material with origins in writing (e.g. reading of news) or with origins in speech (e.g. face-to-face dialogue). While both instances are 'spoken' in terms of the medium, they may display great differences in terms of style due to their differences in origin.

2.3.2 'Language of immediacy' and 'language of distance' (Koch and Oesterreicher 1985)

Departing from this two-fold distinction, Koch and Oesterreicher (1985, 1994) go a step further and suggest capturing the difference between spoken and written conception with two other terms, which do not evoke associations with the medium: 'Language of immediacy' (*Nähesprache*) and 'language of distance' (*Distanzsprache*). Different types of language (in the spoken/phonic and written/graphic medium) can then be plotted on a continuum between the two poles of 'communicative immediacy' (*kommunikative Nähe*) and 'communicative distance' (*kommunikative Distanz*). These relations are illustrated in Figure 2-1.

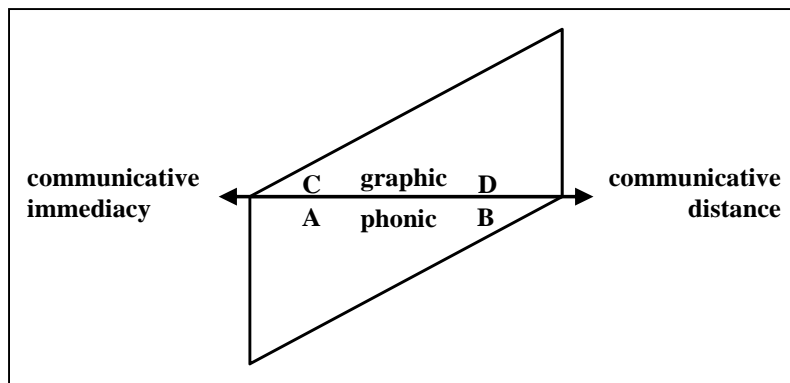


Figure 2-1: The relation of medium and conception: The continuum between communicative immediacy and communicative distance according to Koch and Oesterreicher (adopted from Koch 1999: 400)

Koch (1999: 400) places spontaneous everyday conversation (situated in zone A) and spontaneous private correspondence (C) in the same area on the horizontal axis, i.e. they both display the same degree of communicative immediacy, although one is realized in the graphic medium and the other in the phonic medium. In contrast, a funeral oration (B) and a legal text (D) are placed at the other end of the scale, since they share communicative distance. Many other communication forms can be plotted along this scale; spontaneous conversation in A and a legal text in D should only be considered as prototypical items. The fact that more written forms are closer to the communicative distance end and that more spoken forms display high communicative immediacy is reflected by the respective triangular shape.

It is no coincidence that two such different types of language as personal correspondence (C) and spontaneous conversation (A) are both instances of 'language of immediacy,' i.e. displaying similar linguistic choices: They share a very similar set of extra-linguistic conditions (conditions of immediacy), which are consequently reflected by specific language features. Koch and Oesterreicher (2011 [1990], 1999) list a range of (partly interrelated) parameters which together make up communicative immediacy, namely 1. physical (spatial, temporal) immediacy, 2. privacy, 3. familiarity of the partners (intimacy), 4. high emotionality, 5. context embeddedness, 6. deictic immediacy (*ego-hic-nunc*), 7. dialogue, 8. communicative cooperation of the partners, 9. free topic development, and 10. spontaneity.¹² The higher the degree to which these parameters apply to a form of communication (– with each individual parameter being scalar, i.e. applying to different degrees, except for No. 1 –), the more linguistic features of immediacy will be present. The individual combination and

¹² The opposite values of these communicative parameters apply to 'communicative distance,' e.g. 1. physical distance, 2. publicness, etc. (see Koch 1999: 401). The kinds of parameters are a matter of debate. Different sets of parameters which distinguish different types of language have been put forth by e.g. Biber (1988) and Chafe (1982), the former of which will be discussed in more detail below.

degrees of these parameters for each individual form of communication thus determine the degree of communicative immediacy.

This model clearly suggests that the functions to which language is put determine the shape that language takes: The communicative conditions determine linguistic choices. What Koch and Oesterreicher (1985) do not provide, however, is a systematic, empirical account of which exact linguistic features are triggered/caused by which individual communicative parameters. This is probably beyond the scope of their study. They stay at a rather general level and speak of quite broad categories,¹³ i.e. strategies of linguistic realization (*Versprachlichungsstrategien*, cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 2011 [1990]: 10ff.) which reflect the language of immediacy: Preference for non-linguistic contexts and for gestures and facial expression etc., little planning, temporariness, aggregation, etc.

Nevertheless, Koch and Oesterreicher's model is very valuable in the context of the present study as it illuminates the terminological dilemma in the study of spoken and written language and clearly shows that there are rarely 'either-or-scenarios,' but rather 'more-or-less scenarios' when it comes to language choices in different communication forms, which are per se independent of medium. It also shows that language use is conditioned by context and function. These notions will be referred to frequently in the course of the present study. The exact linguistic features which characterize conceptional orality or spoken style will be the subject of the following chapters. The focus will now be on the English language and on English lexico-grammar in particular.

2.4 Spoken English grammar

2.4.1 The need for description

Speech data have traditionally played a minor role in the description of English grammar. Apart from the fact that traditional grammars were based on introspection rather than on a sound data basis, they were oriented towards written models of the language. The written language has thus always been the yardstick against which instances of language were measured (cf. Lyons 1981: 11). It is only in the last few decades that the grammar norms of

¹³ This problem is also discussed by Hennig (2006: 69), who bemoans the fact that Koch and Oesterreicher's – albeit useful – model can hardly be operationalized, and so the allotting of different forms of communications on the immediacy-distance continuum remains rather imprecise and intuitional. It should be mentioned, though, that e.g. in Koch and Oesterreicher (2011 [1990]) the authors do provide some details about the linguistic repercussions of the individual communicative parameters, and they distinguish the linguistic features in two categories: Universal features of immediacy (e.g. discourse markers, turn-taking signals) and language-specific features of immediacy.

speech have become a separate research interest and now "linguists see it as their duty to correct the bias of traditional grammar and traditional language-teaching" (Lyons 1981: 11). One important conclusion which researchers have reached is that the grammar of spoken English is by no means inferior to that of written English; and it is not the case, as lay people may tend to think, that spoken English has no structure or less structure. The two forms simply have different structures. In the same spirit, Halliday emphasizes that

[s]poken and written language do not differ in their systematicity: each is equally highly organized, regular, and productive of coherent discourse. [...] Spoken and written language do differ, however, in their preferred patterns of lexicogrammatical organization. Neither is more organized than the other, but they are organized in different ways. (Halliday 1987: 69–71)

The features of spoken grammar and their connection to the communicative context will be discussed in some more detail in Chapter 2.5.

2.4.2 The corpus-linguistic study of spoken grammar

2.4.2.1 *The role of corpus linguistics in the description of spoken grammar*

The large-scale, empirical description of the lexico-grammar of the spoken language did not begin until the second half of the twentieth century (see e.g. Mukherjee 2009a: 13–20 for a short summary on the origins and development of corpus linguistics). The advent of linguistic corpora and the development of corresponding computer programs from the 1960s and 1970s onward played a major role here. Corpus-linguistic techniques made it possible to study large, systematic collections of digitized texts (most of which written in origin) and so enabled researchers to come up with generalizable conclusions and provide an empirically-based description of language. A 'corpus-based analysis' is defined by Biber et al. (1998: 4) as follows:

- it is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
- it utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a "corpus," as a basis for analysis;
- it makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
- it depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.

Linguistic corpora, corpus software, and the resulting corpus-based analyses of language have deeply influenced the study of language in modern times – a phenomenon which has been called by some "the corpus revolution" (Rundell and Stock 1992: 9). The compilation and analysis of spoken corpora has lagged behind that of written corpora (cf. Leech 2000:

687), though. This has mainly logistic reasons: The compilation of spoken corpora (based on the transcriptions of recordings of naturally occurring speech) requires far more resources, as it is a costly, difficult, and time-consuming process to collect large quantities of naturally occurring speech and transcribe them with varying degrees of detail.¹⁴ Moreover, researchers had to develop new methods of transcribing naturally occurring speech in order to make it computer-searchable and analyzable. For these reasons, there are fewer spoken than written corpora available, and the corpora tend to be smaller (cf. McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2009: 1012). Just as the lack of spoken data resources prevented researchers from studying spoken language in general, the scarcity of spoken corpora inhibited a more extensive study of spoken grammar.

However, the past three decades have brought about a variety of spoken corpora with more and more sophisticated designs, created for a variety of purposes.¹⁵ The *London-Lund Corpus* (LLC), for example, published in 1980 (Svartvik and Quirk 1980; Svartvik 1990), is still one of the most influential spoken corpora in the study of spoken English and it is distinguished by its detailed prosodic annotation. The spoken component of the *British National Corpus* (BNC) comprises approx. 10 million words (sampled in the early 1990s) and is designed to represent modern spoken British English. It is still frequently used as a reference corpus in current corpus studies. Spoken corpus compilation in the United States of America has not thrived to the same extent as in Europe (cf. Leech 2000: 684). Notable exceptions are e.g. the 5-million-word *Longman Spoken American Corpus* (LSAC, cf. Stern 1997), compiled in the 1990s and owned by the Longman publishers (but not publicly available), as well as the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (SBCSAE), sampled in the 1990s and published in four parts between 2000-2005.¹⁶ The SBCSAE consists of high quality transcriptions of spontaneous speech (249,000 words) and also provides corresponding audio data.

The analysis of spoken corpora has changed our view of the spoken language dramatically. With such large amounts of natural speech data and sophisticated analysis tools available, patterns and uses came to light which tend to slip the introspection and/or the personal observation of the individual linguistic researcher. Leech (2000: 676) speaks of a "new thinking on spoken grammar" which has been triggered by corpus-linguistic

¹⁴ Baker et al. (2006: 148) define a *spoken corpus* as a "corpus consisting entirely of transcribed speech" and contrast it with a *speech corpus*, which "consists not of transcriptions, but of recordings [...]" (ibid.: 147). In line with this terminological distinction, the present study is solely concerned with *spoken corpora*.

¹⁵ See e.g. Leech (2000: 680–685), McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2009), and Xiao (2008: 408–417) for an overview of spoken corpora.

¹⁶ See <<http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus>> (last checked: 28/05/2013).

investigations and presents the following linguistic features as some major research results (Chapter 2.5 will offer a fuller account of spoken grammar features):

(a) loose, relatively unintegrated structure with a very wide-ranging use of independent non-clausal ("fragmentary") units; (b) the inappropriateness of the *sentence* to the analysis of spoken grammar; (c) simplicity of phrase structure (particularly of noun phrases); (d) repetitive use of a restricted lexicogrammatical repertoire; (e) grammatical features reflecting interactiveness and on-line processing constraints. (Leech 2000: 676)

As mentioned above, the grammar of spoken English still has not received the same degree of description as the grammar of written English (see e.g. Quaglio and Biber 2006 for a brief survey of some major studies investigating particular grammatical features in conversation). The most comprehensive descriptions so far are probably to be found in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (based on the LSWE Corpus, i.e. the *Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus*) by Biber et al. (1999) and the *Cambridge Grammar of English* (based on the CANCODE, i.e. the *Cambridge-Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English*) by Carter and McCarthy (2006). Both works offer a comparative perspective on spoken grammar as they contrast spoken English with other registers of English.

2.4.2.2 Biber's (1988) corpus-based study of variation in spoken and written registers

There is one very influential corpus-linguistic study which needs to be mentioned here, as it has brought forth a number of important insights as regards register variation in general and as regards grammatical differences between spoken and written forms of language in particular: The multi-dimensional (MD) study of register variation by Biber (1988).¹⁷ Biber's study figured greatly for the selection of spoken features to be analyzed in the present study (cf. Ch. 5.2 and Ch. 6), which is why I will briefly comment on Biber's methodology and the major results.

In contrast to Koch and Oesterreicher (1985, 1994; see also above), Biber (1988) takes a data-based approach to linguistic variation in speech and writing.¹⁸ He first selects a large

¹⁷ See e.g. Biber et al. (1998: 145–157) for a brief introduction to the multi-dimensional study of register variation as exemplified by Biber (1988), and Biber (1995) for a further discussion of this methodology and a summary of his (1988) study.

¹⁸ Biber and Finegan's (Biber and Finegan 1986: 20) and Biber's (1988) MD analyses postulate one important distinction, namely that of 'genre' and 'text type,' as introduced in one of their earlier studies: "While genre categories (such as Adventure Fiction, Press Reviews, Prepared Speeches) are used to characterize texts on the basis of external criteria, we define 'text types' in terms of linguistic characteristics themselves" (Biber and Finegan 1986: 20). This means that a 'genre' is defined by e.g. the intended audience and the purposes of the texts, while texts belonging to a specific 'text type' are characterized by shared linguistic (e.g. lexical,

pool of morpho-syntactic features (n= 67) which previous research studies on spoken/written differences have associated with certain communicative functions, so that they are "potentially important" (Biber 1988: 72; emphasis in original). Subsequently, he calculates the frequency of these features in a large variety of spoken and written texts belonging to 23 different genres, e.g. 'general fiction,' 'personal letters,' and 'face-to-face conversation' (extracted from the *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus* of British English [LOB] and the *London-Lund Corpus* [LLC]). Afterwards, he determines by means of a factor analysis how exactly the features are distributed; specifically, how they cluster in these texts. He then identifies the common communicative purposes or characteristics of the resulting sets of co-occurring features, which he interprets as (textual) 'dimensions.' The general assumption is thus that "statistical co-occurrence patterns reflect underlying shared communicative functions" (Biber 1995: 344).

Among the seven dimensions he identifies is 'Dimension 1,' which is interpreted as 'involved vs. informational production.' Features with positive loading/weight on this dimension, i.e. linguistic features representative of 'involved'/'interactive' language use are, for example, private verbs, *that*-deletion, contractions, present tense verbs, and second person pronouns. These features tend to co-occur in texts, and a high frequency of these features with positive weight tends to exclude a high frequency of features with negative weights on this dimension, i.e. linguistic features which are representative of 'informational' language use (such as a high noun density, longer word length, and prepositions).

Finally, for each of the seven dimensions/factors, Biber computes a 'factor score' for each text (based on the frequency of the features belonging to one dimension) as well as an average factor score for the texts within one genre. One major result is that every genre has its own linguistic profile with its mixture of different scores along these seven dimensions. None of the dimensions achieves a categorical separation between spoken and written registers, i.e. "no dimension defines an absolute spoken/written distinction" (Biber 1988: 161). Nevertheless, the dimension which indicates the neatest separation of spoken and written registers of all is Dimension 1, i.e. this dimension is particularly strong and stable and most indicative of the linguistic differences between speech and writing.¹⁹ Most spoken registers analyzed in Biber's study thus have high average scores on this dimension, which means that

morphological, syntactic) characteristics. One aim of the MD analyses was thus to determine 'text types' and explore their complex relation to the 'genres' which were represented in the analyzed corpora.

¹⁹ The other two dimensions strongly correlating with the speech-writing-opposition are Dimension 3 ('elaborated vs. situation-dependent reference') and Dimension 5 ('abstract vs. non-abstract style') (cf. Biber 1988: 160ff.).

they have high frequencies of the features with positive weight (private verbs, *that*-deletion, etc.) combined with low frequencies of the features with negative weight.

Biber's methodology has been adopted by plenty of other comparative studies focusing on register variation (see e.g. the contributions in Conrad and Biber 2001). The linguistic features which Biber identified as typical of 'involved' production can furthermore be useful for studies investigating the degree of 'spokenness' or 'spoken style' in language: The features with 'positive loading' on the 'involved vs. informational'-dimension (private verbs, *that*-deletion, etc.) may be taken as rough indicators of spoken style in English, which is the approach taken in the analytical part of the present study (cf. Ch. 5.2, 6).

2.4.3 On 'spoken English,' 'conversation,' and grammar

Many authors use the labels 'spoken grammar'/'grammar of speech'/'grammar of spoken language' interchangeably with the labels 'conversational grammar'/'grammar of conversation' (e.g. Biber et al. 1999) or in the sense of 'conversational grammar'/'grammar of conversation' (e.g. McCarthy and Carter 1995). Indeed, the authors usually refer to the grammar typical of conversation and they use the 'conversation part' of corpora in their studies on 'spoken grammar.'

Rühlemann (2006: 386) criticizes the terminological mix of *medium* (spoken language, speech) and of *register* (conversation), as conversation is a situationally-defined variety which cannot be equated with 'spoken language.' He suggests that the term 'conversational grammar' be consistently used instead. Rühlemann's preference of terminology is certainly comprehensible. Spoken English (or spoken language, for that matter) in the sense of 'speech' is, of course, not the same as conversation. Conversation is commonly understood as a 'spontaneous, informal, face-to-face verbal exchange, typically between familiar people.' Spoken English, in turn, in the broadest of its senses, can be any form of language which is delivered through the spoken medium, be it informal or formal, spontaneous or planned/scripted, face-to-face or mediated, monologic or dialogic. Conversation could be understood as only one type of spoken language, then.

Nevertheless, conversation is unarguably the *most common* form of spoken language. Hughes (2002: 13), for instance, mentions that "the vast bulk of spoken material is spontaneous, face-to-face, informal conversation." Likewise, Leech (2000: 719) speaks of conversation as "by far the most typical and frequently encountered variety both of spontaneous speech and of spoken discourse in general." This is one reason why authors

frequently use the term 'spoken grammar' when they refer to the grammar that is typical of conversation. Another reason may have to do with language attitudes. The attribute 'conversational' possibly has more negative connotations than simply 'spoken,' since to many people (especially to non-linguists) 'conversational' may imply that something is very informal, unimportant, and banal. Propagating the term 'spoken grammar' instead of 'conversational grammar' may thus help to avoid skepticism and lack of appreciation.

What should also be kept in mind is that corpus studies frequently rely on a 'conversation subcorpus' which is based on a very broad definition of 'conversation.' For instance, Leech (2000: 719) mentions that the conversation subcorpus used for the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999) includes "other kinds of dialogue (e.g., telephone talk, service encounters, and instructional dialogue)" as well. The authors use the term 'conversation' operationally: For the sake of simplicity, all these forms of dialogue are subsumed under 'conversation.' In a way, labeling such dialogic forms of language as 'conversational' could be considered as imprecise as labeling them 'spoken,' and so the term 'conversational grammar' is not necessarily more appropriate than 'spoken grammar.'

The terms 'spoken grammar' (e.g. Carter and McCarthy 2006), 'grammar of speech' (e.g. Hughes 2002), 'grammar of spoken English' and 'spoken English grammar' (e.g. Leech 2000) are still very widespread and established in English linguistics, even if they generally refer to the grammar typical of spontaneous face-to-face conversation. These terms are adopted in the present study as well.

2.4.4 Approaches to spoken English grammar

2.4.4.1 *Spoken and written grammar: Fundamentally different or principally the same?*

When the term 'spoken grammar' is used in the literature, it is frequently contrasted with 'written grammar.' The use of two terms suggests, in a way, that the two grammars are two separate phenomena, though linguistic researchers are rather split about this issue. The crucial question is indeed whether spoken and written grammar are two completely different systems, with spoken grammar being independent of written grammar, thus deserving its own, completely independent terminology which does not draw on existing descriptions of the written language. The alternative view would be that both spoken and written language use depend on the same underlying system. In his influential article on the grammar of spoken English, Leech (2000: 687–692) discusses these two approaches. He contrasts 'Approach A,' which "emphasizes the *differentness* of spoken grammar from previously articulated

grammatical models" (2000: 687; emphasis in original), with 'Approach B,' which, "along with notable differences of frequency, asserts the underlying *sameness* of spoken and written grammar" (ibid.; emphasis in original).

One prominent representative of Approach A is e.g. Brazil (1995), who rejects traditional models of grammar entirely and suggests a completely new, process-oriented, and linear grammar for the spoken language. The so-called 'Nottingham school' is another group of representatives of Approach A: Ronald Carter, Rebecca Hughes, and Michael McCarthy were among the pioneers in the corpus-based study of spoken language, mostly on the basis of the CANCODE. Their work is characterized by a discourse perspective on grammar and a particular interest in language-pedagogical implications (e.g. Carter and McCarthy 1995; Hughes and McCarthy 1998; McCarthy and Carter 1995; McCarthy 1998). Their focus is not so much on comparing spoken grammar with written grammar, but on spoken grammar in its own right. Accordingly, spoken language needs to be described 'from scratch,' without reliance on existing categories which had been shaped for the written language (cf. e.g. McCarthy 1998: 90). They consequently make a point of rejecting traditional terminology and instead aim at developing new terminology for phenomena of spoken grammar. In the same spirit, Rühlemann (2006: 389) welcomes the rejection of "writing-based terminology [which] inevitably conveys a negative evaluation of the conversational features observed," as there is always a comparison with the norms of written language implied. In his view, terms such as 'left and right dislocation,' which stem from writing-based descriptions of English, should be replaced with more neutral, speech-specific terms such as 'heads and tails,' as used e.g. by the Nottingham scholars.²⁰

Scholars in the tradition of Approach B generally use the same conceptual framework and terminology for the grammar of speech and writing, possibly making additions where needed. This approach emphasizes the belief that, as Halliday (1989: 79) put it, "both are manifestations of the same system. Spoken and written English are both kinds of English, and the greater part of their patterning is exactly the same." Scholars in this tradition tend to work with differential frequencies and compare data from speech and writing. Biber et al. (1999) and Leech (2000) can be seen as two influential representatives, but also Sinclair and Mauranen (2006) postulate the same descriptive apparatus for varieties of speech and writing in their *Linear Unit Grammar*.

Approach B is also the approach taken by the author of the present study. While it is true that the grammar of speech deserves separate attention and, to some extent, a terminology

²⁰ Leech (2000: 688) further mentions the work of Miller and Weinert (1998) as representative of Approach A. Miller and Weinert suggest an incompatibility of spoken and written syntax.

which does not imply a comparison with writing and negative value judgment, it seems that there is not enough evidence to postulate two entirely different systems. Leech furthermore puts forth a powerful argument in favor of Approach B:

[I]t is compatible with the idea that there is a scalar relation between the grammar of speech and the grammar of writing. The view that written texts are speechlike to varying degrees, and that spoken texts resemble written texts to varying degrees [...] can be accommodated more easily in this model than in one that insists on a radically different approach to spoken grammar. (Leech 2000: 692)

2.4.4.2 *A pool of linguistic features for spoken and written grammar*

As Koch and Oesterreicher (1985, 1994) have proposed in their model of the 'language of immediacy' and 'language of distance,' and as has been statistically demonstrated by e.g. Biber (1988), it is plausible that speech and writing have a common repertoire of linguistic features, with a (comparatively) low number of phenomena existing in only one of the two mediums. In the same spirit, Crystal (2003: 293) asserts that "the range of potentially distinguishing linguistic features provides a 'pool' of resources which are utilized by spoken and written genres in various ways."

The following Figure 2-2 summarizes and illustrates some of the central ideas of Koch and Oesterreicher's model and the notion of a 'pool of linguistic features' to which both speech and writing have access and which are consequently used in a variety of texts (independent of medium).²¹ While the figure is by necessity an oversimplification of the complex issues surrounding orality and literacy, it provides an overview of the principal processes involved and also tries to accommodate the dynamic aspect of the relationship between the lexico-grammatical features and their use in genres in the spoken and written medium.

The upper rectangular black and gray shape represents the pool of lexico-grammatical features (a selection of which is randomly labeled 'F₁'-'F₈') that language users have at their disposal. The features vary in their 'flavor of spokenness' or 'flavor of writtenness,' as is illustrated by the gray color (spokenness) gradually shading into black (writtenness).²² "Writing" (field within the dotted line) overlaps to a great extent with "Speech" (field within the continuous line), as the majority of linguistic features are employed in both speech and writing (area II). Only few features exist only in speech (area I) or only in writing (area III).

²¹ The idea of a 'pool of linguistic features' is strongly associated with Mufwene's (2001) concept of a 'feature pool' (in analogy with a 'gene pool' in biology) in his discussions about language evolution. For instance, one of his fundamental ideas is that in the evolution of a new language in language contact situations, the input varieties provide a 'feature pool' from which speakers of a new variety/language 'select,' as it were, material.

²² The figure does not claim to represent actual proportions of features carrying a flavor of spokenness compared to features carrying a flavor of writtenness.

The individual selection and combination of linguistic features (2.) in a particular text determines the overall degree of spokenness or writtenness in a text (T). 'Selection' here does not imply that the usage of specific linguistic features is always conscious or purposeful. The particular combination of features is influenced by the individual combination of communicative parameters (Koch and Oesterreicher 1985), i.e. by the communicative circumstances governing the moment of language use, which involve situational/contextual and productional aspects. The figure also takes account of another perspective: It illustrates the reason why certain lexico-grammatical features are perceived as conceptionally spoken, i.e. why they have a speech-like flavor to begin with. It is due to their conventionalized use in the spoken medium that they are considered speech-like (1.).

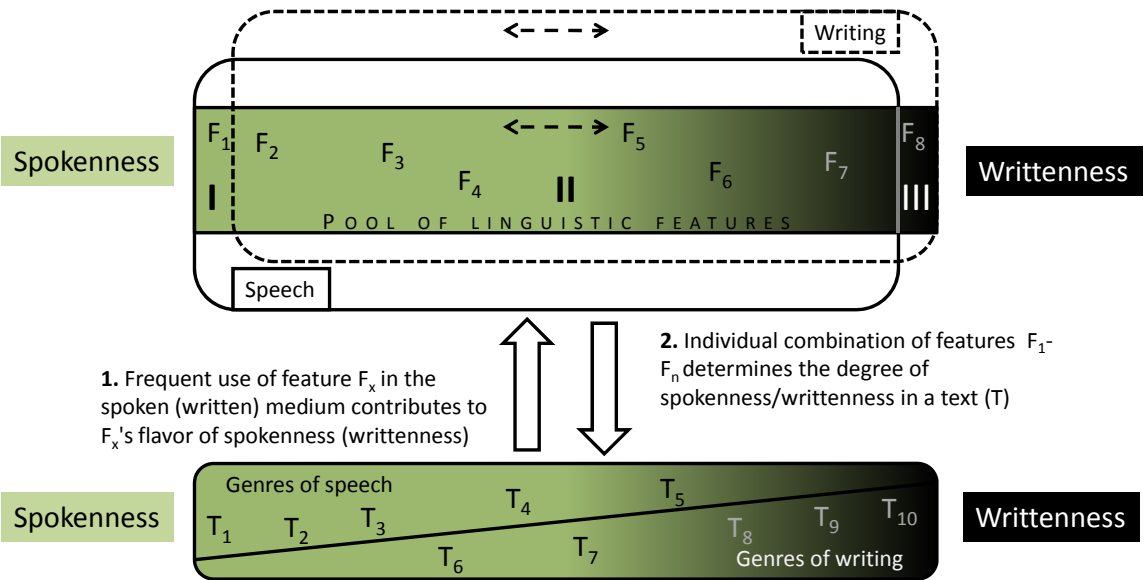


Figure 2-2: The dynamics between spokenness and writtenness: A model

The arrow in the top of the 'writing pool' alludes to the fact that the pool of linguistic features is flexible, meaning that changes may occur. For instance, it has been shown that the pool of linguistic features available to writing include more and more speech-like forms, i.e. there is a trend of 'colloquialization' in the sense that written genres are increasingly using features previously associated with spoken norms (cf. e.g. Hundt and Mair 1999; Mair and Leech 2006). Consequently, individual linguistic features might undergo change as regards their flavor of spokenness, i.e. features that were marked as 'spoken-like' at one point in time may become more 'neutral,' i.e. unmarked. If, say, feature F3 is increasingly used in written registers, it is a natural consequence that it gradually 'loses' some of its spoken-like flavor and

slowly moves towards the other side of the continuum. Figure 2-2 thus illustrates the complex dynamics involved in the relation between spokenness and writtenness.

The ideas on the 'construction of spokenness' illustrated by this model constitute the underlying assumptions for this research project and the analysis described in the present study. 'Spokenness' is conceived of as a matter of degree. The researcher can assess the degree of spokenness of a text by investigating features which act as 'indicators of spokenness'/'indicators of spoken style.' The initial identification of such indicators needs to be undertaken by empirical means (e.g. Biber 1988). Such descriptions can then be used for an assessment of 'spokenness' in different language varieties.

2.5 Features of spoken English grammar

2.5.1 Categories of features

Spoken grammar combines features which are *restricted to spoken language use* and features which are present in both spoken and written language, but display *differences in frequency*. It is the first type of features which is more likely to need new terminology. However, grammatical features which are in fact exclusive to the spoken language are very rare, as was illustrated in Figure 2-2. There are generally only few categorical differences between the spoken and the written language.

One can also distinguish between linguistic features which are fairly *universal* and thus found in most spoken languages, such as deictic expressions, turn-taking signals, situational ellipsis and hesitation phenomena (cf. e.g. the studies by Koch and Oesterreicher 2011 [1990] and Miller and Weinert 1998), and features which are *particular to individual languages*. The universal spoken features are fundamentally conditioned by the communicative circumstances in which the utterance is produced, since these are shared by different languages (e.g. real-time processing).

Braun (2009b: 78) draws on Kohn (1990) when she suggests that spoken language features can be planned or purposeful to different degrees. She posits a continuum for spoken features which range from *functional* to *coincidental*.²³ The positioning of individual items on this scale may be debatable – after all, even features such *uh* and *uhm*, which are associated

²³ Similarly, Herbst (1994: 156f.) makes a distinction between features triggered by the performative nature of conversation, i.e. influenced by the limited planning possibilities in spoken interaction (*performanzbedingte Charakteristika*), and features which are related to the special communicative situation (*situationsbedingte Charakteristika*). This distinction is relevant to the description of the grammar of scripted speech and will be returned to later in Ch. 4.3.2.1.

with hesitation, have the purpose of filling a pause and of signaling to the interlocutor that one wants to continue his/her turn – but there are some notable tendencies to be observed:

The different uses of individual features notwithstanding, it would then appear that most of the features brought about by a shared context and the adaptation to real-time processing [...] are *prototypically* closer to the 'functional' side, while those features related to processing capacity limitations and speaking style²⁴ [...] are closer to the 'coincidental' end of the cline. However, Kohn's [1990] approach also explains why the position of any feature on this cline is anything but fixed. Equally importantly, it explains why there is nothing that is intrinsically 'bad', inferior or norm-deviating in any feature of spoken discourse. Even the most coincidental features (e.g. some syntactic breaks and hesitations) are still brought about by the overall goal of communicating successfully, i.e. have some degree of strategic 'force'. (Braun 2009b: 78; emphasis in original)

The following section aims to give an overview of some of the salient features of spoken grammar. The list of spoken grammar features is so long that they necessarily have to be systematized. This process is somewhat similar to Biber's (1988) interpretation of 'dimensions' of variation (i.e. by asking why/for which purpose a particular feature is used): I will present groups of features according to the social and situational circumstances of conversation with which they are mostly associated.

2.5.2 The communicative circumstances of conversation and associated grammatical features

In the following, I will adopt the categories which have been proposed and presented by Biber et al. (1999) as well as Biber et al. (2002) and Leech (2000).²⁵ These categories are those specific aspects which distinguish conversation from written registers (the written registers on which the authors base their study are fiction [narrative prose], news, and academic prose). Biber et al.'s (1999) work is fundamental to the present study, as I will later investigate the extent to which their framework can be applied to the scripted conversations in fictional film and television, too (see e.g. Ch. 4.4.2.2).

Table 2-3 summarizes seven communicative circumstances of natural conversation (or: 'discourse circumstances of conversation,' cf. Biber et al. 2002: 429; Quaglio and Biber 2006: 702) and the associated linguistic features. Note that the table includes only some of the most important linguistic features – more detailed accounts can be found in Biber et al. (1999: 1041–1051), Biber et al. (2002: 429–435), and Leech (2000: 694–702). I do without any

²⁴ With "speaking style," Braun (2009b: 78) refers to idiosyncrasies of the speaker, including speech rate and rhythm but also features triggered by the psychological state of the speaker.

²⁵ Similar types of functional/situational categories have been proposed by a number of other authors: See e.g. Rühlemann's (2007) situational framework for conversation and Miller and Weinert (1998: 22f.), who list five "key properties" of spontaneous spoken language which are reflected in a range of linguistic phenomena.

further explanations, definitions, or references for the linguistic features at this point. However, all the features which are later analyzed by corpus-linguistic means in the present study will be described and discussed in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Table 2-3: The communicative circumstances of conversation (based on Biber et al. 1999; Biber et al. 2002; Leech 2000)

Communicative circumstances	Examples of associated linguistic features
1. CONVERSATION TAKES PLACE IN THE SPOKEN MEDIUM	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Major form of speech: Transmission through oral-auditory channel 	Prosody; other phenomena (quality of voice, speed of articulation, pauses, etc.)
2. CONVERSATION TAKES PLACE IN SHARED CONTEXT	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key factor responsible for many of the linguistic features associated with conversation Face-to-face encounter Shared background knowledge "physical, psychological, and social" context (Leech 2000: 694) 	Higher frequency of: Personal pronouns and other 'pro-forms,' different types of ellipsis (e.g. <i>You ok?</i>), deictic words (<i>here, this</i>), non-clausal and fragmentary components
3. CONVERSATION AVOIDS ELABORATION OR SPECIFICATION OF MEANING	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intricately linked to 'shared context' No need for elaboration, explicitness, precision In line with the 'Economy Principle' (cf. Leech 1983) 	Lower lexical density (fewer content words, fewer nouns); shorter phrases (especially NPs); higher frequency of vague expressions (e.g. hedges such as <i>kind of</i> , tags such as <i>and things like that</i>)
4. CONVERSATION IS INTERACTIVE	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intricately linked to 'shared context' Verbal interaction between two or more people Dynamic process fed by alternate contributions of the interlocutors, "putting a premium on immediacy, responsiveness, and reciprocity" (Leech 2000: 696) 	Higher frequency of: Questions, imperatives (referring to a direct addressee), first and second pronouns, negatives, routinized sequences involving elicitation and response ('adjacency pairs,' e.g. in greetings and farewells); backchannels (e.g. <i>uh-huh</i>); attention getters (e.g. <i>Hey,...</i>); vocatives (<i>Mom,...</i>); discourse markers (e.g. <i>you know</i>); stance adverbials (e.g. <i>really, actually</i>)
5. CONVERSATION EXPRESSES STANCE	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Typical topics: Personal feelings and attitudes of the interlocutors Importance of politeness 	Higher frequency of: Polite formulae (e.g. <i>thanks, please</i>) and endearments (e.g. <i>darling</i>), interjections (e.g. <i>wow</i>), exclamations (e.g. <i>for God's sake</i>), evaluative adjectives (e.g. <i>horrible, wonderful</i>), and stance adverbials (e.g. <i>actually</i>)
6. CONVERSATION TAKES PLACE IN REAL TIME	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key factor responsible for many of the linguistic features associated with conversation "While the face-to-face, interactive nature of conversation of course affects the language, it's the pressure of time which is highly influential on many language features and forms such a contrast with written language" (Combleet and Carter 2001: 71) 'On-line production'; 'real time production': No or little time to plan, produce, and edit 	'Normal dysfluency': ²⁶ Hesitation pauses, filled pauses (<i>uh, uhm</i>), ²⁷ repeats (e.g. <i>You - you - you need to go</i>), retrace-and-repair sequences/false starts, incomplete utterances and syntactic blends (anacolutha); Reduced forms: Verb contractions (e.g. <i>I'm</i>), negative contractions (e.g. <i>don't</i>), other morphologically reduced forms (e.g. <i>gonna</i>); different types of ellipsis; "restricted and repetitive repertoire" (Biber et al. 2002: 434; see also Chafe and Danielewicz 1987: 88): lower type-token ratio; use of prefabricated word sequences

²⁶ Rühlemann (2006: 402) disprefers the term 'dysfluency' due to its negative connotations and implicit comparison to written language. Instead, he suggests the term 'speech management phenomena,' which emphasizes the functional aspects of these linguistic features. The present study, however, uses the more established term 'dysfluency.'

²⁷ Note that filled pauses are commonly transcribed as *uh* and *uhm* in American English and as *er* and *erm* in British English. However, this does not imply a different pronunciation, i.e. *uh* and *er*, can be considered the same item (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1053).

<p>utterances (see also e.g. Hughes 1996: 27; Miller and Weinert 1998)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three principles govern on-line production (Biber et al. 1999: 1067): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 'Keep talking' (i.e. the speakers need to keep the conversation going); 2. 'Limited planning ahead' (i.e. speakers must make quick decisions and depend on limited working memory); 3. 'Qualification of what has been said' (i.e. speakers "need to elaborate and modify the message retrospectively") 	<p>(or: 'lexical bundles'); 'local repetition:' repetition of (parts of) what has just been said;</p> <p>'Fragmentary' (vs. 'integrated') nature: "one idea unit at a time" (Chafe 1982: 37) → 'add-on strategy' (Biber et al. 1999: 1068; Biber et al. 2002: 438): 'prefaces' and 'tags' (e.g. left and right dislocation, stance adverbials, question tags); high frequency of 'non-clausal units' ('inserts' such as interjections and response forms, 'syntactic non-clausal units')</p>
<hr/> 7. CONVERSATION EMPLOYS A VERNACULAR RANGE OF EXPRESSION <hr/>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal, relaxed setting • Usually between familiar people → makes people feel at ease 	<p>Regional/social dialect features (lexis, grammar); higher frequency of stigmatized variants (e.g. <i>ain't</i>, multiple negation)</p>

For the sake of clarity and ease of exemplification, the circumstances (1-7) are presented separately. In fact, however, there are complex interactions and even hierarchies among these situational characteristics, so that they cannot be considered as isolated situations. Accordingly, most of the linguistic features tend to be associated with more than just one situational characteristic, as they serve more than just one single function. In other words, as in most areas in language, there is no simple one-to-one form-function mapping. In line with Leech (2000: 700ff.), I suggest that the 'shared context' and the 'real-time constraints' are the most decisive factors because they are the situational factors which are most clearly different from the majority of written registers, and they are most clearly strictly language-external factors. They can also be seen as superordinate to the other discourse circumstances. For instance, the shared context implies that there is no need for high specification, which in turn implies that a restricted repertoire is sufficient. On the other hand, the shared context also implies that speakers are mutually influenced in their linguistic choices by the presence of the interlocutor, which means interactivity. The shared context and the real-time constraints thus 'trigger' a majority of the features typical of spoken grammar.

While the framework by Biber et al. (1999) indeed accounts for the major linguistic particularities of conversation, the authors also concede that some features of conversation cannot easily be associated to any of the discourse circumstances mentioned above (ibid.: 1051), i.e. there is not always an obvious functional explanation for why a certain feature is used more often in conversation than in other registers (the authors mention e.g. the case of the genitive vs. of-phrase, the latter of which is much more frequent in the written language). However, these features will not be the concern of the present study.

3 Teaching Spoken English

The chapter starts with a note on the relevance of speaking skills for the discussion of spoken English in language teaching (3.1) and then sets out to examine the current place of spoken English (in particular spoken grammar) in the curriculum (3.2). This also includes a review of the recommendations that scholars in different fields, e.g. ELT specialists and applied corpus linguists, have made regarding whether spoken grammar should be taught at all, and if so, which specific features of spoken grammar should be taught to EFL students. Section 3.3 then discusses the notion of 'authenticity' in detail. The term 'authenticity' is in fact quite ambiguous and has caused much debate in the ELT and the linguistic research community. Since the issue of authentic linguistic material lies at the heart of this study, special attention is paid to it here. Chapter 3.4 reviews the status of spoken English in mainstream EFL classrooms. It will also provide an overview of some recent innovations and alternative methods of teaching spoken grammar. One currently emerging method of bringing authentic language (written and spoken) into the classroom is the exploitation of language corpora. Chapter 3.5 therefore places the research idea of the present study in an applied corpus-linguistic context and discusses the potential of corpora for teaching spoken English.

3.1 Teaching speaking English and teaching spoken English

As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, the teaching of spoken English (henceforth in the sense of 'teaching features specific to spoken style,' particularly spoken lexico-grammar) is tied to the teaching of speaking, i.e. the promotion of oral production. 'Teaching spoken English' fundamentally relates to 'teaching speaking English' because it is naturally in phases of oral production that students are confronted with the spoken form of English and all its grammatical particularities. Furthermore, the topic of 'spoken English' (and its difference from written English) is usually – if at all – explicitly addressed in connection with the teaching of speaking skills. It is rarely considered as a necessary teaching point within grammar lessons (see also 3.4.1). While knowledge of the nature of spoken English is not necessarily a prerequisite for speaking, it ideally facilitates speaking (and listening) if the knowledge can be turned into skills. In other words, the teaching of spoken English can support the teaching of speaking, and is ideally part of it.

3.2 Spoken English in the curriculum

3.2.1 From language research to language teaching

The teaching of spoken English was traditionally not a major concern on the 'agenda' of the designers of English language curricula in Germany. Apart from the traditional tendency to focus mostly on the teaching of writing skills rather than speaking skills, another factor which may be responsible for the neglect of spoken English/spoken grammar in the curriculum is that it was only in the last few decades that research has produced a systematic and comprehensive description of the object in question, viz. spoken grammar (see also 2.4). It is only logical that it takes time for the new insights and theoretical revisions to find their way into the curricula and eventually into the classrooms, since the teaching profession needs to digest and assess the new information that e.g. corpus linguists are providing. During such an assessment, it usually becomes clear that there are "differences of interest and focus between a research community and a teaching community" (Hughes 2002: 67) and that "the fact that a structure is commonly found in the spoken form of a language does not necessarily make it appropriate for language classrooms and materials" (ibid.). Not all language items that are relevant from a linguist's perspective are equally relevant from a pedagogical perspective.

Nevertheless, thanks to the now more complete description of spoken English and an increased appreciation of spoken skills and spoken English in general in the past decades, national and international language curricula and syllabi have been placing more and more emphasis on the spoken form of English (cf. e.g. Römer 2004: 156; Mukherjee 2009b: 205). Spoken English has – at least on paper – become an integral part of modern language teaching, the global aim of which is to develop communicative competence in learners (cf. Müller-Hartmann and Schocker-von Ditfurth 2006: 18ff.; Thornbury 2006: 36f.).

3.2.2 Spoken grammar in curricular frameworks

3.2.2.1 *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001)*

The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR; Council of Europe 2001) is currently the most significant pan-European guideline for teaching foreign languages. The CEFR specifies the competencies that foreign language learners need to acquire at six reference (proficiency) levels, ranging from the beginner's level A1 ('breakthrough') to the very advanced level C2 ('mastery'). The CEFR establishes the achievements that are expected from learners of foreign languages in the four broad areas of reading, listening, speaking, and

writing. In other words, it is more output- and product-oriented than input- and process-oriented. These competencies, which are described with the help of 'can-do statements,' consequently provide curriculum designers, teaching materials designers, and teachers in Europe with a common yardstick, so that they can 'translate' the descriptions into their respective contexts and take the necessary steps to help students achieve their goal.

The teaching of spoken grammar in the EFL classroom is clearly promoted in the CEFR. The most striking indication of the generally growing importance of the spoken form in the FLT curriculum can be seen in the equal status that is officially given to each of the four skills, i.e. listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The CEFR shows that oral competence in FLT is clearly given a more prominent position nowadays than several decades ago (cf. Dethloff 2008: 184; Lüger 2009: 18; Rössler 2007: 6). In various parts of the CEFR the focus is on spoken discourse, communication, and real-life interaction. The descriptions are generally rather abstract, though. The precise features of spoken grammar which the student is expected to master at the respective proficiency level are rarely mentioned. This has to do with the nature of the CEFR, i.e. that it does not specify exact teaching contents or methods; it only states the 'final desired product'.²⁸

The desired communicative skills in spoken language use are described from various perspectives, i.e. in different subcategories. While spoken grammar features are indirectly implied in several charts (especially e.g. in CEFR 4.4.3.1 'Spoken Interaction'), their relevance is particularly obvious in the illustrative scales for the subcategory 'Interaction strategies'²⁹ (CEFR 4.4.3.5) and 'Functional competence' (CEFR 5.2.3.2).

Table 3-1: Illustrative scales in the CEFR for 'Taking the floor (turntaking)' as part of 'Interaction strategies' for reference levels B2-C1 (adopted from Council of Europe 2001: 86)

TAKING THE FLOOR (TURNTAKING)	
C2	As C1
C1	Can select a suitable phrase from a readily available range of discourse functions to preface his/her remarks appropriately in order to get the floor, or to gain time and keep the floor whilst thinking.
B2	Can intervene appropriately in discussion, exploiting appropriate language to do so. Can initiate, maintain and end discourse appropriately with effective turntaking. Can initiate discourse, take his/her turn when appropriate and end conversation when he/she needs to, though he/she may not always do this elegantly. Can use stock phrases (e.g. 'That's a difficult question to answer') to gain time and keep the turn whilst formulating what to say.

²⁸ The fact that the CEFR does not specify concrete contents to be learned and only focuses on target competencies is not unproblematic and has been debated by various authors. See e.g. Burwitz-Melzer (2005), Legutke (2005), Rössler (2007), and Zydati (2005) for a discussion from a German perspective.

²⁹ The CEFR offers some more detailed comments on the elements of interaction strategies, i.e. 'planning,' 'execution,' 'evaluation,' and 'repair' (Council of Europe 2001: 84f.). The descriptions again underline the importance of spoken grammar features.

Table 3-2: Illustrative scales in the CEFR for 'Spoken fluency' as part of 'Functional competence' for reference levels B1-C2 (adopted from Council of Europe 2001: 129)

<i>SPOKEN FLUENCY</i>	
C2	Can express him/herself at length with a natural, effortless, unhesitating flow. Pauses only to reflect on precisely the right words to express his/her thoughts or to find an appropriate example or explanation.
C1	Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously, almost effortlessly. Only a conceptually difficult subject can hinder a natural, smooth flow of language.
B2	Can communicate spontaneously, often showing remarkable fluency and ease of expression in even longer complex stretches of speech. Can produce stretches of language with a fairly even tempo; although he/she can be hesitant as he/she searches for patterns and expressions, there are few noticeably long pauses. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without imposing strain on either party. Can keep going comprehensibly, even though pausing for grammatical and lexical planning and repair is very evident, especially in longer stretches of free production.

If we take a look at the illustrative scales for 'Taking the floor (Turntaking)' and for 'Spoken fluency' (Table 3-1 and Table 3-2),³⁰ it becomes clear that these competences can only be achieved if the students master various features of spoken grammar which are typical of the interactional nature of conversation. For instance, in the case of 'Taking the floor,' speakers will need discourse markers such as *well* and *you know* to "preface his/her remarks appropriately" (C1), and they will also need discourse markers as well as "stock phrases," i.e. fixed expressions, to "gain time and keep the floor whilst thinking" (C1, B2). The same features will be needed in order to achieve 'Spoken fluency,' otherwise it will hardly be possible to sound "natural" and "effortless" (C1) and to avoid "noticeably long pauses" (B2) (see e.g. Götz 2013 on the importance of such items for fluency in learner language). Interaction by definition also involves reaction to the interlocutor, which would make the adequate use of e.g. backchannels (e.g. *okay, u-huh*) and adjacency pairs (e.g. *Thanks – You're welcome*) a relevant part of functional competence.

3.2.2.2 Regional curricula in Germany

State-bound German curricula also seem to have taken steps towards giving the spoken language more prominence. "Like many other descriptions offered by the *Reference Framework*, the entire scale for spoken fluency can also be found in most modern ELT curricula in Germany" (Mukherjee and Rohrbach 2006: 213). In a similar vein, Taubenböck (2007: 5) notes that the spoken language has (deservedly) been given more emphasis in German curricula and she points out that according to the official guidelines, teachers are

³⁰ Only levels B2-C2 are displayed here, B2 and C1 being the levels which students at German secondary schools (German *Gymnasium*) are expected to achieve when they take their *Abitur*, the examination required for enrolling at university (cf. Mukherjee and Rohrbach 2006: 213).

theoretically required to give equal weight to the spoken and the written language in their classes.

In fact, there is currently a hotly debated new development in Germany: Several federal states, which determine their own language curricula, are now starting to require upper-level high school students (at the *Gymnasium*) to take a so-called 'communication exam' (*Kommunikationsprüfung*) in their final year at high school as part of their *Abitur*.³¹ This exam tests the students' capability to communicate and interact smoothly and naturally in conversation and discussion. However, this development cannot be considered a 'general breakthrough' as it is still restricted to a few German states and to groups of very advanced students.

What most regional guidelines have in common, however, is that they rarely make explicit reference to specific features of spoken grammar. While such features are a necessary prerequisite to reach the respective competence, it remains the responsibility of the material writers and the teachers to integrate corresponding features into the language lessons. A rare exception is e.g. the Bavarian syllabus for students in secondary school (11th and 12th grade) (*Lehrplan für die gymnasiale Oberstufe*): In the category 'Language skills' (*Sprachliche Mittel*), for instance, discourse markers are mentioned as part of the aspect 'Vocabulary and idiomacy:'

- Students are expected to also expand their vocabulary for verbal interaction and argumentative conversation independently; e.g. discourse markers
[Wortschatz zur sprachlichen Interaktion und argumentativen Gesprächsführung auch selbständig ausbauen, z.B. discourse markers] (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus 2009: E2; my translation of the German original)

Although it is to be welcomed that discourse markers are given explicit attention, it is remarkable that they are considered 'extras,' i.e. features that are to be acquired by the learners' independent engagement with the topic.

³¹ This is e.g. the case for the states of Baden-Württemberg and Hesse. The state of Baden-Württemberg actually postponed the introduction of the communication exam in general high schools (*Allgemeinbildende Gymnasien*) due to massive protests by teachers, students, and various associations (see e.g. Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft 2011; Ministerium für Kultus 2011), so that the first cohort of students to which the new requirement applies will take the communication exam in 2014.

3.2.3 Diverse perspectives on spoken grammar in the curriculum

3.2.3.1 *Linguists, FLT researchers, teachers, and the curriculum: A clash of interests?*

Educational language policy in the form of (inter)national curricula is probably the most official expression of how a certain aspect of language is viewed. If a particular aspect of language is considered important enough by the policy-makers, they will include it in the curriculum. Fundamental paradigm changes such as the one that is reflected by the CEFR are certainly informed by research results from both the linguistic domain and the language-pedagogical realm. As has been pointed out above (3.2.1), however, opinions expressed by linguists and FLT experts as well as language practitioners very often do not coincide. In the context of spoken grammar, even within the individual groups, there is no general agreement on a) whether spoken grammar needs to be taught at all, b) which aspects should be taught, and c) how spoken grammar can be taught. Issues a) and b) will be addressed in the following; issue c) will be taken up later (e.g. 3.4.3.4).

3.2.3.2 *Should spoken grammar be taught?*

Whether or not spoken grammar should be taught at all is a fundamental question, which has become superior to the question of *how* to teach it (cf. Timmis 2005: 117). After all, the teaching syllabi are usually cramped to begin with, and students of English will probably still be understood if they speak in a 'written-like' fashion. Do we really have to make room for yet another item on the syllabus?

There is currently a strongly noticeable call for the integration of spoken grammar into the EFL classroom, especially in the applied corpus-linguistic research literature. The teaching of forms which are typical or even unique of speech deserve a more prominent place in the syllabus, some argue, than just the role of the occasional 'extra' in the shape of an individual spoken word or expression to liven up the classroom. The spoken form needs to be seen as "a source of richly diverse language choices which should be central to the teacher's repertoire of vocabulary and grammar structures to teach" (Hughes 2002: 63) in order to make it "an essential part of a student's structural knowledge" (ibid.).

A very explicit call has been made for almost twenty years by R. Carter and M. McCarthy. In numerous publications they stress the need to look at grammar in discourse and to incorporate spoken grammar features in the syllabus (e.g. Carter 2003; Carter and McCarthy 1995; McCarthy 1998; McCarthy and Carter 1994, 1995, 2002). They consider the

explicit teaching of spoken features an indispensable part of the speaking class and thus a revision of traditional teaching materials is essential from their point of view:

[L]anguage pedagogy that claims to support the teaching and learning of speaking skills does itself a disservice if it ignores what we know about the spoken language. Whatever else may be the result of imaginative methodologies for eliciting spoken language in the second-language classroom, there can be little hope for a natural spoken output on the part of language learners if the input is stubbornly rooted in models that owe their origin and shape to the written language. (McCarthy and Carter 2002: 51)

This call for a consideration of spoken grammar in the classroom is also supported by a variety of other researchers (e.g. Thornbury 2005; Timmis 2005, 2010).

In the German context, e.g. Kieweg (2000) makes a plea for a conscious discussion of spoken language features in the classroom, as the differences from the written language are just too significant to be completely ignored. This is why some basic knowledge should be imparted to students:

The spoken language has its own particular characteristics which are rarely found in the written language and which should be made an explicit teaching content in the language classes of all school forms. The semantic differences between spoken and written language are often crucial and so that is why at least some fundamentals should be presented and practiced as strategies in class. *[Die gesprochene Sprache hat ihre eigenständigen Merkmale, die in der geschriebenen Sprache kaum zu finden sind und die explizit zum Lerngegenstand in allen Schul kategorien gemacht werden sollten. Die semantischen Differentiale zwischen der geschriebenen und der gesprochenen Sprache sind oftmals gravierend und sollten deshalb wenigstens in den Grundzügen deklarativ vermittelt und prozedural geübt werden.]* (Kieweg 2000: 8; my translation of the German original)

Similar views are expressed by Taubenböck (2007: 5) and Rühlemann (2008a, 2008b, 2008c).

It has to be acknowledged, however, that the enthusiasm for spoken grammar and its incorporation into the syllabus is not shared by everybody in the applied linguistic research community. Some researchers maintain that the peculiarities of the spoken language are not desirable for the learner to emulate. For instance, Bex (2008) criticizes the teaching of spoken English features or a discourse grammar of the spoken language based on native speaker norms. While he considers the new corpus-based insights on spoken grammar interesting – and he refers particularly to the CANCODE project under the leadership of R. Carter and M. McCarthy – he is extremely skeptical of their pedagogical use in the EFL classroom. His main argument is that the spoken features are too context- and culture-specific and thus do not correspond to the actual communicative needs of the students, who will mostly be located in non-native settings. Along these lines, he claims that

any syllabus which follows Carter and McCarthy's recommendations will be inadvertently inviting the learners to become mini-British or mini-American. (Bex 2008: 233)

Bex views the use of a native speaker model of spoken English as even "dangerous" for the EFL classroom:

(..) the findings of the CANCODE project are indeed fascinating, but [...] they should not be pressed into the service of EFL teaching. As a discourse grammar, they represent the choices of native speakers communicating with each other. Their use in mother tongue teaching of the language is therefore highly desirable. However, their importation into ELT is dangerous both because they involve incorporating the cultural values of native speaker use and because they privilege the native teacher of the language. (Bex 2008: 235)

While Bex's position is probably quite extreme and also touches on another issue which cannot be discussed at length here, namely the question of target norms and the role of the native speaker in ELT (see also 3.3.3.3), he is not the only one doubting the usefulness of teaching spoken grammar based on the findings of corpus-linguistic research.

Another scholar who critically discusses the CANCODE project and its supposed implications for ELT is Luke Prodromou (1996, 1998), who claims that the spoken grammar features disclosed by corpus-linguistic projects are not necessarily relevant or interesting to the learners and that non-native teachers (– after all, teachers in EFL settings are most commonly non-natives –) will barely be able to handle a complex phenomenon such as spoken grammar in the EFL classroom. He thus questions the relevance of informal spoken English and more specifically spoken grammar in the context of English as an international language.

Despite the doubts which have been expressed about the relevance of spoken grammar, it is my conviction that the prospects for developing competent speakers are grim if the properties of spoken English are not considered, especially since the ultimate goal of communicative language teaching – the dominant approach in modern language teaching – is for a student to become able to communicate successfully with other speakers of the language.

3.2.3.3 *Which spoken grammar features should be taught?*

The discussion of whether the spoken form of English should be considered in the EFL classroom is necessarily followed by the question of which precise features learners need to know and which features should be taught. There is no doubt that not all features of naturally occurring speech lend themselves to being taught explicitly. This is true of features that are unique to speech as well as to features that are simply more frequent in the spoken language. Some features are certainly pedagogically less relevant. For example, features such as a 'higher frequency of personal pronouns' or 'higher frequency of private verbs (*think, believe*)' do not need mention at all. There are also some other items which are so universal in many

languages that explicit instruction would make things more complicated than necessary (see e.g. Leech 2000: 714; Thornbury and Slade 2006: 101). For example, while learners need to know that speakers take turns in conversation, they do not need instruction on it because they can draw on experience from their native language.³² Some hesitation phenomena related to the online-production pressure of spontaneous conversation (e.g. false starts, repeats, incomplete utterances) are another case in point: Most scholars would argue that is not necessary (or even possible) to teach learners to make false starts and repeats. It does, however, make sense to make them aware of these natural features and to teach certain compensation strategies in order to improve their fluency (cf. e.g. Götz 2013: 139ff.).

Another issue is thus the aim of spoken grammar instruction: In the case of some spoken characteristics, the aim may simply be to raise the learners' awareness or to facilitate reception, while other characteristics should also become part of the learners' productive skills in spoken interaction.³³ Both of these two categories of features will be considered in this section. The steps on the way to selecting spoken grammar features for teaching are illustrated in Figure 3-1.

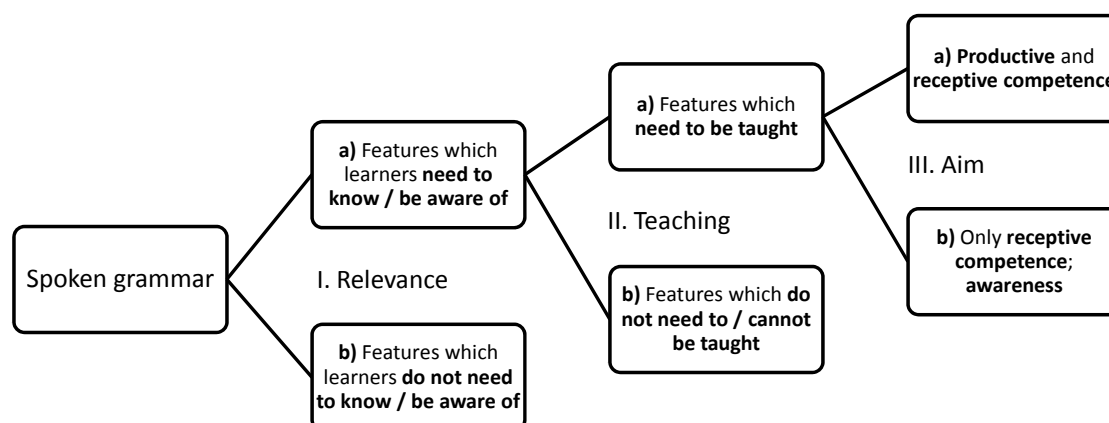


Figure 3-1: From description to pedagogy: Selecting spoken grammar features for the syllabus

Determining relevant language features is no easy task. Corpus-derived insights, especially on the frequency of linguistic items, can undoubtedly help in deciding what should be taught, i.e. which exact features should have a central or more peripheral place in the syllabus (cf. Aston

³² Nevertheless, they will need instruction on *how* to manage turns in English, e.g. with discourse markers.

³³ Some scholars do not advocate the development of productive skills as regards spoken grammar features but instead argue for teaching (almost) exclusively receptive skills. For instance, Timmis (2010: 69) recommends a "passive knowledge approach, which stresses receptive competence." Timmis (2010: 78), however, concedes that in contrast to his previous argument in his (2005) work for a 'passive knowledge approach,' he now considers the production of spoken language features – though still secondary to reception – as also necessary, both because learners themselves seem to request practice and because practice in production promotes the noticing process.

2000: 8; Leech 1997: 16). However, as mentioned above, the high frequency of an item in a standard corpus is not a sufficient criterion for inclusion in a language teaching syllabus (Kennedy 1992: 340; Meunier 2002: 123; Römer 2008: 114f.). 'Frequency' in corpus research does not automatically translate into 'relevance' from a language-pedagogical perspective.

In looking for potential teaching points [...], in addition to commonsense questions about frequency and difficulty, we will need to ask the crucial question: 'What will the feature enable the learner to do?' (Timmis 2010: 73)

In other words, the functions of the linguistic items are a decisive factor. Spoken grammar features must be evaluated in terms of a needs analysis: The question is which language forms are the ones that learners will probably need in future communicative situations, be it in private or professional contexts. Obviously, this is quite difficult to predict and depends on the individual language learning context. For example, Mumford (2009) makes a distinction between spoken grammar features needed for *fluency*, which is desirable in any communicative context, and features for *appropriacy*, which, according to Mumford, is particularly relevant to learners who deal with native speakers. Timmis (2010; 2012) furthermore points out that socio-cultural aspects need to be considered when spoken grammar items are selected for the syllabus, since e.g. socially marked items (e.g. quotative *be like*) may be inappropriate or may not coincide with the identity that the learners want to adopt.

Table 3-3 (below) provides an overview of spoken features which have been recommended by a variety of leading applied corpus linguists and ELT experts for inclusion in the syllabus, with no explicit distinction made between features that learners should simply be aware of and features that learners should be able to produce themselves. Note that this listing is by no means exhaustive, but is only intended as a summary. For the sake of simplification, the features have been ordered here according to the discourse circumstances of conversation (cf. Biber et al. 1999) with which they are mainly associated. Features in the same category can thus be assumed to have related functions. I have adopted the original labels for the phenomena from the individual publications, which is why there is some overlap (e.g. hedges/vagueness markers; discourse markers/turn-managing signals), and some features have been subsumed under one heading (e.g. fixed expressions). Also note that the range of spoken features considered here exceeds the scope of 'grammar' in a narrow sense. Grammar and lexis overlap to a great extent (e.g. formulaic sequences), and many features, especially those having to do with verbal interaction, could just as well be categorized as 'pragmatic features' (e.g. backchannels).

Table 3-3: Features for the spoken grammar syllabus

Spoken feature	Researchers who recommend teaching it for developing receptive and/or productive skills
1. RELATED TO THE SHARED CONTEXT OF CONVERSATION; AVOIDANCE OF ELABORATION	
Ellipsis	Carter and McCarthy 1995, 1997; Carter et al. 2000; Mumford 2009; Thornbury 2005; Timmis 2005, 2010
Vagueness markers	McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Mumford 2009; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Timmis 2005, 2010; Willis 2003
Hedges	Carter and McCarthy 1997; Carter et al. 2000; McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Mumford 2009; Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Timmis 2010
Deictic devices	Carter and McCarthy 1997; Carter et al. 2000; Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006
2. RELATED TO THE INTERACTIVENESS OF CONVERSATION	
Discourse markers	Carter and McCarthy 1997; Carter et al. 2000; Dörnyei 1995; Hughes 2002; McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Mumford 2009; Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Timmis 2005, 2010; Willis 2003
Backchannels, response tokens	Carter and McCarthy 1997; Carter et al. 2000; McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Thornbury 2005; Timmis 2010; Willis 2003
Turn-managing signals	McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006
Fixed expressions/formulaic sequences (e.g. for opening a conversation, ending a conversation, stalling for time,...)	Carter and McCarthy 1997; Carter et al. 2000; Dörnyei 1995; Hughes 2002; McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Mumford 2009; Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Willis 2003
3. RELATED TO THE REAL-TIME CONSTRAINTS OF CONVERSATION	
Heads and tails (left and right dislocation)	Carter and McCarthy 1995, 1997; Carter et al. 2000; Mumford 2009; Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Timmis 2005, 2010
Tags	Carter and McCarthy 1997; Carter et al. 2000
Self-correction, repair strategies	Hughes 2002; McCarten and McCarthy 2010; Timmis 2010
Fillers	Dörnyei 1995; Mumford 2009; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Willis 2003
Repetition	Thornbury 2005; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Willis 2003
Contracted forms	Mumford 2009
Clause by clause construction	Mumford 2009; Thornbury 2005
Flexible word order	Mumford 2009; Timmis 2005, 2010
4. OTHER FEATURES OF CONVERSATION	
Reporting verbs/quotatives	Carter and McCarthy 1995, 1997; Carter et al. 2000; Thornbury and Slade 2006; Timmis 2010
Stance expressions	McCarten and McCarthy 2010
Non-standard forms , non-canonical forms	Mumford 2009

When we look at this long list of features, it becomes clear that teachers will have to set priorities. Hughes (Hughes 2002: 135f.) stresses the need to first and foremost raise *awareness* of the nature of naturally occurring speech, especially of those features having to do with the real-time context and the interactiveness of spoken language (e.g. interruptions, corrections, overlaps,...), although she also sees the need to equip students with a "repertoire of natural time buying devices to help them plan and process their discourse more easily" (Hughes 2002: 136). Willis's (2003: 186–212) recommendations for teaching spoken grammar focus on the notion of language awareness, too.

We can [...] make students aware of the nature and characteristics of the spoken language. We can give them opportunities to analyse and to produce spontaneous language. Most important of all, we need to recognise the dynamic nature of spoken language. Language is the way it is because of the purpose it fulfills. (Willis 2003: 198)

Willis (2003: 200–210) proposes a number of things teachers can do to integrate the grammar of spoken English into their teaching practice and he provides a list of spoken English features which should find their way into the classroom. The following is an adapted summary of Willis's (2003) suggestions and in fact reflects the repertoire of features that most scholars seem to agree on:

- Applying appropriate standards (e.g. recognize as a teacher that spoken and written language are different from each other, especially when correcting students);
- Highlighting differences between spoken and written language (e.g. hesitation phenomena, additive and repetitive nature);
- Demonstrating the interactive nature of spoken language (e.g. backchannels, adjacency pairs, discourse markers);
- Building up formulaic exchanges (e.g. for speech acts such as requests, apologizing);
- Establishing typical routines (e.g. asking for directions);
- Focusing on vague language (e.g. hedges).

Especially the last four points concern features which can help learners interact more easily and naturally. Such features lend themselves to being taught with the aim of developing productive skills.³⁴

3.3 The issue of 'authenticity'

So far, a variety of factors have been addressed which have an impact on the actual practice of teaching the spoken language: Regard for the spoken language in general and spoken grammar in particular (by researchers, curriculum designers, and language teachers), the availability of comprehensive descriptions of the spoken language, and the position of the spoken language in curricula and syllabi. All of these factors influence in some way not only *if*, but also *how* the spoken language is represented in teaching materials and taught by the teachers. Yet there is also a larger, more general issue that influences the choices that are made in teaching and learning processes: The role of 'authenticity' in foreign language teaching.

³⁴ Willis (2003: 203–210) also exemplifies corresponding teaching activities for increasing the students' awareness and fostering their skills, most of which involve work with recorded dialogues and the respective transcripts.

3.3.1 Spoken English and the notion of 'authenticity'

The principal reason why many scholars advocate teaching spoken English and the nature of spoken grammar to begin with is that they believe that students should be taught 'authentic' English. The spoken form and its pedagogy are thus closely linked to the notion of 'authenticity' (cf. Lüger 2009: 15): Students would not be told the whole story if they were solely presented with descriptions and prescriptions for the written language or with inauthentic representations of the spoken language. Scholars speaking of 'inauthentic representations' may mean that syllabi, teachers, and materials emphasize features which are rare in actual language use, that they underrepresent features which are in reality frequent, or that they suggest inadequate descriptions and rules for the use of language features (cf. Aston 2000: 8). 'Inauthentic' pictures of language can be painted of both spoken and written language, but it is especially in the area of spoken language where intuition is frequently at odds with empirical evidence, i.e. authentic speech data (cf. Halliday 2004: 26).

3.3.2 Arguments in favor of authentic language material in the classroom

Researchers in favor of using authentic language in the classroom (see e.g. Aston 2000; Firth 1957; Römer 2005; Sinclair 1991, 1997) argue that students need to be exposed to and learn about 'authentic' English as it is used in conversations in 'real-life' communicative settings rather than learning with examples which are exclusively created for pedagogic purposes. This argumentation is in line with the aims of 'communicative language teaching,' which also encourages the use of real-life materials (cf. e.g. Aston 2000: 12; Kieweg 1999: 20; Lüger 2009: 20). The idea is that only if students get in touch with authentic English and all its particular characteristics will they be adequately prepared for future, real communicative circumstances:³⁵

Clearly, if we want to prepare learners for the requirements of real-world language use with any efficiency, we cannot afford to rely on inadequate or outmoded descriptions of language. [...] [W]e need descriptions of the target language that reflect its actual current use. (Mauranen 2006: 144, 148)

Along the same lines, Nunan (2004) acknowledges that

[i]f we want learners to comprehend aural and written language outside class, we need to provide them with structured opportunities to engage with such materials inside the classroom. (Nunan 2004: 50)

³⁵ In the same vein, Kieweg (1999: 20) claims that pedagogically edited texts are often a "very deceptive preparation [*sehr trügerische Vorbereitung*; my translation of the German original]" for future language use.

In addition, authentic language examples are by many considered to be more motivating than concocted examples (e.g. Reisener 1999; Willis 2003: 224). It is argued that it is more interesting to be dealing with 'the real thing' rather than with an 'artificial copy' because it simply feels more relevant to the learners.³⁶

3.3.3 'Authenticity' in language teaching: Controversies

There are various controversies involved in the discussion of 'authenticity' in foreign language teaching, which will be discussed in the following sections. The account is necessarily brief, but see e.g. Amor (2002), Badger and MacDonald (2010), Gilmore (2007), Tatsuki (2006), and Taylor (1994) for more detailed treatises.

'Authenticity' can, in fact, refer to different phenomena. Various types of 'authenticity' have been identified for the language classroom apart from the authenticity of the language or text, such as authenticity of the task and authenticity of the context (see e.g. Breen 1985; Taylor 1994). Van Lier's (1996) conceptualization of authenticity is furthermore related to the intentions of the speakers/learners and their intrinsically motivated actions, specifically the desire to learn. However, in the present study, I will mainly focus on authenticity as a quality of language, i.e. 'linguistic authenticity' (Amor 1999: 4; see also below). I am concerned with the authenticity of language input, i.e. the spoken and written data which learners are exposed to and work with during class. Input may be provided by the teacher, the textbook, or other sources.

Most recently, linguistic corpora have been proposed as authentic language input for teaching (see also below, Ch. 3.5). They can give systematic access to authentic language, even in EFL settings, where natural communicative situations in English are often hardly encountered. Whether or not the language of linguistic corpora can really be authentic for students is a matter of debate, though, and depends on the chosen definition of 'authentic.' It is precisely the use of corpora in language teaching which has rekindled the authenticity debate in classroom contexts in the past 10-15 years and this is why the arguments presented in this section frequently refer to the use of corpus examples in language teaching.

The first debate is related to the question of how 'authenticity' should be defined, i.e. what it actually means in the language teaching context.

³⁶ On the learners' viewpoint of authentic language in teaching and the demotivating effect of artificial textbook dialogues, see e.g. Grau's (2009) study on German students' exposure to spoken English as well as Amor (1999) and Radden (1983).

3.3.3.1 Linguistic authenticity in the broad and in the narrow sense

When corpus linguists speak of *authentic* language, they usually mean 'naturally occurring language' or 'real' language in the sense that it is language which is in fact used by native speakers of the language; it is 'attested' language use. Corpora provide rich sources of naturally occurring language samples, which is why applied corpus linguists recommend using corpora for language teaching. Corpus linguists often contrast attributes such as 'natural,' 'real,' and 'authentic' with 'invented,' 'artificial,' and 'inauthentic,' and in the ELT context they are principally concerned with the characteristics of the language presented in teaching materials. The use of the terms *authentic* and *inauthentic* bears some ambiguity, however.

In a narrow sense, *authenticity* simply refers to the origin or source of the language data, i.e. the circumstances of language production, allowing for two categories: 1. Naturally occurring in an actual communicative situation or a documented form thereof (= authentic) or 2. designed for illustration in language teaching (= inauthentic). In a broader sense, *authenticity* may also refer to the degree to which there is linguistic similarity between specially invented language examples for teaching and naturally occurring language. Invented language examples may be considered very 'authentic' because they sound just like naturally occurring language; they might be very faithful imitations of 'the original.' In other words, it is about notions of style. Within the broader sense of authenticity there is a gradual rather than a categorical difference between the poles of 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' (see also Mauranen 2004b: 91).

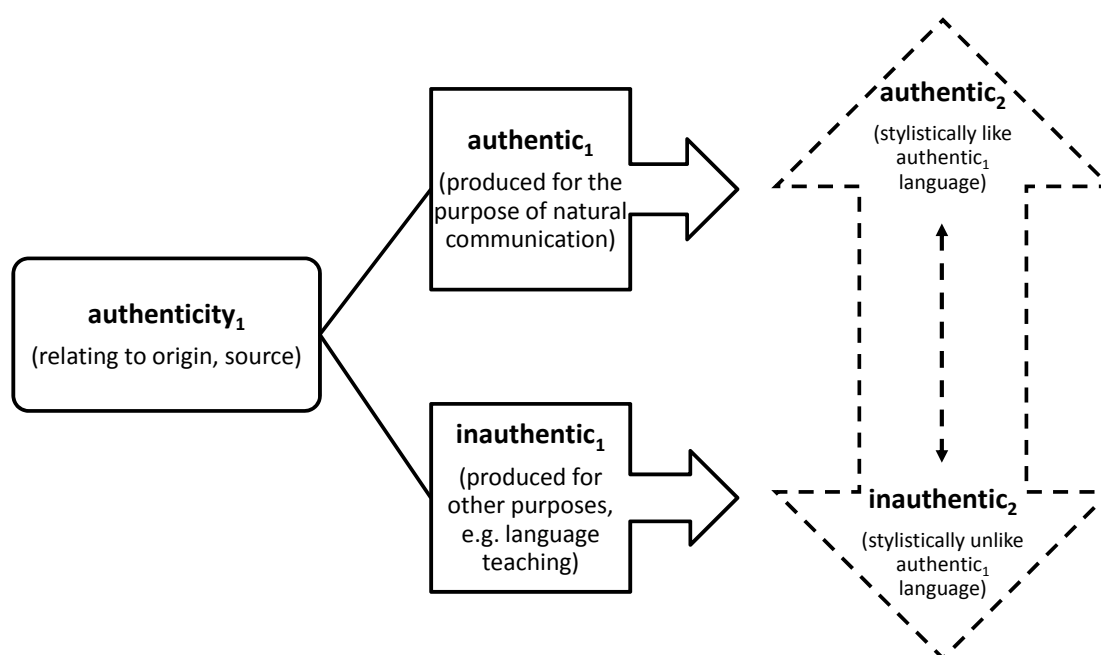


Figure 3-2: The two senses of linguistic *authenticity*: Source and style

The two senses of authenticity (narrow vs. broad, i.e. authenticity₁ vs. authenticity₂) are illustrated in Figure 3-2. The two senses are closely related because authentic data in the narrow sense usually entails authenticity in the broader sense. In turn, inauthentic data in the narrow sense is more likely to be inauthentic in the broad sense, but not necessarily so. For example, textbook dialogues, though inauthentic₁ since constructed for pedagogical purposes, may still achieve a high degree of authenticity₂ if they include many linguistic features typical of spoken style (see also 3.3.4.2).

3.3.3.2 Widdowson (1998): 'Authenticity' vs. 'genuineness'

Widdowson (1978) put forward the argument that the concept of 'authenticity' in language teaching should be separated from 'genuineness.' For Widdowson, 'authenticity' is exclusively a contextual notion that has to do with language as discourse, i.e. with the fact that language is always embedded in a communicative situation. In contrast, 'genuineness' simply refers to the fact that language has been produced in a real-life setting, which he calls "genuine instances of language use" (1978: 80).³⁷

This distinction has important repercussions for the ELT context: Widdowson (1998, 2000, 2003) also claims that genuine materials, e.g. textbooks that present language snippets which were really used by a specific speaker at a specific point in time, do not automatically lead to successful learning. Especially in the case of using corpus material such as concordances in the classroom, which are isolated from the original discourse in which they were produced, Widdowson questions the pedagogic efficiency on the following grounds:

[W]hat is not taken into account is the pedagogic perspective, the contextual conditions that have to be met in the classroom for language to be a reality for the learners. Whether you are dealing with the possible or the attested, you still have to make them appropriate for learning. [...] The contextual authenticity from which textual features originally derived cannot be ratified by language learners precisely *because* they are learners and do not know (yet) how to do it. It is sometimes assumed to be self-evident that real language is bound to be motivating, but this must depend on whether learners can *make* it real. (Widdowson 2000: 7; emphasis in original)

He claims that genuine materials, especially corpus examples, can never be 'authentic' to learners because learners cannot reconstruct the contexts which have been separated from the language samples; learners cannot *authenticate* the texts, i.e. extrapolate appropriate contexts

³⁷ "Genuineness is a characteristic of the passage itself and is an absolute quality. Authenticity is a characteristic of the relationship between the passage and the reader and it has to do with appropriate response" (Widdowson 1978: 80). Note that Widdowson's 'genuineness' thus corresponds to 'authenticity₁' as illustrated above in Figure 3-2, but Widdowson's idea of 'authenticity' does *not* equal 'authenticity₂'.

in their minds to build up a rapport to the texts. Widdowson (1998) in fact states that language learners will never learn with authentic texts because they will always be 'outsiders' to the discourse community in which the language event took place (cf. also Mertens 2002: 201):

I would [...] argue against using authentic language in the classroom, on the fairly reasonable grounds that it is actually impossible to do so. The language cannot be authentic because the classroom cannot provide the contextual conditions for it to be authenticated by the learners. (Widdowson 1998: 711)

Under this assumption, even language samples that have a natural origin, i.e. that were used for real communicative purposes at some point in time, lose their authenticity in the very moment that they are embedded in a new situational context, i.e. in a classroom context.

In Widdowson's view, invented examples are clearly to be preferred over genuine examples because they are tailored to classroom needs; they are constructed to make learning easier and quicker (cf. Widdowson 1990: 162). The classroom context does not need to pretend 'real' contexts or import reality into the classroom in some way, since real communication can in fact only be learned in real communicative settings. According to Widdowson, the classroom can only prepare its learners for future real-world communication by providing the necessary equipment, but it is the learners who have to figure out by themselves how the real language works in context.

The whole point of language learning tasks is that they are specially contrived for learning. *They do not have to replicate or even simulate what goes on in normal uses of language. Indeed, the more they seek to do so, the less effective they are likely to be.*

Of course, this contrived language has to be such that learners will learn from it and develop the capacity for authentication that they can exploit when they encounter actually occurring language in the real world. [...] A lot of time is wasted in trying to teach things that can only be learned by experience. (Widdowson 1998: 714f.; emphasis added)

I do not agree with this viewpoint. While I acknowledge the significance of context information when dealing with spoken language, I maintain that authentic₂, i.e. natural-sounding language, is not inevitably "less effective," as Widdowson states. Authentic₂ language does not have to entail a diminished pedagogical value by any means. By dealing with authentic₂ language in the classroom, students have greater opportunities to 'rehearse' for language use in the real world, which may furthermore increase their motivation. Of course, this requires that appropriate linguistic materials be chosen/created by the language instructor or materials designers (see also 3.3.3.4, 3.3.4).

For the purpose of simplification and avoidance of confusion, I will henceforth use the terms 'real,' 'genuine,' or 'naturally occurring' to refer to the origin/source of language data,

and the terms 'authentic' or 'natural-sounding' to refer to the style of language data, i.e. its linguistic similarity to naturally occurring language.

3.3.3.3 *Further objections to naturally occurring data in language teaching*

There have been a number of other objections to using real, i.e. naturally occurring, data in language teaching (e.g. Cook 1998; McDonough 2002; Waters 2009a, 2009b), which cannot be discussed in detail here. They share the argument that naturally occurring language is usually too messy, too complex, and too difficult to access in the everyday business of teaching and learning languages, while contrived examples can easily facilitate the learning process.

A further bone of contention in the context of the authenticity debate is the question of target norms and the role of the native speaker, i.e. the question of whether a native speaker variety should be presented as the long-term aim to be reached in language pedagogy, or whether an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) norm is more relevant (and in some scholars' terms, 'authentic') in the sense that it is the variety which students in EFL countries are most likely to encounter.³⁸ However, it has been shown in several studies that learners themselves seem to be very keen on learning a native variety (cf. Mukherjee 2005; Timmis 2002). It seems that the native speaker model is still the best choice when genuine language samples are selected, as it is the most convenient, homogeneous and accessible model, and the descriptions of native varieties are currently more detailed and comprehensive than the description(s) of ELF.

3.3.3.4 *Putting the positions on 'authenticity' into perspective*

It is important to keep in mind that much of the discussion about whether or not 'authentic' materials should be used is indeed based on different definitions of 'authenticity,' resulting in scholars talking at cross purposes. As mentioned before, the present study is primarily concerned with the authenticity of materials, i.e. with linguistic authenticity, not with authenticity of task, of person, of situation, etc. It is clear that communication in an EFL classroom situation, where instructed learning takes place, may always seem to some degree artificial, because most communication takes place for learning purposes and students are

³⁸ For a discussion of 'authenticity' in ELT in the context of English as a world language, see e.g. Gilmore (2007). A number of authors in fact advocate an ELF norm when selecting naturally occurring spoken English material, e.g. Seidlhofer (2000, 2001) and Mauranen (2003, 2004b, 2006).

aware of this. The important point is that the classroom *prepares* learners for successful completion of 'real-world tasks' (cf. Nunan 2004), and part of that is the question of whether or to what extent this should best be done with genuine or invented language input.

While I suggest that the use of genuine examples generally enhances the language class, it would not be wise to pursue a hard line on genuineness to the extent that no other material is allowed in any learning and teaching scenario at all. Genuineness of language input is no panacea for the language class. In fact, scholars rarely argue for the exclusive use of genuine materials or for the exclusive use of contrived language samples.³⁹ There are good arguments for both types of data playing a role in the language classroom (cf. Nunan 2004: 49f.). The key is certainly to find the right balance between invented language examples, which allow a high degree of spontaneity and focus, and genuine language examples, which provide a better 'preview' of what learners can expect outside the classroom (cf. Hedge 2000: 156).

3.3.4 Naturally occurring and invented language in teaching practice: Striking a balance

3.3.4.1 *From teacher to textbook*

Naturally occurring data does not have to be used at all costs – it needs to be compatible with the classroom needs. The call for naturally occurring data in textbooks and reference works is very reasonable, since the authors of these books have sufficient time to select pedagogically appropriate examples. There is thus a strong case for integrating real-life language data into published teaching and learning materials. The situation is different for the teacher in a specific classroom situation. Factors that have to be considered are e.g. the contents that are currently taught, time constraints, and the learners' levels of proficiency. While planned teaching materials can efficiently be prepared with naturally occurring data, it is especially the unplanned questions and activities in the classroom where the strict use of naturally occurring examples reaches its limits. I fully agree with Meunier (2002), who comments on the use of naturally occurring (in her terminology: "authentic") examples in the teaching of grammar, referring especially to corpus data:

The use of authentic examples (and an enlarged context) is intuitively desirable and even officially [...] encouraged. It is also clear from the ongoing debate, however, that authentic examples are not the only source of information about grammar that students should receive. Authentic examples can be messy, some corpus findings can be 'pedagogically unwelcome' (Lorenz 2000), the input can be too complex for the level of the learners, the time needed to find examples of one particular aspect of description can be prohibitive, especially if one has to look for complex grammatical

³⁹ But see e.g. Sinclair's (1997: 31) precept for language teaching: "Present real examples only."

structures. The use of corpora to illustrate grammatical phenomena is to be recommended but should not become a dogma. (Meunier 2002: 129)

3.3.4.2 *Degrees of authenticity: Mixing and matching for pedagogical materials*

Genuineness of materials in the narrow sense is not a *sufficient* condition for successful language learning. As mentioned above, however, I suggest that authenticity in the broad sense, i.e. a realistic, natural language style is a *necessary* condition for the development of idiomatic language use. Timmis (2005) asserts that the 'plausibility' of the spoken language samples as 'natural interaction' is one of the two principal criteria for an appropriate choice of texts for teaching spoken grammar. This is independent of whether the selected material is genuine or invented. His 'plausibility' thus refers to notions of style and corresponds to my use of the term 'authenticity.'

If we are going to use a spoken text as a vehicle for teaching spoken grammar, what kind of text should it be? In my view, two overriding criteria should govern our selection of texts:

1 Does the text have the potential to engage the students' interest?

2 Is the text plausible as natural interaction?

In adopting these criteria of plausibility and interest, I am deliberately bypassing the intense debate about authenticity, and allowing a place for both naturally occurring and specially constructed texts. (Timmis 2005: 118)

On the one hand, the spoken text may be material that is invented from scratch and 'spiced up' with natural-sounding spoken features. The result would be texts which are suited to the pedagogical needs of the learners, but which at the same time meet the minimum requirements in terms of naturalness. For instance, Gabrielatos (2002: 45) notes that it can be efficient to use "specially constructed texts which successfully simulate authentic use," i.e. naturally occurring use. Similarly, Thornbury (2005) suggests 'enhancing' scripted textbook dialogues with some natural spoken items: "As a compromise, scripted conversations could attempt to take into account, and to incorporate, features of naturally-occurring spoken language without sacrificing their pedagogical utility" (Thornbury 2005: 44).

On the other hand, the pedagogical material may consist of simplified and adapted versions of genuine language samples. In this context, McCarten and McCarthy (2010: 23) summarize some principles which can be taken as guidelines when genuine (e.g. corpus) conversations are edited (or even when new conversations for presentation in a course book for language learners are created):

- Keep turns generally short, except for narratives. Where one speaker 'holds the floor' build in listener back-channelling and non-minimal responses (McCarthy 2002, 2003).
- Allow speakers to react to the previous speaker (see Tao 2003).

- Don't overload speech with densely packed information; ensure a balance of transactional and relational language and an appropriate lexical density (Ure 1971; Stubbs 1986).
- Include some repetition, rephrasing, fragmented sentences and other features of speech, but maintain transparency.
- Keep speakers 'polite' (Brown and Levinson 1987; Tao 2007) and not confrontational or face-threatening. (McCarten and McCarthy 2010: 23)

Such an approach takes account of the needs of the classroom situation while at the same time responding to the call for a more natural representation of conversational features in contemporary EFL course books. These guidelines can also be applied to materials involving dialogue developed by the teacher him-/herself.

If the use of natural-sounding data (instead of naturally occurring data) is viewed as the ultimate goal, teachers themselves can contribute easily to an increase in authentic spoken models, too. A teacher who has native-like oral competence can act as the most immediate 'near-authentic' model and judge the perceived naturalness/authenticity of the materials to be selected. Such a view consequently invalidates Waters' (2009a, 2009b) criticism and fear of devaluating the role of the teacher by prescribing the use of genuine language samples.

My position on the issue of authenticity can thus be summarized as follows: a) I consider authentic language input helpful rather than necessarily less effective (as opposed to Widdowson 1998); b) I see a place for both genuine and invented data in language classrooms; c) I side with Timmis (2005) and argue that authenticity of language input, i.e. a style which is (perceived to be) similar to naturally occurring speech, is more relevant in the language-pedagogical context than the question of whether the language input is in fact genuine. A natural-sounding style can be achieved by simply adopting naturally occurring examples or by inventing examples which closely mirror it. So, when selecting language material for EFL teaching, it is not the *origin* of the material but the *style* which is decisive.⁴⁰

3.4 Spoken English in the classroom

This section now looks at whether and how spoken grammar is in fact incorporated into the mainstream EFL classroom. It is also concerned with recent or innovative developments and suggestions by the research community regarding materials and methods. Again, many examples refer particularly to the German context.

⁴⁰ Of course, one may claim that only by using naturally occurring speech may a natural style be guaranteed.

3.4.1 The status of spoken grammar in mainstream teaching practice

Spoken grammar could be made a topic either in the speaking lesson or in the grammar lesson, but both cases are rather rare in the German EFL context. It is certainly true that the teaching of speaking skills has become more established since the 1980s/1990s (cf. Müller-Hartmann and Schocker-von Ditfurth 2006: 60), and this should – in theory – promote interest in the exact linguistic characteristics of the spoken language, too. Despite this, the equal status of speaking and writing which is suggested by curricular guidelines (see 3.2.2) has not been systematically implemented in actual classroom contexts yet, which e.g. can be clearly seen in the current testing and grading conventions, where there is still a strong bias towards writing (cf. e.g. Taubenböck 2007: 5; Kieweg 2000: 5). One problem in this context, too, is that the speaking often takes place for purposes other than for actual communication. Thornbury summarizes the situation in the foreign language class as follows:

All language teaching methods (apart from the most bookish) prioritize speaking, but less as a skill in its own right than as a means of practising grammar. Even in relatively communication-oriented methodologies, speaking activities are often simply ways of rehearsing pre-selected grammar items or functional expressions. If speaking-as-a-skill is dealt with, it is often dealt with only at the level of pronunciation. Frequently, training and practice in the skill of interactive real-time talk, with all its attendant discourse features, is relegated to the chat stage at the beginning and end of lessons. It is this lack of genuine speaking opportunities which accounts for many students' feeling that, however much grammar and vocabulary they know, they are insufficiently prepared for speaking in the world beyond the classroom. (Thornbury 2005: 28)

What Schäfer (2009) notes for French as a foreign language teaching practice in Germany is probably true for most EFL classrooms too: Making use of Koch and Oesterreicher's (1985) terminology, he observes that 'medial orality' is promoted, while 'conceptional orality' is still rather neglected.

Spoken grammar is rarely made a teaching point in grammar lessons, either. Thornbury (Thornbury 2005) echoes a concern which was expressed by Carter and McCarthy (1995: 141f.) ten years earlier:

[L]earners are taught grammar items without a clear distinction being made between spoken and written grammar. Of course, there is a great deal of overlap, but there are certain structures that are much less frequent in speech than in writing [...] On the other hand, some features of spoken syntax (such as heads and tails, and ellipsis [...]) get little or no attention at all in many mainstream ELT courses. (Thornbury 2005: 34)

This observation has been made by various other scholars in the applied linguistic community, too, e.g. Timmis (2005: 117), Willis (2003: 200), and Rühlemann (2008a: 673) for the German context.

Two important factors here are the teacher and the textbook. Teachers who hold the spoken form in low esteem and consider it 'bad grammar' (as is not uncommon, cf. e.g. Rühlemann 2008a: 682) are unlikely to teach it. The mainstream teaching and grading conventions further lead teachers to focus much more on the written language, as they need to prepare students for exams and do not have much time for 'extras.' Textbooks, which are generally the heart of mainstream EFL teaching in Germany at the beginner's and intermediate level (Römer 2005: 171), represent an important source of input. Unfortunately, it has frequently been noted that there are often large differences between the lexicogrammatical and pragmatic forms and functions of naturally occurring spoken English and the type of English displayed in textbook dialogues (e.g. Müller 2004, 2005; Rühlemann 2008a: 687f.; Römer 2004). The problem of misrepresentation in textbooks is apparently not restricted to the German EFL textbook market, but of a more universal nature, see e.g. Carter and McCarthy (1995), Conrad (2004), Cullen and Kuo (2007: 361), Gilmore (2004, 2007), and Mauranen (2004b).

3.4.2 The learners' lack of spoken competence

A result of neglecting the properties of the language of conversation in EFL teaching can frequently be seen in the learner's output. It has often been noted that German students are not adequately prepared for the communicative situations which they will find themselves in outside the EFL classroom (e.g. Kieweg 2000: 5; Mindt 1996: 232). Comments on the inefficiency of EFL teaching and about the low oral proficiency of German EFL students are easily to be found in the literature. Mukherjee (2009b: 205) notes in this context that

applied linguists and language-teaching professionals have often complained that the kind of spoken English used even by advanced learners of English is very often a far cry from native-like language use in spontaneous speech (cf. e.g. Kieweg 2000: 8; Mukherjee 2002: 142). As a consequence, derogatory terms such as 'classroomese' – and, in the German context, 'Abiturspeak' – have been used for the kind of orally performed written English that foreign language learners of English who have not benefited from studies abroad tend to use in spontaneous spoken conversations.

Such complaints have also been backed up by the findings of empirical learner corpus research. For instance, Müller (2005) and Götz (2013) have shown that advanced German

learners do not make native-like use of discourse markers, formulaic sequences and other conversational strategies which could improve fluent verbal interaction.⁴¹

3.4.3 Spoken grammar in the classroom: Recent advances and recommendations

There has certainly been some progress in the foreign language classroom in teaching the spoken language more systematically, but this progress is taking place rather slowly. This section is therefore not only concerned with actual advances in EFL classrooms, but also with what types of innovative methods and materials for teaching spoken grammar have been recommended by different scholars.

3.4.3.1 *Spoken grammar and the teacher: Prospects and potentials*

We can assume that more language teachers have (had) the opportunity to spend some time abroad in a country of the target language and thus they may present an improved level of spoken competence themselves and act as more natural models than, say, the average teacher 20-30 years ago. Attitudes toward the spoken language and its particularities have probably also become more positive in the past two decades. In any case, the nature of spoken language is more and more often a topic in teacher education at university level (in Germany) and so the fruits of corpus-linguistic research on the grammar of spoken English should, slowly but surely, find their way from the research community via teacher education into the foreign language classroom, too.

With respect to the teachers' use of authentic spoken materials, it has already been mentioned above that the inclusion of authentic data has become somewhat more common in the EFL classroom. This is, of course, beneficial when it comes to the development of spoken language competence. In general, in the age of the Internet and the growing application of new media in schools it has certainly become easier for teachers to access natural spoken data and thus find new authentic input for the classroom.

In the German context, it is also to be expected that some high school teachers will *have* to instruct their advanced students more regularly and systematically with regard to spoken language features. The establishment of the 'communication exam' in the advanced foreign language classroom (see 3.2.2.2) will push teachers to make spoken English an item of their

⁴¹ Mukherjee (2009b) summarizes some recent results of studies on the grammar of conversation in advanced spoken learner English based on the German component of LINDSEI, i.e. the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (cf. Brand and Kämmerer 2006).

teaching, since they need to prepare their students for this exam. To date, however, there are few ready-made materials or guidelines for teachers on how to teach 'interactive communication' for this exam. Notable exceptions are the materials by Deeg and Rolvering (2012), Hessisches Kultusministerium (2010), and Ringel-Eichinger (2011).

3.4.3.2 *Spoken grammar in the textbook: Prospects and potentials*

Lausevic (2002: 200) points out that in general "we have made huge strides in the last 30 years in making both written and spoken input more natural for learners." This is true, though the potential is surely not exhausted yet.

When it comes to EFL textbooks, there is one quite recent publication on the U.S. American market that deserves special mention here as it represents a breakthrough for the teaching of spoken grammar: The *Touchstone* series by McCarthy et al. (2005) is corpus-informed (drawing on the CIC, i.e. *Cambridge International Corpus*) and places special emphasis on spoken grammar and grammar in context, providing a wealth of examples extracted from that very corpus. It is aimed at "adult and young-adult learners from the beginning to the intermediate levels of proficiency," as is stated on the back cover, and is complemented for each level by a student workbook, a teacher's book, and supplementary audio CDs.⁴² This textbook series has apparently not caught on in Europe, though, and seems to be most appropriate for learners with different mother tongue backgrounds who learn English in the United States. Since it is not matched to German high school curricula, it is unlikely to find a place in Germany's mainstream high school EFL classrooms. Nevertheless, it may well serve as a textbook in adult ELT classes composed of learners with mixed backgrounds and/or as supplementary material for intermediate and advanced learners. New textbooks which are based entirely on naturally occurring data and which thus include features of spoken grammar to a higher degree might be introduced in adult learning programs long before they are implemented in obligatory secondary school ELT.

As of yet, there are no similar corpus-informed textbook projects for the German high school market or for young EFL learners. German textbooks for high school students are adapted to the official curricular guidelines, but since the guidelines are rather vague with respect to the exact items of spoken grammar, and since the place of spoken grammar in the EFL classroom is still a hotly debated issue, it is rather improbable that a publishing house

⁴² Further teaching materials and information on the textbook as well as e.g. teacher support can be accessed on the *Touchstone* homepage: <<http://www.cambridge.org/us/esl/touchstone/index.htm>> (last checked: 28/05/2013). For more information on the rationale behind and the design of the *Touchstone* series, see also McCarten and McCarthy (2010).

would introduce a completely new concept such as in *Touchstone*. A relatively new textbook for advanced high school students (beyond the 10th grade, i.e. after learning English for about 6 years) which attempts to integrate more aspects of the spoken language, however, is *Context 21* by Cornelsen Verlag (Schwarz and Whittaker 2010). This textbook is advertised to put a premium on spoken skills and to take account of the 'communication exam' which is, as mentioned above, obligatory for *Abitur* in German states such as Baden-Württemberg or Hesse.⁴³

3.4.3.3 More materials: Products of the target language (Literature, film, and television)

A number of scholars in the field of 'spoken grammar' have suggested further types of language input with pedagogic potential, i.e. materials beyond the textbook and associated recordings. For instance, the dialogues of contemporary works of literature such as plays or novels have been suggested as a textual basis for noticing and discussing spoken grammar features. Carter (1997) assumes that such fictional representations of conversation work quite well as 'natural' models for the language classroom. He considers them "real data" which are "authentically constructed English" (Carter 1997: 9). They are 'real' in the sense that (while they have never been spontaneously used in an actual communicative situation,) they have been produced by a native speaker, for a native audience, and not specifically for language learning purposes.

Using literary dialogues from plays and novels and poetry also allows learners access to real data and to examples of authentically constructed English. It also provides access to data which have been tidied up for the specific communicative purposes of the writer and which therefore lack the interruptions, hesitations, false starts and simultaneous speaking which can be a distraction for some learners at some stages of development (see Carter and Long 1991; Widdowson 1992). (Carter 1997: 9)

The dialogues of novels and plays can thus be an attractive compromise between the scripted and often artificial-sounding textbook dialogues created especially for learners and the frequently complex and potentially confusing genuine language samples.

In addition to literary works, another type of data which has been suggested for the teaching of spoken grammar is spoken material from radio or television, not only unscripted but also scripted (e.g. Gilmore 2010; McCarthy and Carter 1994). The use of audiovisual material in ELT will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 4.1. Suffice it to say at this point that the products of these media as they are broadcast in a country of the target language may

⁴³ See e.g. the homepage of *Context 21* (<<http://www.cornelsen.de/context21>>; last checked 28/05/2013) and the booklet by Ringel-Eichinger (2011).

possibly serve as suitable materials for the teaching of spoken grammar, too (see Chapter 4.1.2).

3.4.3.4 *How should spoken grammar be taught?*

Apart from a decision about which materials to use as a basis for discussion about spoken English, teachers will also have to make decisions on the teaching methodology, i.e. how to proceed in order to teach the particularities of spoken grammar. This involves decisions regarding when and how to move beyond awareness-raising activities and develop productive oral skills in learners which include the appropriate use of spoken grammar features. It is beyond the scope of the present study to discuss these in detail, but a few principles will be briefly mentioned.

Thornbury (2005: 47ff.) and Willis (2003: 203–210) offer some useful advice on how to teach spoken grammar. Their suggestions have much in common. Recurring elements are the conviction that the content and context of a dialogue must be discussed in the first place; and the idea that awareness-raising activities precede activities for practicing and producing features of spoken grammar. Furthermore, both authors stress the frequent use of audio data, i.e. recordings alongside (scripted or unscripted) transcripts of the dialogues and the use of deductive and inductive approaches alike. Awareness-raising activities often involve comparing and contrasting spoken and written texts, but also the target and the native language. Practice and production can involve memorizing fixed constructions and drilling activities as well as dialogical activities such as role-playing.

What remains to be investigated, though, is whether these suggestions can really be put into practice in an everyday teaching context. It is certainly desirable to work with a variety of recordings and the matching transcriptions; however, much of the material that Thornbury and Willis suggest would have to be designed and produced by the teachers themselves. The scarcity of ready-made materials of this kind makes it difficult to really integrate spoken grammar activities into everyday teaching practice, as teachers generally face a very high workload and there is not much extra time to think up new activities and record and transcribe spoken language.

3.4.4 Preview: Spoken corpora for teaching spoken grammar

While the design of activities for the development of speech production is particularly in the language teaching specialists' area of expertise – and this includes all types of activities, also

beyond the scope of spoken grammar – applied linguists have attempted to contribute to the development of resources which are conducive to teaching and learning spoken grammar. The use of dialogues and transcripts seems to be the recommended choice for awareness-raising activities, and spoken corpora can offer a variety of naturally occurring conversations readily transcribed and digitized. The influence of corpora on language teaching will be the subject of the following subchapter.

3.5 Using corpora for teaching spoken English

3.5.1 The interface of corpus linguistics and language teaching

The 'corpus revolution' has undeniably had a profound impact on language teaching, especially foreign language teaching.⁴⁴ As Mukherjee (2009a: 161) states, this influence cannot be overestimated, even though language teachers themselves might not be aware of the actual extent. The relationship between corpus linguistics and language teaching can be described as a very dynamic one:

While LT [language teaching] profits from the resources, methods, and insights provided by CL [corpus linguistics], it also provides important impulses that are taken up in corpus linguistic research. The requirements of LT hence have an impact on research projects in CL and on the development of suitable resources and tools. (Römer 2008: 112f.)

A major goal of applied corpus linguistic research is thus to be beneficial to pedagogical practice, for instance by providing new information about actual language use and new tools to support teaching and learning. Mukherjee (2009b: 161), drawing on Hunston (2002: 137), distinguishes between two major areas in which the influence of corpus linguistics on foreign language teaching is visible: a) the *content* of the foreign language class and b) the *methodology* in foreign language teaching. This distinction largely corresponds to the *indirect applications* of corpora in language teaching and learning and the *direct applications* of corpora in language teaching and learning as put forward by Römer (2008: 113ff.) (see Figure 3-3).

⁴⁴ This section cannot provide a comprehensive account of the relationship between corpus linguistics and language teaching. For a more detailed introduction to this field, see e.g. Hunston (2002), Mukherjee (2002), O'Keeffe et al. (2007), and O'Keeffe and McCarthy (2010) (Sections V and VI).

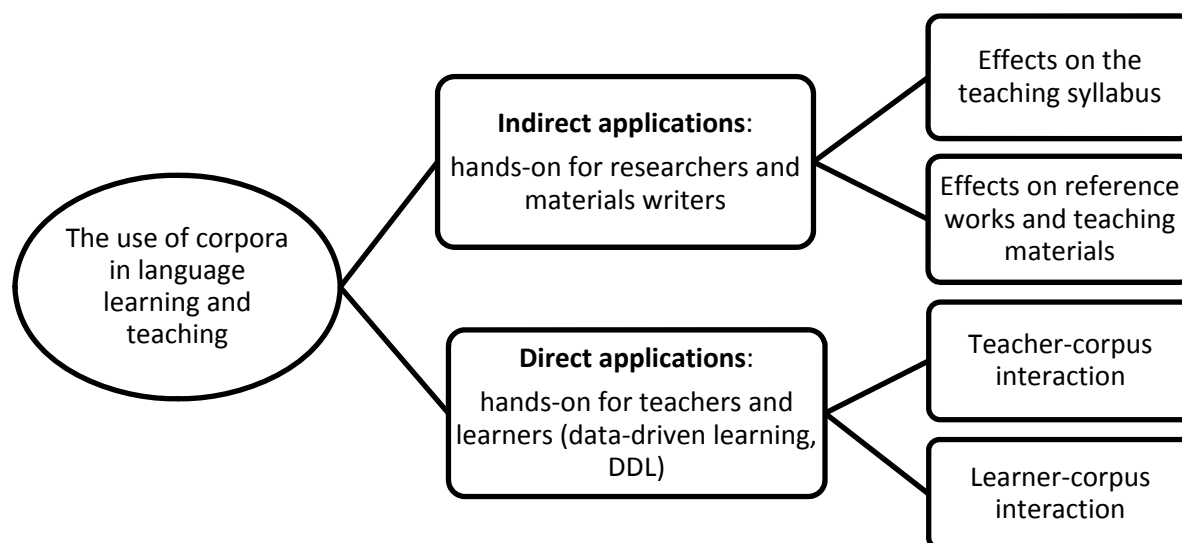


Figure 3-3: Applications of corpora in language learning and teaching (adopted from Römer 2008: 113)

Römer's two-fold distinction goes back to Leech (1997) and refers to uses in out-of-classroom or 'pre-classroom' contexts (indirect uses) vs. uses by the participants in the classroom (direct uses). The distinction is principally made in reference to 'general corpora,' i.e. large corpora comprising different kinds of spoken and/or written texts (e.g. the BNC). 'Specialized corpora' (e.g. corpora of academic English) and learner corpora are significant for language teaching, too (cf. Römer 2008: 117f.), but a discussion is beyond the scope of this study.⁴⁵

The indirect applications in the most general sense refer to the effects that new, corpus-derived descriptions of the English language have on language teaching. Hunston (2002: 137–169) and Mukherjee (2002: 17–29) discuss some central issues of language description which have had an especially noticeable impact on language teaching, such as new insights on actual language use vs. use according to intuition, routine language use, and language variation. As pointed out above (cf. Chapter 3.2.1), such new knowledge then ideally influences curriculum/syllabus design (cf. Römer 2008: 114) as well as reference works and teaching materials. Indeed, to date, the most profound and undeniably positive effect of English corpora on the teaching and learning of EFL can be seen in the development of corpus-based reference materials (cf. Mukherjee 2008: 134), specifically in the development of learner dictionaries. This effect is much more visible to linguists than to the target users of these materials, though. Materials writers may draw on existing corpus-derived descriptions or they

⁴⁵ For an overview of the scope of learner corpus research and its relation to language teaching and SLA (second language acquisition) research, see e.g. Granger (1998, 2002, 2004), Mukherjee (2007), and Nesselhauf (2004, 2005).

may conduct their own corpus projects to arrive at insights which can then be implemented in pedagogic materials.

The direct uses (teacher/learner-corpus interaction) are of more immediate relevance to the present study because the project idea is to create a corpus that can be useful to teachers and learners. This is why these uses are discussed in a separate chapter.

3.5.2 Direct uses of general corpora: Potential and (lack of) implementation

As opposed to the indirect uses of corpora in LT, the direct uses of general corpora comprise activities where teachers and students themselves interact with a corpus. These uses are both concerned with the methodology of the EFL classroom (cf. Mukherjee 2009a: 166ff.), i.e. the ways in which corpora may change *how* language is learned (vs. *what* is learned).

By now, almost everybody uses (knowingly or unknowingly) corpus-based reference materials, but actual hands-on approaches to corpora by teachers and students are hardly found in mainstream teaching practice in Germany's high schools (cf. e.g. Mukherjee 2004; Kreyer 2007: 17; Römer 2006: 122; Siepmann 2006: 328). Similar observations have been made for other TEFL settings, too (cf. e.g. Kaltenböck and Mehlmauer-Larcher 2005: 66; Tribble 2000: 31). Mukherjee and Rohrbach (2006: 206) point out that this lack of 'success' often has to do with the fact that corpus linguists neglect the "average EFL teacher's perspective," so that teachers do not have a clear picture of the potential benefits of using corpora.

Teachers could take advantage of corpora in manifold ways. They can consult a corpus for questions of language use (cf. Römer 2006: 124, 129) and they can create teaching and learning materials with the help of corpora. Especially the second type of corpus application requires some training in the fundamentals of corpus linguistic theory and practice, though (cf. Mukherjee 2002: 188f.; Römer 2006: 128), because only if teachers dispose of a sufficient "corpus literacy" (Mukherjee 2002: 179f.) can they effectively apply corpora in their teaching and pass the knowledge and the skills on to their students.⁴⁶

Just like teachers, learners can use corpora as a reference tool. The kind of direct uses of corpora that the corpus-linguistic research community has dominantly focused on in the context of direct learner uses can be subsumed under the label of 'data-driven learning' (DDL).

⁴⁶ On the importance of introducing corpora in language teacher education, see also Breyer (2009, 2011), Farr (2010), Farr et al. (2010), and Frankenberg-Garcia (2012).

3.5.3 Focus on data-driven learning (DDL)

3.5.3.1 *What is DDL?*

'Data-driven learning' (DDL) is a term introduced by Tim Johns (1991: 2) and further elaborated and exemplified in subsequent work by Tim Johns and Philip King at the University of Birmingham.⁴⁷ Pioneers in the field of direct corpus uses by teachers and learners, they defined 'data-driven learning' as

the use in the classroom of computer-generated concordances to get students to explore the regularities of patterning in the target language, and the development of activities and exercises based on concordance output. (Johns and King 1991b: iii)

Corpus concordances, most often derived from general corpora but also from specialized corpora (e.g. LSP [language for specific purposes] corpora, learner corpora, parallel corpora) are thus the principal basis of data-driven activities.⁴⁸ The present study, however, works with a broad definition of DDL, which extends beyond work with concordances and includes different types of activities which confront students with actual language data and which involve corpus-linguistic tools and methods in some way. The next section will provide an overview of the potential and the limitations of DDL in general.

3.5.3.2 *Potential and limitations of DDL*

The pedagogical potential of having learners explore corpora has been pointed out by a number of scholars. The acclaimed benefits of data-driven approaches with corpora are summarized by Gut (2006) as follows:

[...] corpora

- provide large samples of native language data which reflect the realistic frequency of structures often not represented in text books
- constitute inductive learning opportunities where knowledge is gained on the basis of observation and interpretation of data
- provide an opportunity for the creation of language awareness, the sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature and structure of language
- support learner autonomy

⁴⁷ An up-to-date, critical overview of the use of DDL is provided by Gilquin and Granger (2010), discussing functions, requirements, assets, limitations, and future prospects of such corpus-based activities.

⁴⁸ Producing concordances, besides the production of word lists, is arguably the most important procedure in corpus-linguistic analysis and the basic tool of any corpus-linguistic software. A concordance is "[a]lso referred to as **keyword in context (KWIC)**" (Baker et al. 2006: 42) and fundamentally consists of "a list of all the occurrences of a particular search term in a **corpus**, presented within the context in which they occur – usually a few words to the left and right of the search term" (ibid.: 42f.; emphasis in original).

- give learners the opportunity to work as researchers by developing a research question and analysing it with real-language data, thereby acquiring critical skills alongside linguistic knowledge
- allow self-guided activity with language, which increases motivation and learning success
- demonstrate the use of computers as a tool for linguistic discovery (Gut 2006: 69f.)

This lists shows that the benefits are not only seen in the substance, i.e. the contents of corpora as a teaching and learning resource (e.g. in that they can provide authentic, up-to-date samples of language use), but also in the methodologies that are possible with corpora.⁴⁹ As Kreyer notes (2007: 17), these characteristics comply with some of the major goals of modern language teaching (e.g. learner autonomy, language awareness) as well as educational goals beyond the purely linguistic ones (e.g. computer literacy).

Nevertheless, the applied corpus-linguistic community itself has also acknowledged that there are certain limitations to using corpora in language teaching, i.e. certain restrictions which need to be taken seriously and for which solutions still need to be found if corpora are to become a commonplace in the classroom. Corpus-linguists are working to identify these problematic areas and to come up with solutions for them in order to optimize the benefits that corpus tools and methods can have in ELT (see e.g. Boulton 2009, 2010a; Gilquin and Granger 2010). For instance, Gilquin and Granger (2010: 366f.) distinguish four major aspects which represent a real hindrance for DDL:

- the *logistics* (e.g. the lack of teacher- and learner-oriented corpora and corpus software; the lack of computer access in regular classrooms)
- the *teacher's point of view* (e.g. lack of interest and openness; lack of 'corpus literacy,' cf. Mukherjee 2002: 197)
- the *learner's point of view* (e.g. lack of interest and analytical skills, cf. Braun 2007b: 323; lack of 'corpus literacy,' cf. Mukherjee 2002: 197) and
- the *content of DDL* (e.g. topics covered in corpora are considered 'boring' and difficult to relate to; search output may be complex and confusing).

So far, there has been much more research (and practice) relating to DDL with written corpora than with spoken corpora (Mauranen 2004b: 89). Spoken corpora represent a particular challenge in the classroom. To begin with, spoken corpora are much rarer than written corpora. Also, spoken corpora are much more difficult to handle than written corpora: The language of spoken corpora is 'messier' (including hesitation, incomplete utterances, etc.) and more variable and thus potentially confusing for students. Interpreting excerpts of spoken discourse is furthermore more complex than for written language:

⁴⁹ Detailed accounts on DDL activities and a range of sample exercises are presented in Bennett (2010), Gavioli (2001), Johns and King (1991a), Reppen (2010), and Tribble and Jones (1997).

In particular the use of concordances is more problematic, because spoken interaction is normally much more context-dependant than writing, and concordances derived from spoken corpora are often less clear than those derived from written corpora. (Braun 2010: 81)

The texts in spoken corpora are "removed from their origins" (Mauranen 2004b: 90), which makes it more difficult for learners to 'imagine' the original setting and to reconstruct missing linguistic information such as intonation and stress as well as non-linguistic information accompanying speech (e.g. facial expression, gesture). Despite all this, a number of researchers have recommended spoken corpora for DDL activities and report of positive experience with DDL work in educational settings, e.g. Mauranen (2004a, 2004b) and Zorzi (2001).

Boulton (2009), too, remains overall optimistic about the feasibility of DDL in language classrooms, no matter whether one uses written or spoken corpora.

DDL is well within the reach of regular teachers and learners in ordinary language teaching contexts, and [...] a small investment in terms of time and effort can lead to immediate and, more importantly, long-term language learning benefits. (Boulton 2009: 83)

The following three items may be the key factors for successful integration of corpora into ELT practice (cf. Breyer 2006: 157):

1. Training: Both teachers and students need to undergo sufficient training before embarking on corpus projects, and developments in this area are already under way;
2. Appropriate corpus analysis software;
3. Appropriate corpora: Corpora that are adapted to actual classroom needs.

Braun (2007b: 308) adds another key factor which needs to be overcome, namely the incompatibility of corpus application and language teaching syllabi, especially in secondary education. However, such incompatibility may be avoided by using corpora and methods which in fact do comply (more) with curricular requirements (see also 3.5.4.3).

The next section thus discusses a promising development which has been taking place for several years now, namely that "language pedagogy is increasingly designing its own corpora according to its own criteria" (Aston 2000: 16).

3.5.4 Tailor-made corpora for the classroom: 'Pedagogically relevant corpora' (Braun 2005)

In the following I will review some of the suggestions that have been made with regard to corpus design in order to take account of the actual demands of the language classroom and its participants. According to Braun (2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2009a, 2010), the key to making corpora in language teaching more efficient and more feasible is to create

'pedagogically relevant corpora,' i.e. corpora which are specially compiled and prepared for language teaching purposes.⁵⁰ These corpora, built with educational aims in mind, ideally differ in their design from traditional corpora in terms of size, content, format of the data, and annotation. Tied to the different design are then, of course, the different types of activities that are possible with such corpora and the proper mediation of the corpora. Furthermore, such educational corpora can be enriched with additional material ('pedagogical enrichment'). In the next section, I will draw on Braun's work and outline the major characteristics and rationale of 'pedagogically relevant corpora' by contrasting them with regular corpora, which are made for linguistic research.

3.5.4.1 Size

The appropriate size of a corpus ultimately depends on its anticipated uses (cf. Braun 2005: 49). Mega-sized corpora are extremely valuable or even necessary in certain scholarly endeavors as e.g. for lexicographical research, but they may pose considerable problems to non-linguists who are faced with innumerable hits for their queries. Along these lines, Sinclair states that "[c]orpora typically contain much more information than a human being can handle at any one time, and the investigator can easily get swamped in a large quantity of heterogeneous data" (Sinclair 2003: xiii).

If large corpora are a challenge for the linguistic researcher, they are naturally even more so for non-linguists. Teachers and learners have to sort through masses of data before they find what is relevant in their particular case, even if they have sufficient expertise to come up with an efficient search query for satisfactory 'recall' and 'precision.'⁵¹ Since real-language materials tend to be somewhat overwhelming per se, an abundance of results is often too much for the language learner, especially when the high number of results is paired with the 'messiness' (Meunier 2002: 129) which is so typical of authentic spoken data.

For these reasons, various scholars have recommended the use of smaller corpora in educational contexts. For instance, Aston (1997: 54) sees many advantages in small corpora for language learning and argues that a size of 20,000 to 200,000 words is probably best for

⁵⁰ Note that 'pedagogical corpora' or 'pedagogically relevant corpora' are not to be confused with what Hunston (2002: 187) calls "pedagogic corpora:" Hunston uses the latter term as referring to "all the language that a learner has been exposed to in the classroom – mainly the texts and exercises the teacher has used" (187). The sense with which the term 'pedagogical corpus' is used in the present study, in turn, applies solely to corpora which have been specifically designed with language-pedagogical aims in mind and which are intended to be used by teachers and learners.

⁵¹ In a nutshell, a good *recall* relates to finding all the relevant items the search query (i.e. without missing/overlooking any items), while *precision* is about finding only relevant results by the search query (i.e. without having irrelevant hits in one's results that need to be sorted out).

most teaching purposes. Not only are they simply easier to manage for teachers and students alike, but they can also be more apt in terms of content: Smaller corpora tend to be more restricted as regards topic diversity.

3.5.4.2 Contents

3.5.4.2.1 Coherence of contents

Braun (2005: 53ff., 2006: 29ff.) emphasizes that in the design of a pedagogical corpus, the contents are of utmost importance. They should be selected according to the specific pedagogical needs of the educational settings in which the corpus will be used.

The contents represented in the corpus texts should be as coherent as possible. Coherence in this sense ideally derives from "a common overall theme around which all the texts in the corpus revolve" (Braun 2005: 53), i.e. the texts included in a pedagogical corpus relate to each other on the level of content, not only on the level of genre (as is the case for e.g. subsections of traditional corpora).

This is where pedagogically relevant corpora differ from regular linguistic corpora: Standard reference corpora are typically designed to represent language in all its variety, and thus content diversity is seen as a beneficial design feature, since a broad range of genres, topics and sources are seen as an overall aim. As Braun (2005: 49) points out, "intertextual coherence is not important or may not even be desirable" for traditional corpora, and at any rate, "[n]o one – except the corpus designers – would actually read the individual texts."

3.5.4.2.2 Relevance of contents

The topics of a pedagogical corpus should not only be coherent, but also relevant. 'Topical relevance' of the materials included in a corpus "is one of the key factors supporting discourse authentication" (Braun 2007a: 34, drawing on Tribble 1997). While *coherence* of corpus contents is a relatively straightforward concept, the idea of content *relevance* is more ambiguous.

Topics can be relevant in so far as they catch the learners' interest: They might tie in with the learners' experiences in their private lives (e.g. interaction with family and friends, hobbies, jobs, etc.), in their school lives (classes, teachers, extra-curricular activities, etc.) or other domains which are part of their lives. Relevant corpus material would thus be texts which incite the learners' curiosity and gain their attention.

'Relevance' might also be defined from a different perspective, namely by looking at what has been fixed in curricular guidelines as the topics that need to be covered in the language lessons. Accordingly, Braun (2006: 29f.) points out that the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001) is a good starting point to determine topics which can be considered as communicatively relevant for language learners.

3.5.4.3 *Interim thought (I): Conforming with the syllabus in content and methodology*

Corpora which are fairly small and which include coherent and relevant contents are beneficial for a crucial reason: They are easier to integrate into the overall teaching syllabus and are more likely to comply with predominant language teaching methodologies, as they tie in with existing requirements and practices. Braun (2009a) states the following two ideas motivating pedagogical corpus design, which relate to corpus contents and the resulting options for corpus exploitation:

- Language learning normally starts from a particular topic, curriculum unit, task or communicative goal, and it is within such units that questions about particular lexical, grammatical and phonological means of expression arise and that their meanings, functions and uses need to be acquired and explored.
- Learners (and teachers) are much more used to working with a text (or speech or dialogue) than with a concordance (or wordlist or *n-gram*). For many learners, text-based work is therefore a natural starting point for exploring a corpus. Textual analysis helps learners to construct meaningful contexts for the texts in the corpus, before studying individual means of expression in more depth. (Braun 2009a: 6; emphasis in original)

The first point is particularly important for language learning at an advanced level. As has been mentioned above (see Ch. 3.2), content-based work is the predominant approach in advanced English classes – at least in German secondary education. At the most advanced levels (11th-13th grade), the further development of practical language skills and linguistic meta knowledge are secondary teaching contents, while the focus is more on literature, culture, history, politics, and generally current affairs. A corpus with rich and inspiring contents can thus provide more links to topics that are part of the teaching syllabus.

Braun's second point relates to methodology, i.e. to the type of activities which are possible with pedagogical corpora. As a positive consequence of the more homogeneous and interesting contents represented in a pedagogical corpus and the smaller size of the corpus, it is possible to do corpus activities beyond the typical concordance-based DDL activities. Braun recommends a "*discourse-based approach* (ie 'whole-corpus reading')" (2005: 54; emphasis in original) when using corpora in educational settings. This means that learners approach the corpus by firstly using methods they already know (i.e. working with texts and

'horizontal reading') in order to familiarize themselves with the corresponding contexts before they undertake the more challenging task of applying new, corpus-based methods as e.g. the analysis of concordances (i.e. 'vertical reading'). The rationale behind this two-step procedure is that once learners are familiar with the material in a corpus, it will be easier for them to interpret and evaluate results of corpus-based searches (cf. Braun 2005: 54). This practice allows students to focus on language forms and functions in the larger situational and cultural contexts in which they occur. This, of course, would hardly be feasible with a regular corpus. Braun (2007a: 32) compares a regular linguistic corpus with a "text museum," likening the genuine language samples in a corpus to the exhibited items in a museum: "The exhibits are real (as real as e.g. historical artefacts) but, if you enter without preparation and appropriate background knowledge, your benefits will be limited."

3.5.4.4 *Interim thought (II): Pedagogical corpora and authentication*

Such a 'discourse-based approach' to the corpus-content which considers (excerpts of) the corpus texts in their entirety and takes account of the situational and cultural context in which the original communication took place also facilitates the process of 'authentication' (see also Ch. 3.3.3.2), which has repeatedly been claimed to be the key to successful integration of corpora into language teaching and to learning success in general (cf. Braun 2005: 53). A point that has often been criticized about the use of regular corpora in language teaching is that corpus data tends to be completely decontextualized and very hard to 're-contextualize' or 'authenticate' for language learners because they can only access individual, unrelated excerpts of texts. Corpora usually provide only *co-text* (i.e. the text before and after the item in question), and rather little *context* (cf. Kaltenböck and Mehlmauer-Larcher 2005: 69), which refers to the situational context in which the language was produced.⁵² This problem can be sidestepped if specific contents are chosen for a corpus, i.e. when a limited number of carefully selected texts are provided in their entirety.

Whether or not learners consider the language use as provided in corpora 'authentic' in Widdowson's (1978) sense certainly also depends on the type of activities which are to be performed with the corpus (cf. Mishan 2004) and the appropriate mediation of the corpus (cf. Kaltenböck and Mehlmauer-Larcher 2005: 78). But there is no doubt that the contents of a corpus and other design-related aspects are equally crucial factors (cf. Braun 2007a: 33).

⁵² Note that the term 'context' is sometimes also used to refer to the verbal surrounding, i.e. with the sense with which 'co-text' is used in the present study.

3.5.4.5 *Format of the data*

The typical data format in regular linguistic corpora is text only (incl. annotation). In the case of a spoken corpus, the text is the transcription of the spoken data, i.e. the original data format is lost or usually not directly accessible to the corpus user. While there are a few corpora which offer the user the corresponding audio or audiovisual files (e.g. *Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* [MICASE]; *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* [SBCSAE]), these remain exceptions and are only recently becoming more common.

Transcriptions of speech are unavoidable in a spoken corpus in order to make the data searchable with mainstream corpus software, but they are obviously only an imperfect approximation of the actual speech event. As has been mentioned above, the interpretation and analysis of spoken language can be very difficult when transcriptions are the only source, especially for learners. Braun (2005: 55) emphasizes that for corpora in the language classroom, "the inclusion of audiovisual material [...] will be helpful because it will give learners and teachers an idea of the overall communicative situation in which the material was produced." In this way, video material can not only help with the analysis of individual linguistic features, but it will also support the authentication process.

Hearing (and possibly seeing) what has been transcribed furthermore makes the corpus material more 'trustworthy' (Braun 2010: 83). Ideally, then, the transcripts are directly aligned with the audiovisual material, turning the corpus into a veritable multimedia tool. Braun (2010: 76) even asserts that multimedia corpora will be key to bridging the gap between corpus linguistics and language teaching: "[S]poken multimedia corpora are not simply an interesting type of corpus for language learning, but [...] they can in fact lead the way in bringing *corpus technology and language pedagogy* together (Braun et al. 2006) [emphasis in original]."

Another factor which should not be overlooked is that the inclusion of audiovisual material also makes curricular integration easier, as corpus-based work can then not only be combined with textual analysis, but also with the practice of speaking, listening comprehension (cf. Braun 2006: 38), and even not primarily language-related areas such as cultural studies and film analysis. Apart from that, audiovisual material per se is often very motivating for students.

3.5.4.6 Annotation

The amount and detail of annotation, i.e. the extra information added to the core data, depends on the prospective uses of the corpus. For regular linguistic corpora which are not dedicated to pedagogical goals, annotation ranges from simple structural mark-up (which aims at documenting the structure of the original source text) to more sophisticated annotation providing grammatical information (e.g. part-of-speech tagging, parsing) or even semantic or discoursal information. Complex annotation schemes may be extremely valuable for linguistic researchers; however, they are usually not so helpful for teachers and learners (cf. Braun 2005: 50). In fact, complex extra information might actually 'burden' the data to the extent that working with the individual texts becomes very difficult. On top of that, teachers and learners are rather unlikely to conduct such complex queries that they would need elaborate annotation schemes. Annotation that is "too specific for the non-linguist" (Braun 2005: 50) and difficult to decipher can thus turn out to be an inconvenience instead of an added value in a pedagogical context.

All this does not mean that pedagogical corpora should not have annotation at all. Instead, they need annotation that is useful for teachers and learners. Pedagogical annotation is geared towards the exact types of activities that are to be performed with the corpus. For instance, for the ELISA corpus⁵³ – a prime example of a pedagogically relevant corpus – the corpus designers created thematic and functional annotation "based on topics, grammatical and communicative functions" (Braun 2010: 84).

3.5.4.7 Pedagogical enrichment

Braun (2005: 55ff.) emphasizes the importance of a 'pedagogical enrichment' of a corpus that is to be used by language teachers and learners. Such an enrichment can be understood as all the 'extras' and supplementary materials which would not be found in a corpus for research purposes and which help the learners use the corpus and understand the contents and the language included in it.

Pedagogical enrichment can be achieved by different means. One of these means, having to do with the data format, has already been mentioned: Accompanying audiovisual material

⁵³ A more detailed description of ELISA (English Language Interview Corpus as Second-Language Application) can be found in Braun (2006, 2007a). ELISA consists of 28 interviews with native speakers of different varieties of English, who talk about their professional careers. The corpus provides direct access to video files and the respective transcripts. The website of the ELISA project and the corpus itself can be accessed at <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/elisa/html/elisa_index.html> (last checked: 28/05/2013).

can be seen as complementary material which enhances the learning process (e.g. by promoting the process of authentication) and supports the usability of the corpus. Other enriching materials are e.g. "comments and explanations, exploratory tasks and exercises, study aids and didactic hints for learners and teachers" (Braun 2005: 55). The provision of such materials with the corpus saves the teachers much time in the preparation phase and thus makes it much more feasible to actually integrate a corpus into teaching practice and exploit its full potential. In the case of ELISA, the corpus and all the supplementary materials are available and searchable via the Internet, but it is of course also possible to provide a corpus with materials and the corresponding analysis software e.g. on a CD-ROM.

3.5.4.8 Pedagogically relevant corpora: Previous projects

To date, there are still not many corpora which meet the pedagogical requirements listed above to any greater extent. This has naturally to do with the tremendous amount of time and resources which are necessary to design and compile such pedagogical corpora and corresponding materials. There are a few exemplary projects, however, of which I have already mentioned one, viz. the ELISA project. Two other noteworthy initiatives are the SACODEYL project (System-aided Development and Open Distribution of European Youth Language) financed by the EU and coordinated by the University of Murcia (cf. Hoffstaedter and Kohn 2009; Widmann 2009; Widmann et al. 2011), and the BACKBONE project (for Content and Language Integrated Learning [CLIL]), financed by the EU and coordinated by the University of Tübingen.⁵⁴ They have in common the creation of pedagogical multimedia corpora (based on spoken interviews) and the development of supplementary materials to be used by teachers and students. They are furthermore easily accessible via platforms on the Internet, i.e. they are entirely web-based.

All of these pedagogical corpus projects served as an inspiration for the project idea of the present study, which will be briefly outlined in the following section, but more fully elaborated in Chapter 5 after the third block of theoretical background for this study.

⁵⁴ Further information on the EU Minerva project SACODEYL can be found at <www.um.es/sacodeyl> (last checked: 28/05/2013). More information on the EU Lifelong Learning project BACKBONE can be found at <www.uni-tuebingen.de/backbone> (last checked: 28/05/2013).

3.6 A new pedagogical corpus: A corpus of television series dialogue

The principal idea put forth by the present study consists in compiling a new pedagogically relevant corpus which fulfills the requirements as described by Braun and other experts in the field to the greatest extent possible, and which at the same time might be somewhat easier to compile and possibly even more motivating for students than previously developed pedagogical corpora. In contrast to the previous pedagogical corpus projects mentioned above, which all consisted of transcribed interview data, the present study seeks to use conversation as a data source for a new pedagogical corpus.

The first choice in the corpus linguistic tradition is always naturally occurring speech (cf. Mukherjee 2009a: 21). For a corpus of spoken language, spontaneous speech is furthermore preferred over scripted speech, which blurs the boundary between speech and writing, as well as otherwise prepared speech or speech elicited in any way (such as in an interview). For teaching conversation and its grammar, a corpus linguist would thus traditionally recommend a corpus consisting of naturally occurring, spontaneous conversation.

In spite of these considerations, the present study takes an 'unconventional' approach and suggests using conversation from the dialogues of English language television series in order to compile a corpus that can be efficiently explored by teachers and students for teaching and learning spoken grammar.

The idea of using television dialogue, i.e. fictional scripted televised conversation, for a corpus that is supposed to represent (and help learn about) natural conversation obviously raises a number of questions. At first sight, such an idea appears to be at odds with the language-pedagogical principle which has been discussed at length in Chapter 3.3, i.e. that authentic language data is preferred in modern language teaching. Television language is not only fictional, but also scripted, which supposedly decreases its chances of being similar to naturally occurring speech. But how (in)authentic is fictional scripted television language (FSTVL) really? Is it too artificial and too written-like to serve as a useful model for foreign language learners? Could it have any advantages over naturally occurring language, which would justify its use in a pedagogical corpus? Chapter 4 will give a tentative answer to these questions based on a review of previous research on FSTVL and a number of theoretical considerations.

4 Film and television language: Language-pedagogical and linguistic perspectives

4.1 Film and television language as a model in ELT?

Current language teaching practice in Germany appears to be far from exploiting the full potential of audiovisual material, especially when it comes to using feature films and television to discover and analyze language use and language variation (cf. Baumgarten 2003: 20). The present study is particularly focused on the use of television language as a resource for teaching *about* language, e.g. raising students' awareness of certain characteristics of the spoken language. Strictly speaking, the term 'television language' is somewhat too broad, as it would cover all kinds of genres such as televised speeches (monologues), news shows, interviews, unscripted dialogue in talk shows, sports reporter talk, etc. In the present study, unless otherwise indicated, the term 'television language' refers exclusively to the spoken language of feature films, TV series, and sitcoms, i.e. the most common forms of audiovisual material used in FLT and incidentally the most common forms of television language scholarly investigated.

There are indeed a variety of authors who recommend film and television as a spoken language model (i.e. useful input) and/or as a resource for teaching *about* language. The first section here (4.1.1) considers all types of TV material, while the second section (4.1.2) focuses on uses of fictional scripted TV language (FSTVL) rather than on unscripted forms of television material. I will look only at studies suggesting television as a pragmatic model and as a model for spoken grammar in more detail because these (overlapping) areas are immediately relevant to the present study.⁵⁵

4.1.1 Advantages of film and TV material over textbook dialogues and naturally occurring speech

Film and TV material is sometimes compared and contrasted with two other sources of spoken language material used in FLT, namely textbook dialogues and naturally occurring data (e.g. in spoken corpora). Researchers point to several advantages that film and TV material has over the other two models.

⁵⁵ Television has been considered as a model for other areas as well. For example, Webb and Rodgers (2009) and Webb (2010) use corpus-linguistic methods to investigate the potential of film as a model for language learners. They focus on vocabulary learning and draw conclusions for listening activities (– movies providing visual and aural L2 input –) as a motivating alternative to reading in order to enlarge the vocabulary.

For example, Gilmore (2010) claims that audiovisual input such as film and television is usually **more natural**, i.e. more similar to natural speech, than the dialogues students encounter in their textbooks (Gilmore 2010: 119). In order to exploit the potential of film discourse in class, he recommends watching (parts of) episodes of the British comedy series *Fawlty Towers* (1975-1979) in combination with the corresponding transcripts.

McCarthy and Carter (1994: 118) generally prefer naturally occurring language data for teaching about grammar and discourse, but they remark that data involving **intimate and personal settings** are hard to obtain. Television language thus seems to be a good alternative for them because film and television – e.g. in their investigation, the Australian soap opera *Neighbours* (1985-present) – do provide plenty of private settings:

[D]ramatized data such as plays and soap operas, not written with any intention of displaying or teaching language forms, are often an excellent source of data considered by consumers to be 'natural'. (McCarthy and Carter 1994: 118)

In the same vein, Tomlinson (2010) stresses the fact that television programs can provide **data and contexts** which linguistic corpora – an otherwise convenient source of authentic language data – cannot offer to the participants of a language classrooms or to materials designers (Tomlinson 2010: 88f.). He focuses primarily on unscripted material such as cookery shows and sports commentary.

Thornbury (2005) points out that *scripted* TV language is **easier to understand** and may therefore be more appropriate to the competence level of the learners than spontaneous spoken language material and unscripted television material.

Using scripted data, in which natural speech is 'tidied up' or simulated, such as in soap operas or extracts from films, can be a means of getting round the problem of unintelligibility. Some scriptwriters are better than others at capturing the characteristics of natural speech. (Thornbury 2005: 46)

In other words, he presents FSTVL as a promising model for learners of English (as supplements to textbook material and genuine language material) provided that the represented speech mirrors naturally occurring language well.

Grant and Starks (2001) also come to the conclusion that FSTVL, such as the New Zealand soap opera *Shortland Street* (1992-present) which they examined, is in many respects more appropriate for the EFL classroom than naturally occurring language:

[I]t is usually free of a range of performance errors such as stuttering, thought pauses, repetition, incomplete sentences, slips of tongue and malapropisms. For second language students, this is an advantage over natural conversation. Another advantage is that conversations are spoken in context. Learners can find natural-sounding examples of topic shutdown, pre-closings and terminal

exchanges from the variety of participants and in a variety of settings used in the television soap. (Grant and Starks 2001: 43)

It is debatable, however, whether FSTVL is really "free" of performance phenomena (see e.g. Baumgarten 2005: 86 for a contrasting opinion; also Ch. 4.4.3.4) and there is also the question of whether and to what extent learners should be confronted with these "performance errors" (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.3).

4.1.2 FSTVL as pragmatic model and as spoken grammar model in ELT

Pragmatics is the area where there has probably been the major bulk of publications concerned with FSTVL as a model in ELT. A variety of authors recommend television material as an appropriate model for teaching pragmatic awareness, pointing out the benefits of the rich context information which is usually available and the aural and visual clues provided in film and television. They focus particularly on frequent speech acts, e.g. apologizing and requesting, and conversational moves, e.g. opening/ending a conversation (e.g. Baumgarten 2003; Fernández-Guerra 2008; Fernández-Guerra and Martínez-Flor 2003; Gilmore 2010; Grant and Starks 2001; Martínez Fernández and Fernández Fontecha 2008; Martínez-Flor 2008; Massi and Merino 1996; McCarthy and Carter 1994; Rose 2001; Tomlinson 2010; Washburn 2001).

Scholarly research which discusses FSTVL for teaching the differences between speech and writing and features of spoken grammar has been comparatively scarce so far. Nevertheless, a few examples can be named. Timmis (2005) constructed "language discussion tasks" (ibid.: 121) for an EFL classroom with the help of a BBC series, using the corresponding video text to discover and discuss features of spoken grammar. He considered the represented language as "plausible as natural interaction" (ibid.: 118) and came to the conclusion that it was engaging and useful to both teachers and students. For the German context, Rühlemann (2008c) suggests the sitcom *Friends* (1994-2004) as a useful model for teaching spoken features such as backchannels and discourse markers. Römer (2006) as well as Pérez Basanta and Rodríguez Martín (2007) advocate a corpus-based approach. Römer (2006: 127) suggests using "'spoken-type' parallel corpora" based on "original and translated subtitles from movie DVDs" in order to create spoken language teaching materials. Instead of subtitles, Pérez Basanta and Rodríguez Martín (2007) use the transcripts of the dialogues from five British and five American feature films for their corpus and they create DDL materials

for teaching conversational features such as backchannels, adjacency pairs, hedges, and discourse markers (ibid.: 145).

4.1.3 Outlook: The potential of FSTVL as a model in ELT

A variety of scholars suggest that film and TV dialogue has great potential as a spoken model in the EFL classroom. As it seems, this applies particularly to the teaching of pragmatic functions, but spoken grammar can also be exemplified and discussed with the help of such data. However, there is one string attached: A certain level of authenticity of the language of the TV program in question is a necessary prerequisite for its validation as a useful model in FLT. Television language should be very similar to 'the real thing' if it is to provide a model that students can imitate in their overall goal of learning how to communicate successfully with other speakers of English. Rose summarizes this situation in the following way (himself acknowledging the slight oversimplification):

If it were to be shown that film language was representative of actual language use, a strong case could be made for its use in the classroom. If the opposite were true – that film language were shown not to be representative of actual language – the case would be far weaker; rather, this would constitute an argument against the use of film for such purposes. (Rose 2001: 310)

Only if and when more insights regarding the precise similarities to and dissimilarities from naturally occurring language are gained are we in a position to judge whether or not the language of fictional television is an appropriate model. Such an evaluation needs to acknowledge that, from a language-pedagogical point of view, linguistic differences are not automatically deficits.

4.2 Film and television language as fictional scripted speech: Some preliminaries

4.2.1 The ambiguity of 'scripted speech'

There is some ambiguity involved in the concepts of 'scripted speech' and 'scripted language,' which need to be addressed at this point. 'Scripted language' is often used synonymously with 'scripted speech.' Both terms are used with varying senses in the research literature and in everyday language.

On the one hand (a), 'scripted language'/'scripted speech' can refer to a written text which is 'written-to-be-spoken.' In the context of television, it would refer to the actual script for a film or TV program which scriptwriters (here: the screenwriters) have written. Furthermore,

the dialogues of plays may be called 'scripted language' or 'scripted speech.' Another case would be constructed speech presentations (i.e. instances of direct speech) within narrative literature such as prose fiction, which are sometimes (though less often) labeled 'scripted speech,' too. On the other hand (b), it can refer to speech which has its origins in writing, in the sense that it is based on a written document. It is the concrete spoken realization of the scripted text, i.e. the spoken language as it is realized by the speaker, such as the presenter, the newsreader, the actor, etc. This spoken text would be transcribed to be analyzable.

Since the term 'speech' is most often used to speak of 'language produced in the spoken medium,' I prefer the second sense (b) of scripted speech, as I am mainly interested in the style of the spoken realization (documented by transcripts), not the written base (the script). Unfortunately, not all of the previous studies which have analyzed 'scripted television language' state explicitly whether their data analysis is based on the script or on the transcript of the performance of the script. Baumgarten (2005: 86) also criticizes this unfortunate ambiguity. She bemoans the fact that many researchers make claims about the (lack of) authenticity of television dialogue as one kind of 'dramatic dialogue,' although they do not clearly distinguish between the script and the transcript:

The problem of the traditional kind of evaluation of dramatic dialogue in terms of its 'flawed' verisimilitude and authenticity is that analyses within the field of linguistics have been mainly carried out on the basis of the printed film and drama scripts, and not on the basis of the language use in the actual performance which is where the typical features of spoken language use [...] are introduced into the text. [...] [C]ompare Elam (1980) and Herman (1995) [*sic*] who both stress the importance of differentiating between the written "dramatic text" and the spoken "performance text". (Baumgarten 2005: 86)

The differences between the scripts and the performances can in fact be immense and should thus not be mixed up (see also Ch. 4.4.3.4).

4.2.2 A categorization of scripted speech: From sermons to film and television

Scripted speech as a language form is undoubtedly located at very intriguing intersection of spoken and written language, both in terms of medium as in terms of style. Scripted speech can, in the first place, be understood as any type of fictional or non-fictional speech which is drawn from a written document. 'Spoken' in this context covers a variety of realizations: The written texts can be read, presented, performed, etc., i.e. delivered with varying degrees of improvisation vs. close adherence to the text. Consequently, very diverse text categories fall under this definition, such as prepared speeches, sermons, oral presentations, and also news

broadcasts. These are all monologic text categories, but scripted speech can – though more rarely – also be dialogic.

The different categories of scripted speech are illustrated in Figure 4-1. Dotted lines indicate that the combination is much less frequent: Scripted monologic speech is most often non-fictional. In contrast, scripted dialogic speech is more frequently fictional: The most obvious instances are dialogues in drama performances (i.e. plays) and in feature films or television series. The dialogues of plays are in many respects comparable to those of film and television, but the following discussion of scripted speech focuses mainly on fictional film and television dialogue, for reasons which will be briefly addressed in the following.

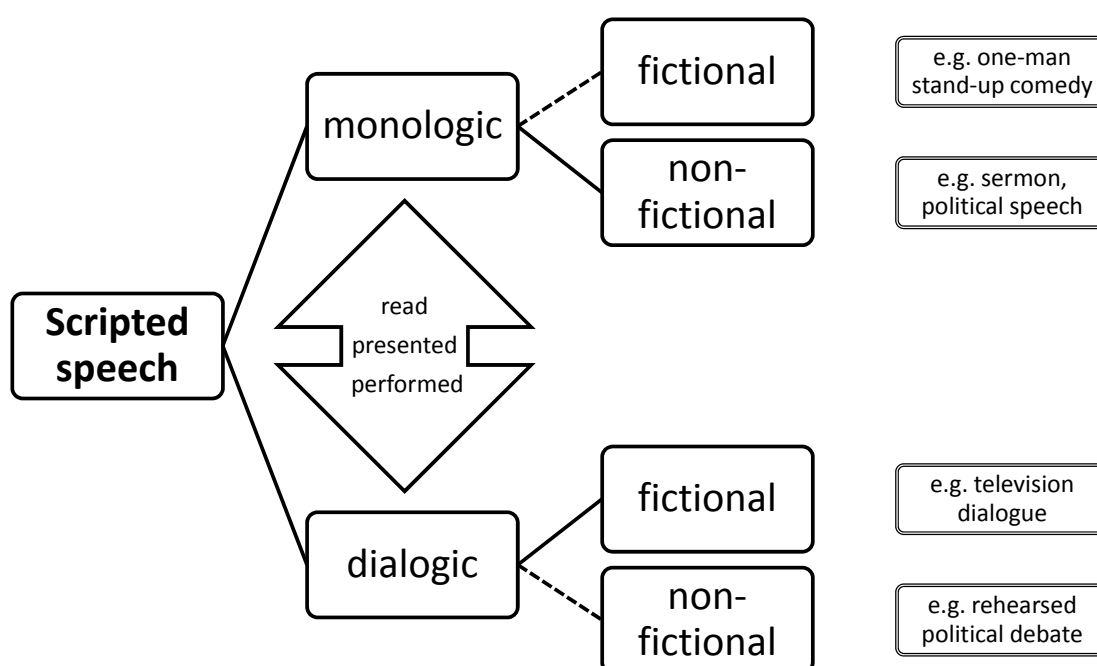


Figure 4-1: Different categories of scripted speech

4.2.3 Drama dialogue vs. film and TV dialogue

Although fictional scripted dialogues in plays have a lot in common with the scripted dialogues of film and television, a detailed discussion of these is consciously excluded here. There are a number of reasons why they cannot be treated the same way. These reasons have to do with the production, but also with the reception of the dialogues.

The conditions under which the dialogues of plays are spoken, or rather, performed, are quite different from TV dialogues: While in both cases the dialogues are written before they are performed, i.e. they are based on prefabricated material, the actors have to consider different circumstances during the performance. For instance, the actors of plays need to be

heard even in the last row of the audience, which forces them to speak more slowly and articulate more carefully on stage than is necessary in the shooting of a film or television program. Actors of a play will also have to adhere more strictly to the script, as it is copyright material. If any, changes to the script are made rather by the director of the play (with official permission by the author) and so they are part of a particular adaptation of the original play. The dialogues of plays are sometimes written in verse, too, which further complicates attempts of putting the language of drama in the same class as the language of modern film and TV.

An aspect related to the reception of this type of scripted speech is that the dialogues of plays are read, too, and it is possible that in some cases they are designed with a reading audience in mind just as much as with a viewing audience. Film scripts, in contrast, are barely ever read; they are not considered pieces of literary art. Their sole purpose is the televised performance, and so the audience has only ever access to the spoken version, but (almost) never to the script on which the performance is based. These differences will also be reflected in the language which is scripted for the readership/audience.

For these reasons, one can expect the language of drama dialogues to be different from the dialogues of scripted television. Further, linguistic studies investigating drama dialogue would typically be based on the actual (written) text of the play rather than on the transcript of what the actors really said during the performance. This is why most of the following contemplation of scripted speech is limited to fictional film and television language, and it is only occasionally that parallels are drawn between dialogue in plays and dialogue in film and television.

4.3 *Previously on...* the nature of film and television language

4.3.1 Film and television language as an object of linguistic research

The nature of film and television language has not been analyzed extensively so far. While fictional language as it appears in e.g. plays and novels has received some attention in the linguistic research community, especially from a stylistic point of view, the language of fictional film and television has traditionally encountered much less interest (cf. Bednarek 2010: 61f.). This might have to do with the low prestige that fictional film and television have as compared to recognized literary genres such as drama and narrative prose. Concerned with television series, Richardson comments that

[s]tylistics is canonically interested in the language of literary texts, including plays (see, e.g., McIntyre, [sic] 2006, Culpeper 2001, Herman 1995), but most TV drama seems insufficiently literary to be included in this enterprise. (Richardson 2010: 15)

It is only in the past ten years or so that some researchers have become more involved in studying the language of television from a linguistic perspective and larger, systematic investigations have been dedicated to it (e.g. Bednarek 2010; Quaglio 2009; Richardson 2010). Much more research is yet to be done, especially on a) the linguistic properties of fictional television dialogue and b) its potential to act as a surrogate for real language in linguistic enquiries. I agree with Bednarek when she claims that

it is time to take television dialogue seriously and to incorporate its many forms and genres in the linguistic enterprise as a whole, that is, to analyse not just news broadcasts, political interviews or reality TV shows, but also the diverse genres of *fictional* television. (Bednarek 2010: 2; emphasis in original)

4.3.2 Previous approaches to fictional scripted speech

4.3.2.1 *The lack of performance pressure as the decisive factor (Herbst 1994)*

In his study on the dubbing of television series, Herbst (1994) maintains that the different linguistic characteristics of film dialogue vs. natural dialogue need to be linked to the different situational circumstances under which natural spoken language features are produced. In order to systematize the differences between fictional scripted speech and spontaneous speech, he suggests, first of all, a distinction between two types of natural spoken language features (cf. Herbst 1994: 156):

- 1) Features which are conditioned by the performative character of natural conversation, i.e. features which are primarily caused by the lack of planning time and the resulting production pressure in spontaneous language use, and
- 2) Features which are conditioned by the general situational circumstances of spoken language use (e.g. deictic elements, informality of style).⁵⁶

Herbst suggests that the main difference from natural dialogue is to be found in the features caused by the spontaneous character of natural conversation: The use of performance phenomena is highly restricted in film dialogue.⁵⁷ In contrast, there is no such fundamental

⁵⁶ Herbst (1994: 156) calls these features *performanzbedingte Charakteristika* vs. *situationsbedingte Charakteristika der gesprochenen Sprache*. Herbst (1994: 156f.) explains that the former is distinguished by the latter in that a speaker would omit the item from his/her utterance were he/she to repeat the utterance. In other words, the performance phenomena would be subject to correction, which in this case is deletion.

⁵⁷ Similar observations have been made for dialogue in drama (i.e. plays), too (e.g. Elam 1980: 179ff.; Tan 1993: 28f.).

difference regarding the use of features determined by the general situational circumstances, as the situation of natural dialogue and film dialogue overlap to a great extent. Herbst (1994: 157f.) concedes, though, that the differences between film dialogue and natural dialogue should not be seen as clear-cut categories but as tendencies. The use of any spoken feature can vary substantially in different audiovisual texts. Moreover, although film dialogues are meticulously prepared, they will contain certain performance phenomena, which are either intentionally inserted or conditioned by genuine planning difficulties.

4.3.2.2 *Spontaneous speech vs. scripted speech: Provenance and form (Wray 2008)*

Like Herbst, Wray (2008) emphasizes the different situational circumstances governing fictional scripted speech (i.e. film and television language). In the context of an analysis of naturalness in a television sketch, Wray (2008: 174f.) provides an overview of the differences between natural spontaneous speech and scripted speech, distinguishing the aspects "provenance" and "form" for both.⁵⁸ Table 4-1 (adopted from Wray 2008: 174) contrasts natural spontaneous speech and scripted/acted speech, but Wray stresses the fact that these differences are not categorical. For instance, some speech in 'natural' contexts may be semi-planned or semi-prepared, such as in a job interview situation, in which the applicant may have memorized some small passages (affects No. 1 and 3); also, some speakers may be more conscious of possible listeners than others (affects No. 5). Most of the contrasting attributes should simply be conceived of as general tendencies.

Table 4-1: Differences in provenance and form between natural spontaneous speech and scripted speech (adopted from Wray 2008: 174)

Characteristic	Natural spontaneous speech	Scripted speech
1 Content	Spontaneously produced	Pre-determined
2 Speaker's relationship to ideas	Personally generated	Adopted from someone else
3 Form of words	Spontaneously produced	Pre-determined
4 Speaker's relationship to choice of words	Personally generated	Adopted from someone else
5 Role of non-participatory on-lookers	Ignored	Included
6 Features of written language	Unlikely	Somewhat likely

⁵⁸ See also Herbst's (1994: 151) criteria which are used to distinguish stage or film dialogue and other types of 'written spoken language' from natural conversation: 1) Purpose (for reading or hearing), 2) Level of preparedness (ranging from a literal script to prepared notes and to complete spontaneity), and 3) Genuineness (referring to whether a real act of communication takes place between the interlocutors or whether the ulterior recipient is someone else).

The terms "pre-determined" and "adopted from someone else" for characteristics 1-4 here are the essence of 'scriptedness.' In the context of television, the term "adopted from someone else" points toward the fictionality of the dialogues, i.e. the fact that someone has previously creatively invented the dialogue with the main purpose of entertainment.⁵⁹ No. 5 ("Role of non-participatory on-lookers") is important in so far as the "non-participatory on-lookers", i.e. the television viewers, should be able to hear and understand everything (cf. Chapters 4.4.2.2.2; 4.4.4.2). Wray classifies the use of features of written language (No. 6) in scripted speech as "somewhat likely." Although she does not specify what exactly she considers "features of written language," it nevertheless appears that she generally considers scripted speech as stylistically more 'spoken-like' than 'written-like.'

Both Herbst (1994) and Wray (2008) thus suggest that scripted TV dialogue is a mixture of spoken and written language features and that the differences from natural dialogue are gradual rather than categorical. The most crucial difference appears to be the lower frequency of performance phenomena in TV dialogue.⁶⁰ Their studies do not offer precise quantitative information, however, such as would be possible e.g. through an analysis of FSTVL corpora.

4.3.3 Uses of film and television material in linguistic corpora

This section reviews the extent to which film and television data in general have been used in the design of English corpora. It may already be mentioned at this point, however, that there are virtually no large-scale corpora available which consist exclusively of English television or film material, which is surprising given the prominent role that television plays in today's Western societies (cf. Stuart-Smith 2007: 142). The only exception is the very recent 100-million-word *Corpus of American Soap Operas* (1990-2012) compiled under the direction of M. Davies (Brigham Young University), yet this also comes with some strings attached (see below).

There are a few uses of film and television data in larger linguistic corpora which are not of immediate relevance to the present study because they are a) uses of non-fictional (scripted and unscripted) forms of film/television, b) uses of scripts (not transcripts) of fictional

⁵⁹ When speech is "adopted from someone else," it does not always entail that the ideas and choice of words are 'fictional.' For example, politicians often give talks which are scripted by others, i.e. written by speechwriters, but this does not mean that this type of speech is fictional. Furthermore, scripted speech is in fact not always adopted from someone else: A politician may write his/her own speech before delivering it orally. In the present context of feature films and television programs, however, scriptedness of speech generally means that scriptwriters creatively invent dialogues for characters in an imaginary world for the purpose of entertainment.

⁶⁰ On the mixture of written and spoken language features in film and TV language, see also Rossi (2003: 6) and Taylor (2008: 168).

television programs within written corpora and c) uses of scripts or subtitles of film and television programs within spoken corpora. The present study, in turn, focuses on the transcripts of the performance of the written scripts, which would be part of a spoken corpus. Nevertheless, these other uses deserve a brief mention here, since especially b) and c) are occasionally used in studies investigating the differences between FSTVL and naturally occurring language.

4.3.3.1 *Nonfictional film and TV, unscripted film and TV, scripts and subtitles*

Uses of **non-fictional, scripted and usually monologic** forms of television language (such as news broadcasts, televised speeches) are amply present in major standard corpora. They are variably used in the written or in the spoken component of corpora. For example, the written component of the *British National Corpus* (BNC) includes the "television news broadcast" as one of the 'written-to-be-spoken' texts (cf. Burnard 2007). The *International Corpus of English* (ICE) project, in turn, places the same type of data ("scripted broadcast news") in the spoken component (cf. Greenbaum and Nelson 1996: 14).⁶¹

Uses of **non-fictional and (mostly) unscripted** uses of television data are also common in standard corpora. For example, the context-governed part of the spoken BNC includes transcripts of "sports commentaries" and "broadcast chat shows".⁶² Likewise, the design of the ICE places "broadcast discussions," "broadcast interviews," and "spontaneous commentaries," all of which include televised material, in the spoken component. The *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) makes massive use of non-fictional and (apparently) mostly unscripted TV material.⁶³ More than 95 million words of 'spoken' data (as of June 2012) are derived from the "transcripts of unscripted conversation on TV and radio programs," as is explained on the website, as e.g. *Good Morning America* (ABC) and *The Today Show* (NBC). What is particular about this application of TV material is that the data is used to represent spoken American English, i.e. as a surrogate for naturally occurring spoken

⁶¹ See e.g. Greenbaum and Nelson (1996: 5) and Nelson (1996: 31) on the ICE team's decision to use the transcripts of the spoken version in the spoken component rather than using the script in the written version.

⁶² The BNC also includes "news commentaries" in the spoken component, but it is not entirely clear to which extent these commentaries are scripted or unscripted and which precise criteria were used by the corpus compilers to determine placement in the written or in the spoken component. In the *BNC User Reference Guide* (Burnard 2007), paragraph 1.4.4.3, it is stated that "[t]he 'written to be spoken' material includes scripted material, intended to be read aloud such as television news broadcasts; transcripts of more informal broadcast materials such as discussions or phone-ins are included in the spoken part of the corpus." Formality may thus have been one criterion.

⁶³ Information on the corpus and its design features can be accessed at <<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>> (last checked: 28/05/2013). The corpus has been compiled under the direction of M. Davies at Brigham Young University, too.

English. The corpus compiler justifies this choice by referring to the high reliability of the transcripts, the high degree of spontaneity, and the similarity to naturally occurring conversation (see the section on "Spoken transcripts" on the COCA website).

COCA also features a rare use of **fictional scripted** television language. In the **written** section of the corpus, the category "Fictional texts" includes **movie scripts**. In other words, this is one of the exceptional cases in which texts from television which are both scripted (written-to-be-spoken) and fictional are actually used as data in a large-scale corpus design. Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that the scripts, not the transcripts, are used and so no claims about television speech (as actually spoken by the actors) can be made based on this data. The same can be said about the *Cornell Movie-Dialog Corpus* (Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil 2012), which draws on the **scripts** of 617 movies and is enriched with movie and character meta data.

Another noteworthy use of **fictional scripted film and television language** is found in the *New Model Corpus*, a corpus which is intended to act as a replacement for the (older) BNC. The data is exclusively retrieved from the web (cf. Kilgarriff 2010). According to the corpus compilers, the **spoken section** (10 million words) consists entirely of "film transcripts" and "chat show transcripts" (Kilgarriff 2010), but the film transcripts are, in fact, drawn from a website providing **subtitles, not transcripts** (<<http://www.opensubtitles.com>>; last checked: 28/05/2013). Since it has been shown that both scripts and subtitles tend to deviate substantially from corresponding transcripts of the performance (cf. e.g. Bednarek 2010: 70; Koolstra et al. 2002: 328; Mittmann 2006; Taylor 2004; 2008: 180ff.; also Ch. 4.4.3.4), which, in turn, are different from transcripts of natural speech, the use of subtitles as a surrogate for natural speech is rather questionable. Nevertheless, a variety of other researchers have used **subtitles** for their corpora, e.g. M. Davies, under whose direction the above-mentioned *Corpus of American Soap Operas* was compiled. Researchers who use corpora like this one for their investigation of FSTVL simply need to be aware that they are working with subtitles, not the scripts or transcripts, so that comparisons with other studies on FSTVL (which do not draw on subtitles) may not be valid.

4.3.3.2 *Transcripts of FSTVL*

The inclusion of fictional scripted film and television material as *transcribed* versions of the actual performances in (spoken) linguistic corpora is extremely rare (cf. Forchini 2012: 52). Due to this lack of corpus resources there have not been any larger-scale corpus-linguistic

studies of the lexico-grammatical particularities of fictional scripted film and television dialogue until recently.

The most comprehensive contribution in the area of lexico-grammar so far has probably been made by Quaglio (2009). Other recent works include the studies by Bednarek (2008, 2010, 2011) as well as Forchini (2012). The analyses by Mittmann (2006) and the research team at the University of Granada (e.g. Rodríguez Martín 2010a, 2010b; Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009) have further contributed to the corpus-based study of television language, focusing on selected phenomena in the area of lexico-grammar.

All of the authors mentioned above have compiled their own corpora based on the transcripts of film and television dialogue, but these are not publicly available. Some of them use fan transcripts as they are available on the Internet (e.g. Quaglio 2009; Bednarek 2008, 2010, 2011), acknowledging that they may not be entirely accurate. Others use manually edited versions of either fan transcripts or subtitles in order to achieve a closer correspondence with the actual performance (e.g. Mittmann 2006; Rodríguez Martín 2010a, 2010b; Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009). Only few researchers have transcribed from scratch (e.g. Forchini 2012).

All of them will be addressed in some more detail below in the following chapter, in which previous empirical studies on the linguistic characteristics of FSTVL will be surveyed.

4.3.4 Recent empirical research: The linguistic characteristics of FSTVL

4.3.4.1 *Research fields and research questions*

Televised scripted language has been the object of scholarly work from different angles. Much of this research has revolved around the question of how scripted speech is different from naturally occurring language, its position on the spoken-written-continuum, and around its potential of acting as a surrogate for 'real' language in linguistic analysis. The areas of research that seem to have been most productive are the field of pragmatics and the field of translation studies. However, there have also been investigations of audiovisual fiction in the areas of sociolinguistics, stylistics, and discourse analysis.

Overall, though, comprehensive empirical studies dealing with the nature of film and television language are still scarce. Quaglio (2009: 12) regrets that "there seems to be a dearth of studies on the language of television from a linguistic point of view." In the same vein, Tatsuki (2006: 6) states that "there has been virtually no research to assess the validity of film use as an authentic representation of actual language use".

The following section reviews a selection of studies concerned with the linguistic characteristics of film and TV dialogue, especially in comparison with naturally occurring speech. The intention is to provide an overview of some of the most important, sometimes controversial and even contradictory findings. Only investigations which carry some implications for the present study will be mentioned.

Note that the ambiguity of the notion of 'film/TV language' (see also Ch. 4.2.1) represented a problem for this literature review because some of the previous studies did not specify which type of data they used, i.e. scripts or transcripts. In these cases, I assumed they used transcripts. Studies which explicitly mentioned that they used scripts were not considered here. The linguistic discrepancies between scripts and transcripts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.4.3.4.

4.3.4.2 *Pragmatics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis*

A number of (small-scale) studies on the nature of film/TV dialogue have been published in the area of pragmatics, most of them with the aim of assessing its validity as a data source in pragmatic research and as a model in language teaching (cf. also 4.1.2). The studies tend to focus on isolated pragmatic aspects (e.g. speech acts), such as compliments (e.g. Rose 2001), requests (e.g. Fernández-Guerra 2008), request modification (e.g. Martínez-Flor 2008), and apologies (e.g. Kite and Tatsuki 2005). By and large, they all conclude that "the film data corresponds fairly closely to naturally-occurring speech" (Rose 2001: 318). As regards pragmatological strategies, television series and film seem to be quite realistic mirrors of natural conversation.

In the area of sociolinguistics, television data has been found to be an attractive resource for dialect studies and studies on language change. Rey (2001) looks at gender roles as they are conveyed through the language in the science fiction series *Star Trek*, covering a 30-year span of episodes. Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) investigate the use of intensifiers (e.g. *really*, *very*, *so*) in the television sitcom *Friends* (1994-2004) and compare it to the results of corresponding studies which used naturally occurring conversation. Both corpus-based studies found that the television data was surprisingly similar to natural data. However, Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005: 296f.) concede that television language seems to be more innovative than natural language. They also recommend that television data should ideally be used in combination with results for naturally occurring data, as the extent to which television data can be taken as a surrogate for real-world data has not been explored sufficiently yet. Another

important observation was made by Heyd (2010): In her corpus-based study on the use and development of the plural address form *you guys* in a large corpus of *Friends* transcripts (covering ten years of airing time), she notes that television data, though scripted, can be even 'more spoken' than natural spoken language in some respects: "[T]he frequency of items considered as orality markers can be much higher in these hybrid genres than in traditional forms of orality" (Heyd 2010: 60f.).

Television language has received some attention by discourse analysts as well. For instance, Bednarek (2008) approaches television data from a perspective that involves both corpus-linguistic and discourse-analytic methods in order to investigate the language of evaluation and emotion, e.g. phrases such as *oh my God* and *(what) the hell* (Bednarek 2008: 95). Her comparison of frequency lists of n-grams in the so-called 'GiGi corpus' (based on the dramedy *Gilmore Girls*, 2000-2007) with frequency lists of natural spoken data from previous studies indicates that "the spoken discourse in GiGi has been well designed to mirror 'natural' spoken American English" (Bednarek 2008: 102).⁶⁴

4.3.4.3 *Spoken lexico-grammar*

Experts in translation studies were among the first to show scholarly interest in the lexico-grammar of FSTVL, especially those working in the area of subtitling and dubbing. Professionals in this field naturally need to know the details of film language when they are faced with the task of transferring the intricacies of spoken text into the target language. Chaume (2002: 9) mentions the "prefabrication of orality" as one of the current top issues in the field of screen translation. Recent work such as that by Mittmann (2006), Pavesi (2008), and Valdeón García (2008, 2009) confirm this ongoing trend. Many of the research studies by translation experts seem to revolve around individual features of spoken lexico-grammar, but they increasingly involve larger quantitative (corpus-based) approaches, too.

So far, the most comprehensive contribution to the lexico-grammatical description of FSTVL (vs. NOC) involving a quantitative approach comes from outside the field of translation studies, however. Quaglio (2008, 2009) conducted a large-scale corpus-based analysis of the American television sitcom *Friends* (1994-2004), which he compared to naturally occurring dialogue as represented in the American English conversation subcorpus of the *Longman Grammar Corpus*. His multidimensional analysis of register variation, a

⁶⁴ Bednarek used word lists from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) and the Longman Spoken American Corpus (LSAC). The word lists for the latter were available in Mittmann (2004). See also Bednarek (2010) for a book-length study on linguistic aspects of televisual characterization.

method adapted from Biber (1988), showed that the language in *Friends* shares the core linguistic features that are typical of natural conversation. A closer analysis of numerous linguistic features typical of spontaneous conversation, which focused on specific functional differences between the two corpora, revealed e.g. that the language in *Friends* is much less vague than in NOC, presenting lower frequencies of features such as hedges and nouns of vague reference (cf. Quaglio 2009: 86). In turn, the language in *Friends* is characterized by a much higher frequency of linguistic features associated with emotional language, such as adverbial intensifiers and expletives (cf. Quaglio 2009: 89f.). Furthermore, markers of informality (e.g. slang terms, vocatives, innovations) are also much more prevalent in *Friends* than in natural conversation (cf. Quaglio 2009: 108f.). This is in line with Tagliamonte and Roberts' (2005) as well as Heyd's (2010) findings. Despite these differences between *Friends* and the conversation corpus, the overall impression remains that television language is strikingly similar to NOC. Quaglio concludes by noting that "the use of television dialogue as a surrogate for natural conversation for the analysis of certain linguistic features seems perfectly appropriate," especially those that are "less likely to be captured by a corpus of natural conversation" (Quaglio 2009: 149).⁶⁵

Bednarek (2010) comes to similar overall conclusions as Quaglio (2009). Her study is based on a comparison of ranked frequency lists for words and n-grams in the series *Gilmore Girls* (2000-2007) and NOC. The results indicate that the language of *Gilmore Girls* is "in line with the code of realism" (Bednarek 2010: 76). At the same time, as Quaglio (2009), she notes that some linguistic features associated with vagueness and with narrative are less frequent in the television corpus, while some features associated with the expression of emotion are more frequent. Another important observation is that certain classes of features (e.g. discourse markers, hedges) do not neatly pattern: E.g. some discourse markers and hedges occur more frequently in *Gilmore Girls* than in NOC, while some others occur less frequently. Bednarek's (2011) follow-up study, based on a larger data set including the series *Gilmore Girls* as well as ten other fictional TV series of different genres, corroborates previous findings on FSTVL, i.e. the higher frequency of features related to emotionality, but

⁶⁵ Quaglio does not specify which exact features these are. He seems to be referring to linguistic phenomena occurring in settings and situations which are not represented as often in linguistic corpora as they are in television series, e.g. very intimate and highly emotional settings, greetings, and leave-takings (cf. Quaglio 2009: 111, 115, 135, 148). In other words, some features may be rarer in a corpus of natural conversation (compared to television language) not because they are rare in 'the real world,' but because of the principles of authentic data collection. "[C]onversations are usually recorded in particular places without much 'movement' of speakers. In other words, speakers do not keep arriving and leaving as frequently as in the television show" (Quaglio 2009: 135; see also Bednarek 2010: 80f.). The representation of more intimate settings in television has been mentioned above in Ch. 4.1.1, where it was interpreted as an advantage of TV material over corpus material for language learning.

lower frequency of vague and narrative language. Her results also indicate that there is great variability not only between the different television genres, but also between individual television series.⁶⁶

There have also been a number of research activities at the University of Granada which center on the relationship between conversation in audiovisual fiction and real conversation. The empirical studies made use of a small corpus of transcripts of the dialogues of 10 feature films (cf. Pérez Basanta and Rodríguez Martín 2007; see also above in Chapter 4.1.2), as well as the demographically sampled subcorpus of the spoken component of the BNC. The results are reported in several publications (Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009; Rodríguez Martín 2010a, 2010b), all of which are briefly summarized in Rodríguez Martín (2010c: 252f.). Some of the major results of their research are as follows:

- The most common conversational features (as presented by Rühlemann 2007) are amply present in feature films, e.g. pronouns, deictic expressions of time and place, backchannels, conversational contractions.
- Corpus-derived wordlists show that the 50 most frequent words are very similar in film and in NOC; film language is closer to spontaneous conversation than to written texts.
- Some conversational features are even overrepresented in comparison with spoken data from the BNC, as for example second person pronouns (this had previously been noted by Pavesi 2008: 85)
- Screen dialogue sometimes shows a greater variety of speech acts than the natural data retrieved from the BNC.

In general, the Granada researchers stress the overall similarity to NOC. This is also the conclusion reached by Forchini (2012), based on her multi-dimensional study (à la Biber 1988) of a corpus of 11 feature films. Forchini points out the "linguistic resemblance of movie conversation to face-to-face-conversation" (Forchini 2012: 121) to the extent that it "legitimizes the use of movie language to teach features of spoken language" (ibid.: 122).

Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that there are also studies emphasizing the dissimilarity of FSTVL and NOC. Mittmann (2006) is a case in point. Based on her investigation of single- and multi-word items in a 50,000-word corpus of television series as compared to natural spoken English (from the *Longman Spoken American Corpus* [LSAC]), she notes a variety of differences. For instance, she discovers that there are more greeting expressions such as *hi* and *I'll see you* in the TV series, more interactive markers such as *please* and *thank you*, and more 'alerts' (Stenström 1994) such as *look* and *listen* (Mittmann

⁶⁶ See also Valdeón García (2009) on the great frequency differences regarding spoken language features across British and American drama series.

2006: 577). Furthermore, she finds that some expletives (*god, hell*) are overused while others (e.g. the 'f-word' and its variations) are completely absent (ibid.: 578), and that discourse markers are underrepresented in her television corpus. She concludes her study with a rather pessimistic view of film language as a surrogate for naturally occurring language in linguistic study and in language teaching:

[T]he language of films cannot legitimately be studied to find out about the language of everyday dialogue. Certain single words and prefabricated expressions are overrepresented in the films, while others occur far less frequently. While it is unlikely that this will distort linguists' views of such interactions, it nonetheless means that language learners who attempt to improve their English through watching films will meet with a somewhat different kind of speech in the country itself. (Mittmann 2006: 578)

The review of previous theoretical approaches to (fictional) scripted speech and of empirical studies investigating FSTVL (vs. naturally occurring language) has provided valuable input for the development of a new framework which is intended to capture the manifold factors influencing the presence or absence of spoken language features in FSTVL. This framework is described in the following.

4.4 Film and television dialogue vs. naturally occurring conversation: A new framework

4.4.1 Preliminaries

In the following sections I will elaborate a systematic framework for explaining and predicting differences between FSTVL and naturally occurring conversation. The aim is to better understand why and how exactly FSTVL is necessarily different from natural speech, especially when it comes to features of spoken grammar. At the end of this chapter (4.4.5), I will summarize the preceding discussion by means of a taxonomy of factors influencing the linguistic shape of FSTVL, i.e. factors which have an impact on the degree of linguistic authenticity – more specifically: the degree of spokenness. This taxonomy will also be the basis for the data analysis and the interpretation of the results of the present study (see Ch. 6 and 7).

One commonly voiced conclusion regarding the differences between FSTVL and naturally occurring conversation is that FSTVL contains more written features or fewer spoken features and/or that it is a mixture of spoken and written language features. It is emphasized that these are caused by the different functions and situational circumstances of the two forms of language. In order to systematize the lexico-grammatical differences

between real conversation and the 'unreal' conversation of film and television, a useful start is to examine existing models of the grammar of conversation which capture the situational and functional differences between conversation and written registers and which associate these with specific linguistic phenomena. I therefore intend to apply Biber et al.'s (1999) model of the grammar of conversation (see Ch. 2.5.2) and examine it regarding its transferability to FSTVL. These considerations give rise to further discussion of the super- and subordinated functions and aims of film and television in general (i.e. beyond the discourse circumstances) and their reflection in language use (Ch. 4.4.3 and 4.4.4).

4.4.2 The discourse circumstances of film and television dialogue

4.4.2.1 *A note on fictionality*

An important issue in the discussion of film and television language is that (in the cases which this study focuses on) it is fictional. The fact that a television show is fictional per se does not necessarily have direct consequences for language use. The fundamental linguistic system is the same, whether language is fictional or non-fictional (see also Baumgarten 2005: 85). What is crucial, however, is what the fictionality entails: Fictionality of the spoken language usually implies at least two other things: a) that the dialogue is prepared, i.e. scripted and b) that its purpose is to entertain an audience. These two implications are also accounted for in the discussions below. I therefore do not make a theoretical distinction between fictional and non-fictional language use, but will simply consider the fictionality as part of the special discourse circumstances of television language.

4.4.2.2 *The applicability of Biber et al.'s (1999) model of the grammar of conversation to FSTVL*

As mentioned above, the discourse circumstances of film and television language are highly relevant in this context as they may be key to understanding and explaining the major linguistic differences between the two kinds of spoken language.

Biber et al. (1999) state that the linguistic properties of natural conversation (i.e. its abstract grammatical and lexical form) are to a large extent determined by the discourse circumstances governing it. Consequently, if one wants to assess the linguistic properties of fictional scripted television dialogue as performed by the actors, one way is to analyze systematically the extent to which the situational characteristics identified by Biber et al.

(1999) also apply to scripted television conversation. By doing that, one may be able to predict and explain the extent to which the associated linguistic features are present in TV language, too.

4.4.2.2.1 The spoken medium

The first and only discourse circumstance which is identical for television and natural conversation is that in both instances, conversation takes place in the spoken medium. The term 'medium' here refers exclusively to the channel of the actual transmission of language (i.e. not to the 'medium television' as opposed to unmediated, face-to-face communication). In both television dialogue and natural dialogue, language is transmitted by sound-waves, i.e. language is produced in speaking and received in hearing. The characters of a television show communicate with each other by way of speaking. This observation is true irrespective of whether the speaking is planned or spontaneous, real or invented, directed at one or more addressees. At the same time, it is also clear that simply because both types of language take place in the spoken medium, they are not necessarily linguistically similar (cf. Ch. 2.3).

4.4.2.2.2 Shared context and avoidance of elaboration/specification

The conversations between the characters of a film or TV show also take place in a shared context, but, of course, apart from the face-to-face interlocutor(s) of the speakers (i.e. the characters), the television viewers have to be considered as 'secondary addressees' too. They are effectively the 'targets' of the dialogues, and they certainly do not have the same access to context information (and socio-cultural background knowledge) as the face-to-face interlocutors, i.e. the characters. Referring to stage and film dialogue, Herbst (1994: 151) makes a distinction between two levels of communication: 1. communication between the actors on stage or in film and 2. communication with the audience. This twofold communication makes for a fundamental difference between TV conversation and natural spoken language.⁶⁷ Herbst's distinction loosely corresponds to the commonly used opposition in literary studies (esp. narratology) between the 'diegetic' (text-internal) and 'extradiegetic' (extra-textual) level, where 'diegetic' elements refer to elements of the narrated, i.e. fictional

⁶⁷ In a similar context, viz. the context of dialogue in drama/theater, Tan speaks of a "*multiple or duplicitous communicative act*" (1993: 29; emphasis in original). On a range of alternative communication models in the field of mediated discourse, see e.g. Baumgarten (2005: 87ff.) and Bubl (2006: 46ff.).

world, while 'extradiegetic' elements relate to a world outside the narrated world. This dichotomy also applies to communication in films or television shows.

[E]very instance of language use in a film is simultaneously relevant for the onscreen diegetic communication and the extradiegetic communication between the film and the audience. To be more precise, every linguistic unit in the film text has a communicative function for the communicative event depicted onscreen and the characters involved in it, and it also has a communicative function in the communication between the film text and the audience. [...] [T]hese functions may or may not be identical. (Baumgarten 2005: 89)

Bubel (2006: 46) speaks of television dialogue as "screen-to-face discourse" (vs. "face-to-face discourse") and assigns the role of an 'overhearer' to the television audience, drawing on Goffman's (1976: 260) terminology. According to Goffman, an 'overhearer' is an unratified listener to conversation who participates (intentionally or unintentionally) by listening in without being directly addressed by the speakers. Bubel (2006: 51f.) thus claims that, to a great extent, this relation also applies to the television audience, which assumes the role of 'overhearers,' and the televised conversing characters, who have the role of the 'speakers.' However, it has to be considered that on another level, the audience is definitely ratified and encouraged to listen in. The actors (and all other participants of the film/TV production) of the extradiegetic world are well aware that there is an 'overhearer,' but, of course, the fictional characters they portray must remain unaware of additional listeners. The language produced by actors is designed towards the needs and interests of the audience, while the characters of the fictional world appear to address only each other:

Utterances are designed with overhearers in mind, on the basis of an estimate of the audience's world knowledge and knowledge of the characters gleaned from already overheard and observed interactions. (Bubel 2006: 55)

The fact that the audience is a 'secondary addressee' of the dialogues means that the content and the form of the dialogues need to make up for the 'reduced shared context' of the participants of the conversation (i.e. the characters of the fictional world and the audience). In other words, the presence of an audience will influence *what* is said and *how* it is said. Wray (2008: 184) explains along these lines that "the audience of onlookers requires inauthentic detail and contextualization, and a greater degree of directness in the depiction of a character's thoughts and feelings than occurs in normal conversation." As a consequence, language may have to be more lexically explicit and less grammatically reduced in film and television than in real life, among other things, as the audience does not share all the necessary information that the characters in the fictional world have (cf. Quaglio 2009: 78). This particular aspect is

something that must be accounted for mostly in scriptwriting, an issue which will be turned to in more detail below (Ch. 4.4.3.3).

The idea that a TV production team creates the characters' utterances with an audience in mind connects to some extent with the theory of 'audience design' as developed by Bell (1984, 1997, 2001). This theory tries to explain style-shifting (i.e. intra-speaker variation) and assumes that "[s]peakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience" (1997: 244) and that this design "applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire" (ibid.: 245). Bell distinguishes different categories of audience members, which differ in the degree to which they influence the style of the speaker:

The main character in the audience is the second person, the *addressee*, who is known, ratified and addressed. Among the other, third persons who may be present, the *auditors* are known and ratified interlocutors within the group. Third parties whom the speaker knows to be there, but who are not ratified as part of the group, are *overhearers*. And other parties whose presence the speaker does not even know about are *eavesdroppers*. [...] Speakers are able to subtly adjust their style when a stranger joins a group and becomes an 'auditor' – present in the group but not directly addressed. They even respond to the presence of an overhearer who is within earshot but is not part of the speaker's conversational circle. (Bell 1997: 246; emphasis in original)⁶⁸

The different persons in the audience are illustrated in Figure 4-2. Bell suggests picturing them as being positioned in concentric circles, with the audience members closest to the speaker exerting the most influence on the speaker's style.

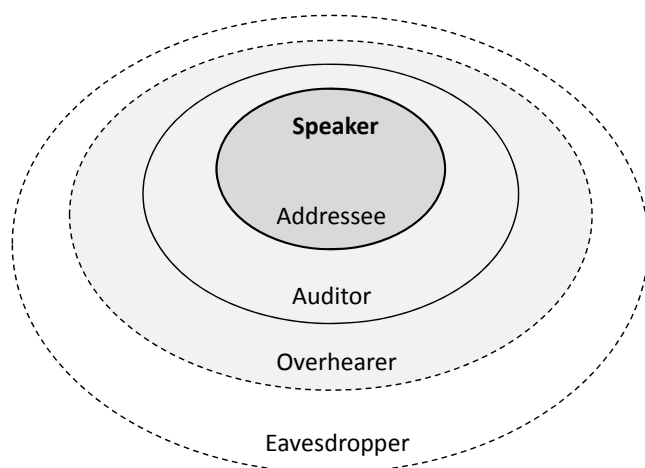


Figure 4-2: Speaker and audience in a speech situation according to Bell's (1984) theory of 'audience design'

If one wants to apply this model to the 'speech situation' in FSTVL, one has to distinguish again different levels. On the one hand, one can consider the speaking characters as the

⁶⁸ Note that Bell's (1984) definition of an 'overhearer' is thus not identical to Goffman's (1976: 260) and Babel's (2006) definitions.

speakers, and the TV viewers as 'eavesdroppers,' as the TV characters do not know that they are being listened to and (supposedly) their manner of speaking is no different from a situation without an audience. On the other hand, one could consider the actors as 'speakers' and the TV viewers as 'auditors,' as they are known, ratified, present in the group but (with some exceptions) not directly addressed. From this perspective, the 'speakers' indeed adjust their speech to some extent to the TV viewers.

Apart from these two levels of communication which need to be considered, there are a number of other factors which restrict the direct applicability of Bell's audience design theory to the study of FSTVL. First of all, Bell's model is intended to explain intra-speaker variation, i.e. variation within one individual speaker. In FSTVL, the 'designer' of language may be a whole production team, which carefully crafts the dialogues. Second, the style adjustment according to Bell's original model is "generally manifested in a speaker shifting their style to be more like that of the person they are is [sic] talking to – this is 'convergence' in terms of the Speech/Communication Accommodation Theory developed by Giles and associates [...]" (Bell 1997: 244). In contrast, in FSTVL, there is not really a style shift which makes the language of the fictional characters more similar to the language used by the TV viewers. The speech of the characters is adjusted to the targeted TV viewers' *receptive needs* rather than to their *productive norms*, as it were.

Irrespective of whether one wants to classify the TV viewers as 'overhearers,' 'eavesdroppers,' 'auditors,' or simply 'secondary addressees,' it is clear that in general, the influence of the TV audience on the language of film and television cannot be underestimated and will therefore be emphasized throughout this study. The presence of an audience is likely to not only impact on the linguistic features associated with the shared context of conversation (e.g. pro-forms, ellipsis, deictic expressions, vague expressions), but also on other characteristics, viz. the interactiveness, the expression of stance, and the vernacularity of conversation (see below).

4.4.2.2.3 Interactiveness

Another communicative circumstance of 'real' conversation is its interactiveness (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1045). Conversation in film is also dynamically co-constructed by various interlocutors, i.e. the characters in the fictional world, and it is characterized by a constant back-and-forth movement. However, the process of interaction is planned (see also 4.4.2.2.5) and thus fewer naturally occurring phenomena such as overlaps, interruptions, and incomplete

utterances can be expected (cf. Quaglio 2009: 3f.). Interaction in natural conversation implies that meaning can be co-constructed, that conversation is a 'giving and taking' between the participants. The audience of a television show, however, as secondary participants of the fictional conversation, can only *take*, which means that e.g. they cannot ask questions in case they needed clarification. The creators of the dialogues must consider that interaction which is too quick or too 'chaotic' might hinder comprehension on the part of the viewers.

4.4.2.2.4 Expression of stance

One characteristic of natural conversation that has been stated as contrasting with written registers is that it frequently expresses "personal stance" (Biber et al. 2002: 433), meaning that "speakers in conversation have a primary concern for their feelings, attitudes, evaluations, and assessment of likelihood" (ibid.). This circumstance also applies to televised conversation. In fact, since the ultimate aim of film and television is to entertain an audience, it is to be expected that there are even more intense expressions of emotion than in natural conversation (cf. also the findings by Quaglio 2009 and Bednarek 2010). The showing and telling of human emotions, actions, and reactions in emotionally charged situations are at the heart of story-telling (see also Ch. 4.4.4.1 on the entertaining function of film and TV).

4.4.2.2.5 Real-time constraints

This is the discourse circumstance which, as e.g. Herbst (1994) and Wray (2008) have pointed out, distinguishes television dialogue from natural dialogue most clearly. Crucially, conversation in film does not take place in real time in so far as the actors do *not* have to spontaneously create and interpret spoken utterances, at least not to the same extent as in real spontaneous conversation – the speakers only pretend that their conversations are spontaneous. Actors, as opposed to 'regular' speakers in their daily lives, are in fact *not* "continually faced with the need both to plan and to execute their utterances in real time, 'online' or 'on the fly'" (Biber et al. 1999: 1048). Most of the planning of content and form of the utterances takes place in advance; actors have learned their lines beforehand and do not constantly have to create and edit as they speak. This is important because it is precisely this real-time pressure which gives rise to many of the typical spoken features in spontaneous conversation. As a consequence, conversation in film can be expected to display e.g. fewer dysfluency features such as pauses, hesitations, and repeats. The execution of the utterance still

takes place in real time, however, i.e. the mental and the physical aspects of speech production are to some extent separated.

4.4.2.2.6 Vernacularity

By definition, natural conversation most typically takes place in private, rather informal settings (see also 2.4.3). The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Mayor 2009: 371) defines it as "an informal talk in which people exchange news, feelings, and thoughts." Along these lines, Biber et al. (2002: 435) state that it is "little influenced by the traditions of prestige and correctness often associated with the written word." Conversation in film is by and large characterized by the same circumstances, irrespective of whether the informality or intimacy is fictional. Conversations in private, informal settings are frequently shown in the fictional worlds of film and television – as has been mentioned above (4.1.1; footnote 65), there are probably even more private and intimate settings in fictional film and TV than in the spoken data sampled for linguistic corpora. This means that vernacular forms and informal language choices can be expected in FSTVL to a similar or even higher degree. Furthermore, informal language use may be perceived by the audience as 'cool,' 'hip,' or even funny, so that scriptwriters may intentionally script a large variety of informal features for the purpose of entertainment. Quaglio's (2009: 107–121) results, for instance, may be an indication of such a tendency.

On the other hand, the presence of an audience restricts the degree of vernacularity in so far as e.g. the use of heavy dialect features may be avoided. This demonstrates again the notion of a limited shared context in film and television dialogue: The dialect-speaking characters of a film can understand each other perfectly when they converse, but the TV viewer, the secondary addressee, may not share this dialect and can have trouble understanding. Furthermore, the use of swearwords and other taboo expressions is likely to be rather limited, since such language uses are often considered inappropriate for the target audience, e.g. if the program is targeted at children and teenagers.

4.4.3 Realism and naturalness as a goal in film and television

The preceding discussion has shown that there are substantial differences between the discourse circumstances of FSTVL and of naturally occurring conversation, especially regarding the (lack of) real time constraints and the limited shared context. Such differences are very likely to be reflected in language use. The degree to which FSTVL is similar to NOC

in terms of its spokenness is additionally influenced by a number of other variables, which have already been hinted at throughout the previous sections. Among them are the genre of the production in question, the scriptwriter(s), and the actor(s). These variables will be discussed in more detail as they offer a further explanation for the differences between FSTVL and natural conversation, but also for differences within FSTVL, i.e. between individual films or television programs.

4.4.3.1 'Genre' as a limiting factor

Genre is one decisive factor for (linguistic) authenticity in film and television talk. Washburn (2001) draws on Rings (1986) when she states that authenticity in television language is a matter of degree and "that the degree of authenticity of any piece of language will vary according to its purpose, spontaneity, knowledge of audience, and the skill of the writers" (Washburn 2001: 22). The skills of the writers will be discussed in the next section, but it is important to acknowledge that the genre per se will influence how much linguistic authenticity a scriptwriter actually wants or needs to achieve. Pavesi points out that there is a "variation in degrees of approximation to spontaneous spoken language even within the same audiovisual type [...], with thrillers, fantasy or costume films presumably differing from comedies or psychological films in their effort to simulate impromptu speech" (Pavesi 2008: 80). Sitcoms, for instance, have different purposes than drama series. Since the main intention in sitcoms is to get the viewers to laugh, one punch line is followed by the next and interaction is very quick and dense, language can be assumed to be used somewhat differently than, say, in a crime drama series. In the light of this variety of television formats it will always be rather difficult to draw any sort of general conclusion on the nature of 'television language.'

4.4.3.2 The 'code of realism' and its implication for language

Taylor (2004: 174f.) points out that authenticity in language was not a major aim in the beginning of talking films. Feature films in the 1930s were characterized by striking stiltedness: "Even with the advent of talking films, the level of artificiality [found in silent films with intertitles] did not drop and film language remained theatrically influenced" (ibid.: 175). During the subsequent decades, natural-sounding dialogues have gained in popularity (cf. Bubel 2006: 43). Nowadays, the 'mimesis' of the real world is an overarching goal in the majority of contemporary, mainstream feature films and television shows in much the same

way as in other genres such as plays and novels, too (cf. Richardson 2010: 5). Marshall and Werndly (2002: 83) suggest that "[o]ften our evaluation of a television programme as enjoyable or not resides in its capacity to represent our perception of the real." The so-called 'code of realism' (cf. Kozloff 2000: 33) that most modern filmic productions adhere to is described by Babel (2006: 43) as "[t]he imitation of reality" to which "all elements of the film text" and the "filmic conventions" contribute. This imitation of reality involves not only the core elements of film such as editing, acting, and, essentially, the construction of plot and character, but also language (cf. Baumgarten 2003: 20f.; Richardson 2010: 4). Kozloff (2000: 47) defines 'realistic text' as "adher[ing] to a complex code of what a culture at a given time agrees to accept as plausible, everyday, authentic." 'Linguistic realism' is therefore understood here as mirroring naturally occurring verbal interaction very closely so that the audience gets the impression that the characters of the fictional world speak how 'real people' interact with each other.

Note that the notions of 'realism' and 'realistic' are somewhat ambiguous in the sense that there can be different reference points of what defines a realistic depiction of plot, character, and language. Bednarek (2010) draws on Neale (1990: 47) when she mentions a "distinction between *cultural* and *generic* verisimilitude [...]. The former relates to conformity with the commonsense social world, including its norms, expectations and values, whereas the latter refers to conformity with the world of the genre, and allows a play with fantasy, for example, the presence of vampires in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Warner Brothers, 1997-2003) and unexplained phenomena in *The X Files* (FOX, 1993-2002)" (Bednarek 2010: 22; emphasis in original). Some events, characters and language uses may e.g. not have cultural verisimilitude and thus are not 'realistic,' but they may have generic verisimilitude and are therefore 'plausible' (cf. Bednarek 2010: 45) because they fit within the framework of the fictional world. The term 'verisimilitude' thus describes the probability of a phenomenon within a defined world (diegetic or extra-diegetic), whereas 'realism' is more often used only in reference to the probability of a phenomenon in the real (i.e. extra-diegetic) world. When the terms 'linguistic realism,' 'linguistic naturalness' or 'linguistic authenticity' are used in the present study, they refer to the broader cultural and social verisimilitude, i.e. 'similarity to naturally occurring language use in the real world.'

4.4.3.3 *Naturalness as a goal in scriptwriting*

4.4.3.3.1 *Aspiring to natural dialogue*

It is fair to assume that most contemporary scriptwriters, or, in Valdeón García's (2009) words, 'audiovisual fiction writers,' consciously aim for naturalness when they write their dialogues. This certainly applies to the American filmmaking business (cf. Kozloff 2000: 47), where one goal is to create 'realistic' dialogues. Realistic dialogues contribute to a high degree of overall realism and to enabling the viewer to identify with the characters and the depicted situations. An adequate representation of natural speech would then also include the lexicogrammatical features which are typical of spontaneous spoken language.

4.4.3.3.2 *The role of screenwriting guides, language awareness, and attitudes*

It is well worth looking at how scriptwriters learn and try to make the dialogues sound 'real' to the viewer's ears. Richardson (2010: 65) states that there are no textbooks specifically designed to teach writing dialogues for television. The art of writing natural-sounding dialogue is usually treated (rather superficially) in a single chapter of screenwriting handbooks, though the topic of 'naturalness' does not receive much attention. Quaglio (2009: 10), too, notes that the more general manuals for screenwriters on how to write dialogues virtually do not give any concrete linguistic advice, i.e. there is no information on which linguistic features should receive special attention etc. For instance, Smith (1999: 148) in his guide to writing TV sitcoms recommends using a "conversational style." He also mentions that variables such as age and social background should be considered for an appropriate representation of language, but he remains unclear about what exactly this entails. The consideration of speaker background is also mentioned in Davis' (2008) manual for scriptwriters. Davis even comes up with a typology of different types of dialogues according to their degree of 'naturalism,' which in its most extreme form may include a whole range of performance phenomena of naturally occurring speech. If screenwriters are to write dialogue that resembles authentic conversation to a large degree, they probably have to rely on their native speaker intuition. It is highly unlikely, though, that the common screenwriter is consciously aware of all the typical features of spoken conversation and he/she will particularly not have a realistic idea of the relative frequencies of the spoken features. In this context, Richardson points out some linguists'

[...] suspicion that dramatists themselves don't fully understand what naturally occurring talk is really like. As ordinary language users, they, like the rest of us, mentally edit out disfluency and other complications in the everyday business of making sense – and carry this deafness over to their representational work. [...] But some dramatists and directors certainly do have an awareness of the ways dialogue can be fashioned that move it away from standard-issue, one-speaker-at-a-time fluency. (Richardson 2010: 45)

Editing out performance phenomena can well be a quite conscious decision on the part of the writer, though. Richardson (2010: 65) explains that "[w]ithin the industry [...] such departures from fluency are regarded as matters of delivery (the province of the actor) not as matters of script (the province of the writer) [...]". For instance, in his guide on television writing, Brody (2003: 215) explicitly advises against naturalistic use of filled pauses (e.g. *uh*, *uhm*) as he views them as superfluous instructions to actors as regards their performance.⁶⁹ According to Richardson, this is a noteworthy expression of the ideology surrounding performance phenomena, i.e. that these supposedly do not have any important function:

[S]creenwriting culture constructs its division of labor between writers and actors through a practical implementation of the general folk-linguistic understanding that expressions of disfluency are not part of *the (verbal) meaning* but instead are performance *errors*. (Richardson 2010: 65; emphasis in original)

Indeed, in his guide to screenwriting, McKee (1999) singles out performance phenomena when he describes the *deficiencies* of real conversation (as opposed to screen dialogue):

Dialogue is not conversation. Eavesdrop on any coffee shop conversation and you'll realize in a heartbeat you'd never put that slush onscreen. Real conversation is full of awkward pauses, poor word choices and phrasing, non sequiturs, pointless repetitions; it seldom makes a point or achieves closure. (McKee 1999: 388)

Negative attitudes towards vagueness markers (e.g. hedges such as *kind of*, *I think*) become very clear when e.g. Brody (2003: 215), who calls these features "qualifying words," likens them to "the proverbial plague" and dismisses them as "unnecessary and redundant." In this context, professional screenwriter Jane Espenson (2006) also notes the objections which show runners might have against what she calls "handles," i.e. discourse items such as *well*, *look*, *I mean*, and *you know*, although she personally does acknowledge their dramatic significance.

Other screenwriting guides are less critical of the use of hesitation phenomena, discourse markers, and other features typically associated with natural, unplanned conversation. The renowned U.S. American screenwriting teacher Syd Field (1984) advises students of scriptwriting to consciously observe, document, and analyze naturally occurring language in

⁶⁹ Further objections to integrating performance phenomena in scripted speech will be discussed below in Ch. 4.4.4.

order to recognize the 'real' ways of language use, large parts of which tend to go unnoticed otherwise.

Tape a conversation with a friend or acquaintance. Play it back and listen to it. Notice how fragmented it is, how quickly thoughts come and go. If you want to see what "real" dialogue looks like, type it up in screenplay form. Listen for mannerisms and inflections, find the *style* of speech, the phrasing. Then think about your character speaking in those "rhythms," or in that "language." (Field 1984: 70; emphasis in original)

In his view, screenwriters need to research natural language use just like they need to research other aspects of the character's background, and they need to create dialogue that is not "clear and elegant prose" (Field 1984: 70), but that reflects how people really talk. He points out that screenwriters have to acknowledge that "[p]eople talk in fragments, run-on sentences, incomplete thoughts, changing mood and subject with the blink of an eye" (ibid.) and implement this insight in their writing.⁷⁰ More precise and generally accepted guidelines on how to render dialogue natural and which features to consider appear strikingly absent – at least for the English language. An interesting example can be given for the Catalan film/TV industry, however: Chaume (2001: 79f.), a Spain-based scholar of translation studies focusing on screen translation, mentions that the Catalan TV station *Televisió de Catalunya* gives precise guidelines on language use to Spanish/Catalan scriptwriters of fictional television shows. Their style manual recommends, for instance, using a colloquial register and short sentences, the preference of active voice over passive voice, frequent use of ellipsis and stereotypical conversational structures. However, they explicitly advise against using digressive and redundant language, i.e. language which is marked by e.g. hesitation and incomplete sentence structure, unless these features function in the development of a character.

4.4.3.3.3 Naturalness beyond spoken grammar

Naturalness in language does not only concern linguistic variation which is related to the differences between speech and writing, but also other forms of variation (which, however, may be more prevalent in spoken registers) such as regional variation, social variation as well as registers typical of specific groups portrayed on screen. Features of spoken grammar are only one aspect to be considered. For instance, the imitation of a natural spoken style also

⁷⁰ It should be noted, however, that Field's (1984) guide to screenwriting was written at a time when realism, i.e. realistic representation of the 'off-screen world,' including language, was not yet as common as it is in today's film and television culture. The inclusion of conversational features has become much more usual in the past decades as part of aiming at linguistic realism, especially in the English and American film and television industry (see above; also Kozloff 2000: 47; Valdeón García 2008: 118, 131; Valdeón García 2009: 197).

takes place on the level of vocabulary: Some scriptwriters might actually rely more on informal lexical choices such as slang or the use of swearwords in order to achieve a (supposedly) realistic spoken style. Vocabulary that is associated with informal spoken language might in fact be the most obvious choice, as it is not influenced by attitudinal factors to the same extent as many aspects of spoken grammar, it is easier to 'prefabricate' and perform, and it serves the overall aim of entertaining an audience.

Although the final product (i.e. the final shooting script) is usually a joint effort in the sense that several authors contribute to the script so that the script is rarely a reflection of the linguistic intuition and perception of one single person alone (see also 4.4.4.5), it seems only logical that a script-writing team can never capture all the (current) linguistic details characteristic of all subgroups represented in the fictional world. This is why some productions use 'language consultants,' as it were, i.e. people who are familiar with the groups who can give advice on natural language use. For example, Trotta (2003: 21) notes that on occasion "movie makers, concerned with the street credibility of their characters, seek the advice of initiated members of the subculture portrayed." Similarly, Grant (14/06/2011; p.c.) found that for the production of the television soap opera *Shortland Street* (1992-present), the production company South Pacific Pictures employed several language consultants of different age groups whose job it was to ensure that the language used by the characters actually represented what was currently en vogue.

4.4.3.4 *Naturalness as a goal in acting*

Of course, naturalness is not only a common goal in scriptwriting, but also in acting. After all, the natural 'outcome' ultimately hinges on the performance of the actors, i.e. on what they do with the raw material given to them. Wray (2008: 180ff.) claims that actors come across as most natural when two conditions are met. First of all, it is beneficial if they are officially part of the scriptwriting team and are thus co-writers of the script. This means that they are more familiar with the text from the start and more comfortable with the choice of words, which are (partly) their own. Characteristics 2 and 4 as displayed in Table 4-1 would thus be partly reversed ("adopted from someone else" → "personally generated"). The second condition concerns the degree of improvisation, which depends not only on the actor's skills but is also influenced by the first factor: Being the writer of a script, an actor is implicitly "licensed to disregard the written script as a reference point and present an improvised performance" (Wray 2008: 184f.), at least more so than if he/she was not involved in the writing process.

Less textual adherence to the written script is likely to result in less linguistic adherence to written norms (cf. Wray 2008: 183f.). More often, however, actors do not play a major part in the scriptwriting process.

Nevertheless, actors are certainly expected to ad-lib to some extent during their performance. In the context of his study of the feature film *Notting Hill* (1998), Taylor notes that

[i]n enacting film scenes, modern method actors interact in a realistic way adapting the language given them in the script to the context in which they are supposed to find themselves. This language becomes, in Gregory and Carroll's (1978) words, 'written to be spoken as if not written' as the actors simulate reality and actually add, remove and bend the original, behaving as they would if they were actually in that context. (Taylor 2004: 80)

Gilmore (2010: 119) even speaks of a "transformation process which occurs when a script is interpreted by actors and negotiated during filming." This means that every transcript will vary to some degree from the original screenplay, and this affects to a large extent spoken language features such as discourse markers, hedges, hesitations, etc.

For instance, Taylor (2004) finds that there are considerable frequency differences regarding discourse markers and filled pauses between the original film script and the actual transcription of the words that the actors uttered in the broadcast version of the film *Notting Hill*. Taylor concludes that

[i]f all the oft identified features of spoken language (hesitation, repetition, ellipsis of subject pronouns, auxiliaries, articles and initial parts of set expressions, pre- and post-placed items, etc.) are 'primed out' in scripts, it seems that they are to some extent primed in again by the actors when they interact. (Taylor 2004: 80)

Similar observations on the differences between the scripts and transcripts of film and TV programs are made by Mittmann (2006) and Wray (2008: 180ff.), who observes the addition of discourse markers and backchannels to the camera script of a British sketch show.

While good improvisation skills are unquestionably among the most important characteristics of a good actor, improvisation also comes with some risks. One has been mentioned before, which is the risk of offending the scriptwriter who carefully drafted the text and who could be rather skeptical of alterations to his/her work (see Wray 2008: 175, 183 as well as Marshall and Werndly 2002: 82 on actors' limited freedom to improvise). The other risk an actor takes when improvising is that an alteration of the text may have serious consequences on the level of content: During the act of improvisation some details might be added or left out which are, however, important for the plot. Wray thus points out that

a fixed version [...] is necessary for quality control, to protect the integrity and comprehensibility of the final product. [...] No matter how much is gained in terms of naturalness of delivery, it is of no value if the audience loses the point. (Wray 2008: 185)

It seems that it is quite a challenge for actors to meet the expectations of both the scriptwriter(s) and the audience. Actors need to reproduce the script text, respectful of the creative output of the scriptwriter, and at the same time improvise to make the performance appear spontaneous:

[...] [T]here is an inherent tension between the need, as part of the performance, to convey spontaneity, and the actual absence of spontaneity when adhering to a script. The many differences in form and provenance of scripted speech compared with spontaneous speech stack the odds against sounding entirely natural. (Wray 2008: 173)

Be that as it may, one important implication is that transcripts of film material appear to be a much more useful data base for analyzing the language of film (see also Forchini 2012: 31; Rodríguez Martín 2010b: 152). After all, the script is the language crafted by a few scriptwriters, but the final product, i.e. the language as it is performed by the actors, is the one that is made public to a large audience, which is why it is probably of more interest to researchers.

4.4.4 Beyond realism: Further factors influencing the degree of linguistic authenticity in film and TV

[B]ecause of the peculiarities of both the big and small screens, writers cannot be expected to reproduce speech as it can be encountered in everyday life. Restrictions are both external and self-imposed, and they derive from economic and aesthetic factors. (Valdeón García 2009: 201)⁷¹

While naturalness in language is a general aim of most scriptwriters and actors, aspiring to realistic representations of language may clash with other objectives in the field of film and television. Dialogue in film and television needs to fulfill many other functions apart from adhering to the code of realism (cf. Kozloff 2000: 47ff.) and so screenwriters have to do much more than create dialogue which sounds natural to the audience (cf. e.g. Batty and Waldeback 2008: 62–76).

For instance, the successful screenwriter and screenwriting teacher Christopher Keane claims in his screenwriting guide that "dialogue is, first and foremost, a function of character" (Keane 1998: 108) and the aim is to craft "[s]trong, believable, character-driven dialogue" (ibid.) which "breeds conflict" (ibid.). For Keane, naturalness of screen dialogue is secondary.

⁷¹ External restrictions according to Valdeón García (2009: 201) include requirements by the film and TV producers, the TV channels and even advertising companies.

The aim is of course also to create plausible dialogue, but it does not have to be an entirely realistic portrayal of language use.⁷² Similarly, Batty and Waldeback (2008) state that a major purpose of dialogue is to "reveal and define character, raise active dramatic and thematic questions, depict relationship dynamics, and establish tone, genre and world" (Batty and Waldeback 2008: 63).

The following sections thus review in some more detail a number of factors which restrict or boost the frequency with which spoken language features are represented in FSTVL, and so influence the degree to which FSTVL can be linguistically similar to NOC. Most of them overlap with the altered discourse circumstances and also relate to the factors 'genre,' 'scriptwriter,' and 'actor.' Since they are significant for explaining the nature of FSTVL, I dedicate an extra section to them here. The first two factors both relate to the presence of an audience, which is indeed a crucial element influencing many aspects of the linguistic nature of television dialogue. The other two factors relate to the characteristics of specific linguistic features and to some external restrictions imposed by conventions in the film and TV industry.

4.4.4.1 The purpose of entertainment

The entertaining function of fictional film and TV and some of its possible consequences for language have already been addressed at several points above, e.g. in the discussion of the expression of stance and vernacularity in FSTVL (4.4.2.1, 4.4.2.2.4, 4.4.2.2.6). This function may clearly influence the frequency with which certain language features are present in FSTVL, and it is in several aspects rather incompatible with the objective of a natural representation of language.⁷³

In general, although film and TV viewers naturally want to be able to identify with the depicted situations and characters, they are aware that a feature film or TV program is fictional, and not everything that happens in a film or TV program needs to be realistic. In fact, it is sometimes the not so common and 'unthought-of' things in a film that make it interesting. There is thus a tension between a film's authenticity in the sense of 'realism,' which aims to convince the viewers, and an authenticity in the sense of 'normality' or 'ordinariness,' which might not be exciting enough to spark the viewers' interest (see also Taylor 2004: 76). This is also true for questions of language use. What Amend (2003)

⁷² See Keane (1998: 110ff.) on the functions of screen dialogue; also Field (1984: 71ff.).

⁷³ On the difficult task of constructing dialogue that strikes a balance between being realistic on the one hand and extraordinary and entertaining on the other hand, see also Wray (2008: 175).

recommends to students of narrative fiction-writing in a chapter on how to write fictional dialogues applies very well to screenwriting, too:

[S]imply capturing the sound of lifelike dialogue isn't enough. Actually, the realism of good dialogue is something of an illusion. Readers of fiction have a higher expectation for dialogue than the conversations of real life. Fictional dialogue needs to have more impact, focus, relevance, than ordinary conversation. The truth is most real-life conversations are dull [...]. (Amend 2003: 131)

The TV audience expects 'good dialogue' and the makers of audiovisual fiction usually try to meet these expectations. The definition of 'good dialogue' includes contradictory notions: On the one hand, dialogues are supposed to be believable and natural-sounding. On the other hand, they are supposed to be clever, gripping, humorous, intelligent, and marked by rich lexical choices – which is, ironically, rather untypical of natural spontaneous dialogue – in order to entertain the audience (see also Brody 2003: 215). The audience enjoys dialogues which are out of the ordinary and more expressive, witty, and well-crafted than what 'normal' people could produce under real-time circumstances. Viewers 'consume' films and television shows for leisure, and they are eager to hear imaginative and playful uses of language for the same reasons that readers enjoy poetry and narrative literature. They derive pleasure from exceptionally 'good' (in the second sense) uses of language and so they accept a lower degree of linguistic realism for the sake of entertainment. For instance, FSTVL is likely to be different from NOC in that it displays greater lexical diversity, indicated e.g. by a higher type-token ratio than NOC.⁷⁴

4.4.4.2 *The necessity of intelligibility*

A second factor has to do with the intelligibility of FSTVL. Baumgarten (2003) points out that scripted language in film is necessarily different from naturally occurring speech because it is carefully constructed to be understood by the viewer (see also Ch. 4.4.2.2.2). Everything the characters say must be "verbally decipherable" (ibid.) to the viewer "even when it would be incomprehensible in an identical real life situation" (ibid.). If "everything that is uttered needs to be acoustically and propositionally intelligible to the viewer" (Baumgarten 2003: 21), it certainly affects the selection and implementation of linguistic features as well. Especially performance phenomena can make it difficult to follow a speaker. In the same vein,

⁷⁴ I have already reported on preliminary results which point towards this tendency in Dose (2011). For example, the standardized type-token ratio in my corpus of FSTVL (i.e. a preliminary version of CATS) was more similar to the values for written fiction texts than to the values for natural conversation (i.e. data from Biber et al. 1999: 53). This was explained by the entertaining function of film and TV and the resulting aim for lexical diversity as well as by the greater amount of planning time available.

Quaglio (2009: 4) mentions that if too many overlaps "were to be portrayed in television dialogue, comprehension would certainly be hindered."

It is unclear, then, to what extent it is desirable to 'confront' or 'burden' the audience with a high (yet natural) frequency of features such as filled pauses, incomplete utterances, repeats, and false starts. Such features are very frequent in naturally occurring conversation, but indeed they do not exactly simplify the communication process on part of the receiver or addressee, which, in the case of film and television, is ultimately the TV viewer. While these phenomena certainly add to a high degree of authenticity and thus are in line with the realist tradition, they are undesirable when they impede comprehension.

Furthermore, performance phenomena do not really enhance the viewing experience and might be considered 'annoying' by the viewer who wants to be entertained: Intelligibility of language is thus related to the factor of entertainment; and both issues are much more significant in screen dialogue than in naturally occurring conversation.

[...] the writers carry out a meticulous job which consists not only in producing reasonably natural language, but also in striking the right balance when eliminating interference or disfluency: too much of it would render the text unpalatable and, therefore, would never be accepted by television and film producers, but too little would make the speech sound artificial and stilted. We are talking about imitating orality within certain boundaries. (Valdeón García 2009: 216)

As was shown above, the degree of naturalness depends to a large extent on the particular writers' or directors' preferences and priorities. Some consider a realistic portrayal of language more important than entertainment, even if it is at the cost of easy comprehension (cf. Babel 2006: 44).

4.4.4.3 *The performability of spoken language features*

A further factor which affects the degree of spokenness in FSTVL is what could be called the 'performability' of spoken features. Some features occur frequently in natural speech, but are very difficult to act, i.e. to fake, as it were. Especially hesitation phenomena are rather difficult to memorize and perform in a natural sounding way, i.e. when they do not originate from genuine planning and production difficulties. The skills of the performing actors have already been mentioned above, but it is important to keep in mind that some characteristics of authentic spoken language are by nature difficult to reproduce (regardless of whether they are indicated in the script or improvised by the actor). One result is that they may be omitted in the script from the start.

4.4.4.4 *Time and space constraints in scripting and shooting dialogues*

The time and space constraints placed on scriptwriting for film and television further complicate the picture. In the film and television business, time and space are extremely limited, i.e. scriptwriters are dependent on restrictions by the networks and producers regarding the maximum number of pages in the script and the maximum number of minutes for the final televised product, i.e. airing times.⁷⁵ Performance phenomena in speech, for instance, natural though they may be, tend to lengthen the production process: They tend to add considerably to the length of the script and to the actual performance in simple terms of time and space. The time and space that is given to scriptwriters and actors, however, may not be 'wasted' with uneconomical phenomena which only add to a realistic representation, but do not advance the story and/or develop character. Valdeón García claims that "[f]ilm and television scriptwriters opt for those features that make their dialogue more natural, but deprive them of those elements that would prolong a conversation unnecessarily" (Valdeón García 2007: 113). In practice it seems difficult to draw a clear line between these two categories and assign precise functions to the various spoken features available to scriptwriters, as it is exactly those features which derive from the natural planning difficulties, i.e. which lengthen the production process (e.g. false starts, repeats), which are prototypical of natural speech and thus markers of naturalness.

It appears that in the scriptwriting process, performance phenomena are preferably used solely if they have identifiable dramatic function (see e.g. Valdeón García 2009: 205), and in 'smaller dosages' to create realism. "[E]very word of dialogue in a screenplay should count. Screen time is precious so there is no room for wasted exchanges or superfluous waffle" (Batty and Waldeback 2008: 67). Likewise, Brody (2003: 213) and Keane (1998: 110) stipulate that good dialogue must be concise; every single word must be clearly purposeful. In the case of performance phenomena, the purpose (and justification for their use) could be a characterization of a (e.g. hesitant) person from the fictional world. This clear purposefulness of every feature obviously contrasts with the circumstances of naturally occurring conversation, where many conversational traits are of an unplanned (or even unconscious) nature rather than being truly intentional and purposefully used.

Keane (1998: 147) gives the following advice in his guide to screenwriting:

⁷⁵ See e.g. Keane (1998: 71) on the precise limitations on screenplay length (i.e. pages of script) and the corresponding screen time (i.e. minutes) in the film industry of the 1990s. The famous television writer Larry Brody's online guide to writing for television (<<http://www.tvwriter.com>>; last checked: 28/05/2013) presents very similar guidelines in its 'TV Writer FAQ'-section: Screenplays are usually restricted to about one page of script (in a standardized format) for one minute of screen time, depending also on the proportion of action and dialogue. Since the screen time of television shows is usually very fixed, there is little leeway for scriptwriters.

[Y]ou don't have time to include every word that comes into the characters' minds and out of their mouths. Cut to the essence of what they mean. Edit out the pauses, the false starts, the getting off track, the chitchat. You don't have time for all those words that we, in everyday life, use to convey meaning. You want the pure form, stripped and packaged – dialogue that *seems* natural. (Keane 1998: 147; emphasis in original)

According to Keane, then, TV dialogue does not have to really *be* natural (i.e. imitate actual language use), as long as the viewers *perceive* it as natural. It is unclear whether the viewers would indeed perceive TV dialogue as natural if it did not contain any performance phenomena. However, one important point made here is that not the *actual* linguistic shape is decisive for screenwriters, but the *perceived* linguistic shape. This emphasizes the idea that screenwriters consciously construct and manipulate, as it were, spokenness in FSTVL. This leads me to the next section.

4.4.4.5 A note on multiple authorship

Whether or not all these demands on film and television dialogue mentioned in the previous sections are met in the final audiovisual product does not depend on one screenwriter only. There are usually many people responsible for the form and content of a dialogue, i.e. FSTVL is not only pre-constructed, but it is constructed by a *team* of authors.

The 'authors' of a film [...] consist of: screenplay writers, directors, cameramen, editors, actors, [...] subtitlers, producers and so on. Thus the language of film was (and is) a scripted construct created by writers, subsequently altered by directors and actors, in the creation of an 'artificially produced situation' (APS). (Taylor 2008: 168)

This circumstance is obviously in stark contrast with naturally occurring dialogue, where normally solely the speaker him-/herself is responsible for creating and editing his/her utterances. In the case of film dialogue, the original script goes through many hands until reaching its final version. Last changes are even made by the actors themselves (see also Chapters 4.4.3.4).

This multiple authorship means that language is affected too. What Tan (1993) suggests for the language of plays, which he considers affected by their genesis in the written language and performance in the spoken language, applies to the dialogues of film and television, too: "[T]he fact that most plays undergo several draft stages, often based on the author's, or actors' or even directors' readings of the draft text must surely lead to some tidying up of the text" (Tan 1993: 29). "Tidying up" here refers to editing both on the level of content and form: Making the dialogue maximally efficient in terms of story-telling and maximally 'consumer-friendly,' i.e. customized to the audience's needs. The dialogues are carefully crafted, edited,

and perfected until ready for delivery and until delivered perfectly, and in consequence, a majority of linguistic features can be assumed to be there or not there for a concrete reason.

Baumgarten even goes as far as to claim that

the single most distinguishing feature of dramatic dialogue is that every linguistic unit – including phenomena of dysfluency and error – is there for a reason. Every linguistic unit fulfills a function for the overall communicative goal of the dramatic dialogue. (Baumgarten 2005: 86)

Such an extreme view is not one that I share, however. It would mean that every minor item is consciously used by scriptwriter(s) and actor(s). This might be the case for the majority of items, but there should also be some room left for truly coincidental features or features that arise out of genuine planning pressure: Not every single feature we find in television dialogue is planned and intentional.

4.4.5 A taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness in FSTVL

It becomes clear that the factors which influence the occurrence of spoken language features are in many ways intertwined. Spokenness in FSTVL is realized to different degrees, e.g. depending on the film or show, the screenwriters, the actors, the individual linguistic feature, etc. In order to systematize the numerous factors influencing the degree of spokenness, especially in comparison to naturally occurring speech, I would like to suggest a taxonomy of factors which have an effect on the shape of FSTVL. It is illustrated by Figure 4-3 below in the fashion of a mind map.

This taxonomy captures the manifold aspects that a researcher needs to consider when investigating the degree of spokenness in FSTVL. The fundamental categorization that I propose is the distinction of group A ("General"), group B ("Specific to TV show") and group C ("Specific to linguistic feature"). **Group A** is called "general" because these are factors which are assumed to figure in every fictional scripted television program, such as the lack of real time conditions, the presence of an audience, and the restrictions and demands of the TV networks. **Group B** contains all the factors which may be responsible for the differences that we find between individual television programs when investigating spoken features, such as aspects having to do with the scriptwriter(s), the actor(s), and elements of the depicted fictional worlds. **Group C** comprises all the factors which relate to the individual feature under investigation, ranging from the question of whether the feature is stigmatized and subject to negative attitudes, whether the feature may hinder intelligibility when frequent, and whether the feature is typically associated with particular personal characteristics (e.g.

hipness, young age) so that it can be used for characterization. The factors in group C may explain why some spoken features are highly frequent, while others are rather uncommon in one and the same TV show.

In practice, the three groups cannot be completely separated from each other – this separation is solely for the sake of simplification here. Also, the same idea may be present in more than one group. For instance, both actors and scriptwriters have the ultimate goal of entertaining the audience, and that is why they may avoid certain features which could hinder intelligibility or which are so stigmatized that the audience would feel bothered by their frequent use. The main branches in each of the three groups (in the framed text boxes) are not exhaustive and could be further extended. Also note that the peripheral branches in each group are not intended to provide a complete picture. For example in group C, in the main branch "Association with personal characteristics," the characteristics "insecurity," "hipness," "age," and "regional background" are only a few examples of the associations that some spoken features may evoke and that may therefore be purposefully employed by scriptwriters and actors for characterization.

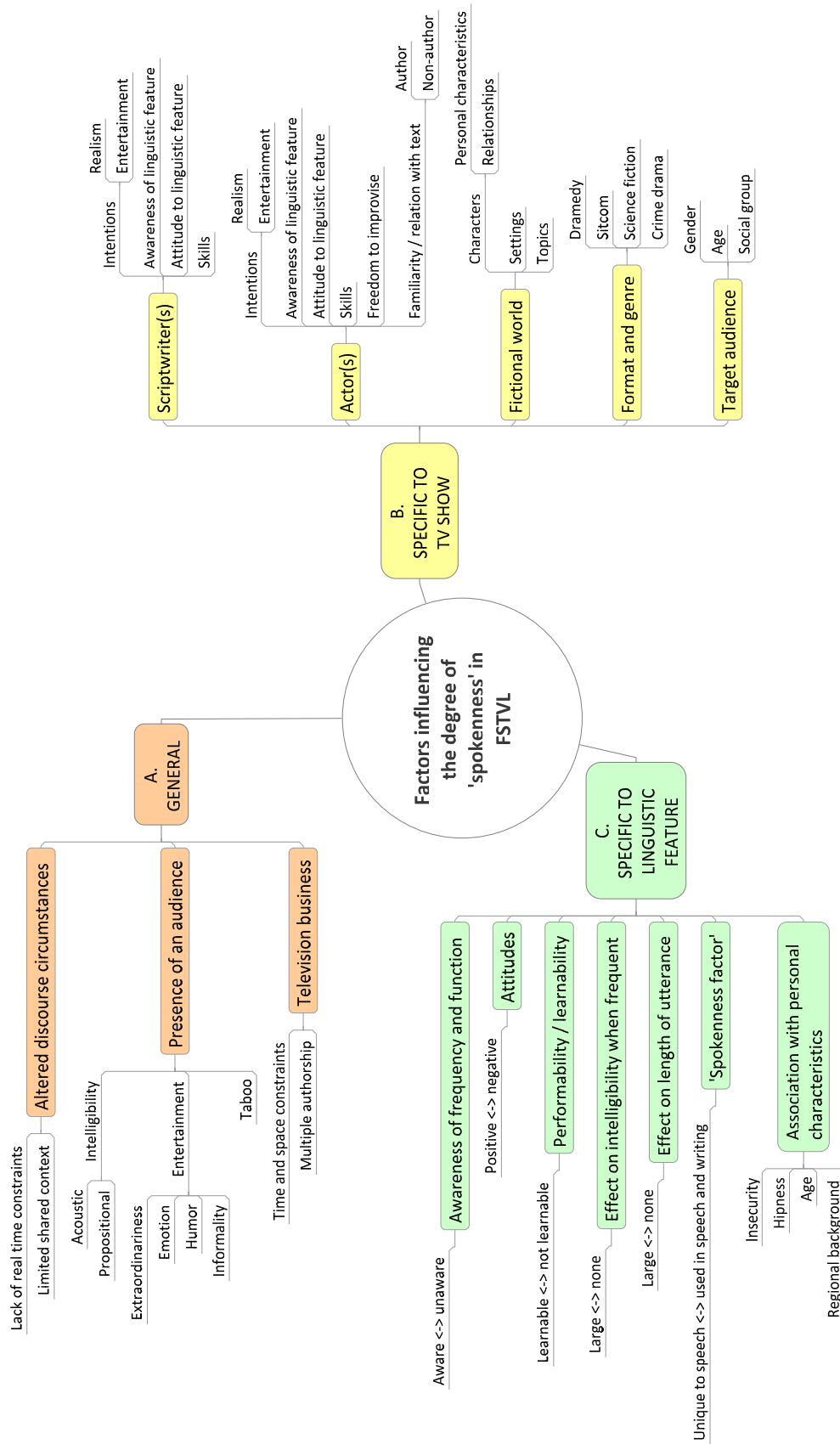


Figure 4-3: A taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of 'spokenness' in FSTVL

What is crucial is that the factors do not always pull in the same direction for the linguistic feature under scrutiny. This is demonstrated by the case of filled pauses (*uh, uhm*), for example. Many of the factors displayed in the taxonomy would speak for a low frequency in FSTVL, i.e. the odds seem to be against an authentic "imitation of the conversational mode" (Valdeón García 2009: 197) in the case of these performance phenomena: Not only is there a general lack of awareness of the enormous frequency and the quality of their use (on part of the scriptwriters and actors), but there are also rather negative attitudes towards them (as markers of 'bad' speech), they may decrease the intelligibility when frequent, they are not entertaining per se, they are difficult to perform in a natural-seeming way and, if represented at a frequency comparable to that of naturally occurring speech, they take up much screen time while (possibly) not advancing the story significantly. On the other hand, these performance phenomena can contribute greatly to linguistic realism, since they have a very high 'spokenness factor,' i.e. they are features prototypical of speech which are not found in writing. They can furthermore be used to characterize a hesitant, insecure person in the fictional world.

The taxonomy shows that FSTVL is a complex object of investigation that is influenced by a multitude of diverse factors, many of which speak against an authentic representation of naturally occurring speech. The altered discourse circumstances and the presence of an audience play a major role here. Yet, as has been pointed out above, most contemporary mainstream screenwriters have the overall desire to write dialogues that appear authentic to the audience, and most actors try to deliver the prefabricated lines in a natural way in order to meet the audience's expectations (cf. Richardson 2010: 5). Despite the numerous requirements which screen dialogue has to meet in terms of content and logistics, it must also always be believable. The art of audiovisual fiction writing indeed lies in reconciling all the requirements for screen dialogue in order to satisfy the various demands of audiences, television producers, and possibly writers themselves.

The taxonomy should provide a useful framework for analyzing and describing FSTVL. It will also be used in the corpus-linguistic analysis of the present study (Ch. 6 and 7).

4.5 Summary and outlook: The characteristics of FSTVL and implications for the present study

Previous studies indicate strongly that contemporary FSTVL reflects naturally occurring language to a great extent when it comes to lexico-grammatical and pragmatic aspects of

language. In light of its apparent high degree of linguistic authenticity, a variety of scholars consider it a useful data source for linguistic study and for language teaching. Mittmann (2006), in contrast, does not see much potential in television language as a model, for according to the results of her research, there are too many differences from natural spoken English. However, she seems to remain an exception.

I agree that film language cannot simply be seen as a convenient substitute for naturally occurring language in linguistic studies. Nevertheless, the results of Mittmann's (2006) relatively small corpus study do not seem to provide enough evidence to discard all types of FSTVL right away, especially considering the large number of other studies pointing in the opposite direction. Also, her results must be evaluated from a broader language-pedagogical perspective: For instance, the fact that situation-bound routine formulae are more frequent in FSTVL should not be taken as evidence that film language is unsuitable for learners of English. In fact, some might say that this is an advantage in the pedagogical context, especially since a lower frequency in the corpus of natural spoken language may simply be due to corpus sampling procedures (see also Ch. 4.1.1 and footnote 65). Lack of linguistic authenticity in some cases (measured by the similarity to genuine data in a spoken corpus) therefore does not necessarily entail a lack of linguistic appropriateness in an educational setting.

The general tendencies regarding the characteristics of FSTVL discerned so far can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Lexico-grammatical differences from naturally occurring conversation are primarily found in the area of performance phenomena, which in televised language occur at lower frequencies than in real conversation (though they are more frequent than previously thought). This is not only due to the lack of genuine planning pressure in scripted speech but also attributable to the fact that a variety of features are simply not desirable in a spoken text designed for an audience which is supposed to be entertained in a limited amount of screen time. Similarly, features marking vagueness are less frequent, again conditioned by the presence of an audience. It has also become clear, however, that in some respects audiovisual fiction can display *more* 'conversational' characteristics than real language. This is especially the case for features marking informality and emotionality, which can be considered as prime carriers of spokenness. It seems that some features, then, are generally preferred items for achieving a high degree of linguistic realism without compromising the aim of entertaining an audience. Another category that seems to be even more prevalent in film and television language is actually between

grammar and pragmatics: Situation-bound routine formulae such as greeting expressions and expressions realizing conventional speech acts such as thanking and apologizing have been found to be more frequent in film and television dialogue.

- 2) The linguistic characteristics of fictional film and television dialogues are mainly determined by the situational context in which they are produced. The televised dialogues have in common the purpose of entertainment, the presence of an audience, the scriptedness, etc. This does not mean, however, that all audiovisual fiction displays the same linguistic characteristics: Different genres and different shows may in fact represent real speech to very different degrees, and even individual features which belong to the same category (e.g. discourse markers) may occur at very different frequencies in the same show. For these reasons it is difficult to determine the degree of spokenness in FSTVL in general.
- 3) Spoken style in audiovisual fiction is a team effort by scriptwriters, directors, actors, etc. The majority of features indicating spoken style are certainly there for a reason, i.e. they are planned and purposefully inserted into the spoken text, while only a minor portion of spoken language features in audiovisual fiction occur naturally, such as when an actor is genuinely struggling to plan and produce his/her utterance.

Especially point 2) bears important implications for the present study. A number of studies have pointed out the diversity of different fictional television shows as regards their overall similarity to naturally occurring language (e.g. Bednarek 2011). Individual linguistic features are furthermore represented to different degrees. In consequence, the results of the previous studies – which generally validated FSTVL as authentic representation of language use – cannot necessarily be applied to every other television show. If one wants to make sure that the film or television show selected for classroom use mirrors natural language use to a great extent and displays sufficient linguistic authenticity, it is advisable to conduct a separate analysis of the precise audiovisual material in question.

For the context of the present study, then, this means that the language data in a pedagogically relevant corpus consisting of the transcripts of contemporary American television dialogue should be analyzed in detail regarding its linguistic authenticity and appropriateness before the corpus is applied in an educational setting. Divergence from NOC may be explained and assessed with the help of the taxonomy developed in 4.4.5, which should contribute to a more thorough and comprehensive description of FSTVL. Another implication for this study is that great care needs to be taken already in the selection of the TV

material to be included in the corpus. Overall, however, considering the arguments and the evidence of researchers in favor of using television language as a language model, a corpus consisting of FSTVL for teaching spoken grammar seems indeed a very promising idea.

The corpus design and other methodological steps in the present study will be the topics of the following Chapter 5.

— PART II —

5 Methodology: Compiling and analyzing CATS

In Chapter 1.1.2 I introduced the overall research design of the present project, i.e. the five principal phases in this study. The following sections describe the methodological procedures of three of these in more detail, namely the compilation and design of CATS (Corpus of American Television Series) and the subsequent analyses of this corpus.⁷⁶

5.1 Corpus compilation

5.1.1 Text selection

The first important decision to be made was which texts, i.e. which TV series to include in the corpus. The difficulty here certainly lay in reconciling the demands on an educationally useful corpus and the demands on a corpus to be used for linguistic analysis. I aimed at four to five different shows rather than just one show since previous research has indicated great variability between different TV series when it comes to their linguistic characteristics (cf. Ch. 4.3.4). The inclusion of several different shows would make comparative analyses possible and help point out which characteristics may possibly represent general features of FSTVL. It would also offer greater flexibility and applicability in actual teaching contexts because of the greater range of topics and character constellations. I did not intend to compile a representative sample of fictional scripted television language (FSTVL) in general, but aimed at a suitable selection given the language-pedagogical motivation of the present study. Furthermore, in light of the restricted resources available, four or five shows seemed enough because this meant that several episodes of one series could be used, which together would make up one long, coherent story narrated in loosely connected chapters with a limited number of different speakers (i.e. characters), as it were. As such, the corpus would comply with Braun's (2005: 53ff.) call for coherent contents in pedagogical corpora (see also Ch. 3.5.4.2.1).

5.1.1.1 *Selection criteria*

Bearing in mind the requirements for pedagogically relevant corpora, the needs of a typical EFL learning environment, previous findings on the nature of FSTVL, and the intended analyses with this corpus, I created a list of criteria which the TV series to be included in the

⁷⁶ I described a preliminary version of CATS (2010 version) in less detail in Dose (2012) and Dose (2013).

corpus were supposed to fulfill to the greatest extent possible. Since it was clear from the start that the fulfillment of these criteria could not be systematically 'proven' in an empirical way before the compilation, they were rather considered a 'wish list.' The criteria were grouped according to five larger categories and are summarized in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1: Selection criteria for TV series in CATS

Category	Criteria
1. Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (mostly) American English • (mostly) Standard English: few heavy regional/social dialect speakers or non-native speakers among the characters • limited explicit language (e.g. expletives) • dialogues appear natural to native speakers (= viewers)
2. Topics/Contents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • everyday issues, everyday interactions between family, friends, partners, classmates, colleagues • also: out-of-the-ordinary/controversial topics that are exploitable for discussion on the level of content, for (inter-)cultural studies, etc. • not too specialized: not medical/political/legal drama; not science fiction/fantasy (due to likelihood of linguistic particularities, difficult comprehension) • limited display of taboo topics (e.g. alcohol, drugs, sex) • officially rated suitable for ages 15 and above • targeted at adolescent and adult audiences
3. Format/Genre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • comedy-drama series/dramedy: 40-60 min. per broadcast episode, steady cast, relatively self-contained plotline in each episode • not soap opera, not sitcom, not cartoon
4. Popularity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • popular and well-known contemporary series • equally popular to female and male viewers
5. Accessibility of texts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • audiovisual files of the TV series available on DVD • scripts or transcripts of the series available to be used as first drafts

A few comments are in place here. Since one of the prospective purposes of the corpus was to serve as a model for German EFL learners in 10th to 13th grade (approx. ages 15-19), I formulated quite a few requirements concerning the language used in the series. I aimed at language that sounds natural to the native ear – and whether it actually *does* mirror naturally occurring language was going to be investigated in the corpus-based analysis –, but at the same time is 'standard' enough to be used in classroom settings. While it is certainly vital to make students familiar with different varieties of English, much dialectal variation might arguably be too difficult to cope with for advanced high school students or, in the case of expletives, be inappropriate for an educational setting with young people. Also, I chose to include only one variety of English because it would make later comparison with naturally occurring language more straightforward and the transcriptions of the dialogues would be more uniform and manageable for students. I opted for US American English as a standard

since it may be called the currently most dominant variety of English, considering the number of native speakers and the status of the USA as a political and economical power and cultural influence. Apart from that, it is also the variety spoken in many of the most successful English language television series worldwide.

The topics and contents of the TV series are crucial as this is one important area in which the new corpus was supposed to stand out against regular linguistic corpora. On the one hand, I was looking for series which mainly featured everyday interactions between family and friends, thus giving rise to many informal settings in which conversation is the dominant type of spoken language. After all, the corpus was supposed to be a tool for teaching and learning conversation. Preferably, the series should include 'normal' characters in common life situations with which students can identify because they share similar thoughts, emotions, and interests. At the same time, however, the series also needed to feature topics beyond the ordinary day-to-day routine so that they would spike the students' interest. Since the syllabi of advanced English classes at German high schools typically prioritize content-related discussion over language-related topics, the series needed to offer interesting and valuable contents that could be exploited from various angles. Whether or not a series offers valuable, discussion-worthy topics depends on the individual setting and may be viewed differently from person to person. However, one possible indication is e.g. when the contents of a show overlap with topics mentioned in the teaching syllabus; or when the series are discussed in academic publications and/or suggested in language teaching materials. Finally, excessive display of taboo phenomena (excessive alcohol and drug use, sex, extreme violence, etc.) was to be avoided because it was considered inappropriate for the intended target group. In fact, all productions were excluded which are officially considered unsuitable for viewers under the age of 16 according to the German FSK (Voluntary Self Regulation of the Film Industry) rating, which is in accordance with the German Youth Protection Law. This ensured that all students in 10th and 11th grade could (theoretically) participate in activities with CATS.

The format considered most appropriate for the purposes of this project were domestic drama series or comedy-drama series/'dramedies', which combine humorous and dramatic elements (cf. e.g. Kaczmarek 2012; Vande Berg 1989).⁷⁷ Drama series are programs which have relatively self-contained episodes of usually 35-50 minutes (excluding commercial breaks), a plot development equivalent to that of feature films, and the same main cast in all episodes. They often also involve a more complex storyline that extends over the whole

⁷⁷ "Domestic dramas centre on the home, the community, the workplace and, in particular, are concerned with interpersonal relationships such as those between lovers, family members or groups of friends" (Marshall and Wernldly 2002: 45).

'season.' Drama series have traditionally been viewed as banal products of current pop culture, but this has changed dramatically over the past two decades. Many American drama series have developed into high-grade products from a cinematic point of view, often on a par with feature films in terms of their structural complexity and cinematic implementation (cf. Thaler 2007: 9; Zerweck 2009: 260). Along these lines, Sherman (2003: 35) notes that the intricate plots, the quality of the acting, the length of the episodes and the varied contents and settings make them particularly useful for class. Drama series are

often set in the working world, with professional settings, [...] with visible organizational structures, relationships and procedures and all the inherent tensions of authority, obedience, insubordination and accountability [...]. The settings are often very realistic and can provide a window into working practices and procedures [...]. (Sherman 2003: 35)

The format 'sitcom,' in turn, was excluded from eligibility due to the likelihood of linguistic particularities triggered by the constant creation of humorous moments and language play. Soap operas were furthermore excluded because the quality of such productions is frequently lower and they do not offer the same level of complexity in content as many drama series. In addition, both sitcoms and soap operas rely much more on intertextual clues, i.e. references to previous episodes than drama series (cf. Sherman 2003: 42), so that it may be more difficult to work with, say, just one episode.

Popular contemporary series were deemed most appropriate because such shows were expected to be particularly motivating for the learners. Using them for learning English may be a way to connect their 'school life' with their 'private life.' Popularity is certainly difficult to define, but I consider a show popular and successful when it has run for several seasons even in countries beyond the US, when re-runs of old episodes are regularly shown and when the series is recognized in the film/television industry, which can be seen e.g. by the number of awards (or nominations for awards) it has received.

The accessibility of the texts was obviously a more practical criterion, which is to some extent connected to the popularity of the show. The shows to be selected needed to be available on DVD so that the audiovisual material could be used for the transcription and analysis. Ideally, scripts or transcripts should be available, too, so that they could be used as first drafts for the compilation of the corpus.

5.1.1.2 Finding eligible TV series

After defining these criteria, I screened a large number of television series. I used current American and German popularity ratings on the Internet as a starting point,⁷⁸ filtered the shows which seemed useful in terms of contents, and ensured that they were rated appropriate for youth under 16 by the FSK. Then I watched the pilot episode to check whether the language could possibly be considered as natural-sounding, i.e. 'like actual people really speak to each other,' rather than sounding blatantly artificial. This was certainly a very intuitional approach, yet the most efficient method for the present purpose. To support the selection process, I conducted an informal email survey among 20 American native speakers of English. I briefly explained to them the context of the study, gave them my list of criteria and asked them to suggest shows which they deemed suitable for my purposes and to evaluate some preselected suggestions. They were specifically asked to comment on the perceived naturalness of the dialogues of the shows, since the aim was to find TV shows which, to a native speaker, resembled naturally occurring conversation to a large degree.

During my own Internet search for suitable TV shows, it quickly turned out that most of the very popular shows on the US and German market were not eligible for this project because they were either rated inappropriate for ages under 16 (e.g. action dramas such as *Prison Break*, 24), they were too specialized (e.g. medical dramas such as *Grey's Anatomy*, *House*, *M.D.*), they were sitcoms (e.g. *How I Met Your Mother*), they did not focus on everyday life scenarios (e.g. *Lost*, *Heroes*), and so on. In consequence, the survey respondents' input was invaluable, with almost 50 different TV series suggested. The results confirmed initial impressions of certain shows and also provided some new leads for useful data. In fact, three of the final four shows selected for the corpus originated in the respondents' recommendations.

5.1.1.3 TV series selected for CATS

It seemed virtually impossible to find a TV show which met all of the predefined criteria. Finally, I chose four series that fulfilled the demands to the greatest extent possible, and that, if they 'scored low' on one particular aspect, scored particularly high on another, which consequently justified their inclusion in CATS. The four series in CATS are *Gilmore Girls*, *Monk*, *Six Feet Under*, and *Veronica Mars*. They will briefly be described in the following.

⁷⁸ Some online resources are e.g. <<http://www.tvguide.com/top-tv-shows>> (last checked: 28/05/2013), <<http://www.tv.com/shows/>> (last checked: 28/05/2013), <<http://www.serienjunkies.de/serien/charts/>> (last checked: 28/05/2013).

Gilmore Girls is a comedy-drama series which was created by Amy Sherman-Palladino and ran for seven seasons on the American television networks The WB (2000-2006) and The CW (2006-2007).⁷⁹ *Gilmore Girls* (henceforth: GG) revolves around the lives of single mother Lorelai and her teen-aged daughter Rory, with whom she has an exceptionally close relationship. The show focuses on their family – Lorelai broke ties with her parents when she was pregnant with Rory –, friends, work, and school relations, as well as simply life in the fictional small town of Stars Hollow in Connecticut. For the corpus, the fourth season was used, in which Rory starts her first year in college.⁸⁰ GG is well-known for its very quick dialogue and the abundance of pop culture references (cf. e.g. Westman 2007: 23f.).

The second series, *Monk*, is a comedy-drama detective series created by Andy Breckman, which ran for eight seasons on USA Network (2002-2009). It revolves around the life of Adrian Monk, who was once a very successful detective for the San Francisco police department but, after a nervous breakdown following the murder of his wife, lost his job and now works as a private investigator and consultant for the homicide unit. Life and work would not be possible for him without his nurse and friend Sharona, who assists him in all personal and work-related matters. Monk suffers from an extreme case of obsessive-compulsive disorder and hundreds of phobias, which make it difficult for him to cope with the challenges of everyday life and with any kind of social relationship. At the same time, his 'uniqueness' helps him solve even the most mysterious of cases because he has an amazing gift for finding clues and reading people.

The third series, *Six Feet Under* (henceforth: SFU), is a black comedy-drama series created and produced by Alan Ball. Its five seasons ran from 2001-2005 on the American cable network HBO. *Six Feet Under* tells the story of the Fisher family, who run a funeral home in Los Angeles, CA. The starting point of the series is the death of the head of the family, Nathaniel (Sr.), who is killed in a traffic accident. This sets off a number of dramatic developments in the family members' lives – Nathaniel Sr. leaves a wife, two adult sons, and one teenage daughter –, such as one son moving back home after many years away, the two brothers taking over their father's business, the mother confessing to having an affair with another man, etc. While every episode includes the funeral of one client of the business, the main focus of the show is on tracing the family members' lives, exposing their emotions and their (often dysfunctional) relationships to each other as well as to friends and partners. SFU

⁷⁹ Dates refer to original, initial air dates in the US market. Please note that the years in which this and the other series ran on US and German television differ slightly, as in Germany they usually lag a couple of years behind the US market. All of the selected shows have already aired their final episodes and will not be renewed, but old seasons regularly re-run, thus attesting to their popularity.

⁸⁰ A more detailed description of GG and all the other series used in the corpus can be found in Appendix 1.

is particularly well-known for its portrayal of controversial topics (e.g. death, homosexuality, repression).

Veronica Mars (henceforth: VM) is a teen drama detective series created by Rob Thomas. Its three seasons originally ran on the American networks UPN (2004-2006) and The CW (2006-2007). Veronica Mars is a 17-year-old high school student in the fictional town of Neptune, CA, who in her free time helps her father out in his private investigation agency and also solves cases on her own. The show traces her life at school, where she is an outsider among the wealthy kids; at home, where she lives alone with her father ever since her mother had suddenly left them; and in her free time, where she deals with the typical teenager issues (relationships etc.) and tries to solve crimes and mysteries, the biggest of which is the murder of her best friend Lilly.

All of these shows have been nominated for and won a variety of awards (e.g. Emmy Awards, Golden Globes, Grammy Awards), which attests to their general popularity. *Veronica Mars* may be somewhat of an outsider because it was cancelled after only three seasons and it was not quite as well received as the other shows. However, this should not be taken as an indication of lower quality. The shows have also received some attention in the academic community (e.g. Calvin 2008a and Diffrient and Lavery 2010 on *Gilmore Girls*; Akass et al. 2005 and Points 2007 on *Six Feet Under*; Wilcox and Turnbull 2011 on *Veronica Mars*). This shows that the contents of these series and the themes they develop are deemed well worth analyzing and discussing.

Note that all of the four shows used in the present study are officially rated appropriate for ages 12 and above (*Gilmore Girls*: 6 and above) by the German FSK, at least the episodes included in CATS, according to information on the commercially available DVDs. The ratings in the US for the selected episodes are different:⁸¹

- *Gilmore Girls* and *Monk*: "TV PG" ('Parental Guidance Suggested,' "contains material that parents may find unsuitable for younger children");⁸²
- *Six Feet Under*: "TV MA" ('Mature Audience Only,' "may be unsuitable for children under 17");
- *Veronica Mars*: "TV 14" ('Parents Strongly Cautioned,' "contains some material that many parents would find unsuitable for children under 14 years of age").

⁸¹ The sources for the US ratings are <www.tvguide.com> and <www.imdb.com> (last checked: 28/05/2013). The rating system by TV Parental Guidelines can be accessed at <<http://www.tvguidelines.org/ratings.htm>> (last checked: 28/05/2013). The ratings refer to the broadcast episodes and may differ from the ratings of special DVD versions on the US American market.

⁸² *Gilmore Girl's* first season (2000-2001) was supported (even financially) by the American *Family Friendly Programming Forum*, which is now the *ANA Alliance for Family Entertainment* <<http://www.ana.net/afe>> (last checked: 03/01/2013).

GG and *Monk* are thus rated most suitable for children and youth, while VM and SFU are more appropriate for older youth or young adults according to the ratings of the American TV Parental Guidelines.

5.1.2 Transcription and annotation

After the selection of suitable TV series was completed, a decision had to be made over the starting point for the transcription of the dialogues. In theory, there are various possibilities:

1. Transcribing from scratch;
2. Using subtitles (with optional manual post-editing);
3. Using original scripts (with optional manual post-editing);
4. Using readily available fan transcripts (with optional manual post-editing);
5. Using readily available linguistic transcripts.

For the present project, No. 1 and No. 5 were not practicable because of the limited resources available and the lack of available linguistic transcripts, respectively. Using subtitles (2.) or original scripts (3.) in their unedited version were no useful solutions either as it has been shown that these diverge substantially from the utterances actually performed (see also Ch. 4.4.3.4). The most suitable option was thus to use fan transcripts which were available on the Internet (4.) and manually post-edit them. The preparation of the transcripts until ready for analysis was structured in five phases. These are illustrated in Figure 5-1.

The websites used for the present study were <<http://www.twiztv.com>> (last checked: 08/11/2010)⁸³ for GG, SFU and VM and <<http://episodeguides.blogspot.com/>> (last checked: 08/11/2010) for *Monk*.⁸⁴ These sites offer transcripts (not scripts) in html-format which can easily be converted into simple text-files for further editing. The fact that these transcripts are written by many different, typically non-linguist, fans has important repercussions for the quality of the transcriptions, however. Since even the same show is transcribed by different authors (author information is always provided in the beginning of the fan transcript), many differences and idiosyncrasies are bound to be found.

⁸³ Unfortunately, this website has gone down since the compilation of CATS. The *Internet Archive Wayback Machine* offers a number of archived snapshots of this website, the last one available taken on 28 February 2011 (<<http://web.archive.org/web/20110228220932/http://www.twiztv.com/>>; last checked: 28/05/2013).

⁸⁴ To the best of my knowledge, these transcripts can be legally downloaded and used for educational and research purposes in compliance with Section 107 and 110 of the US Copyright Act.

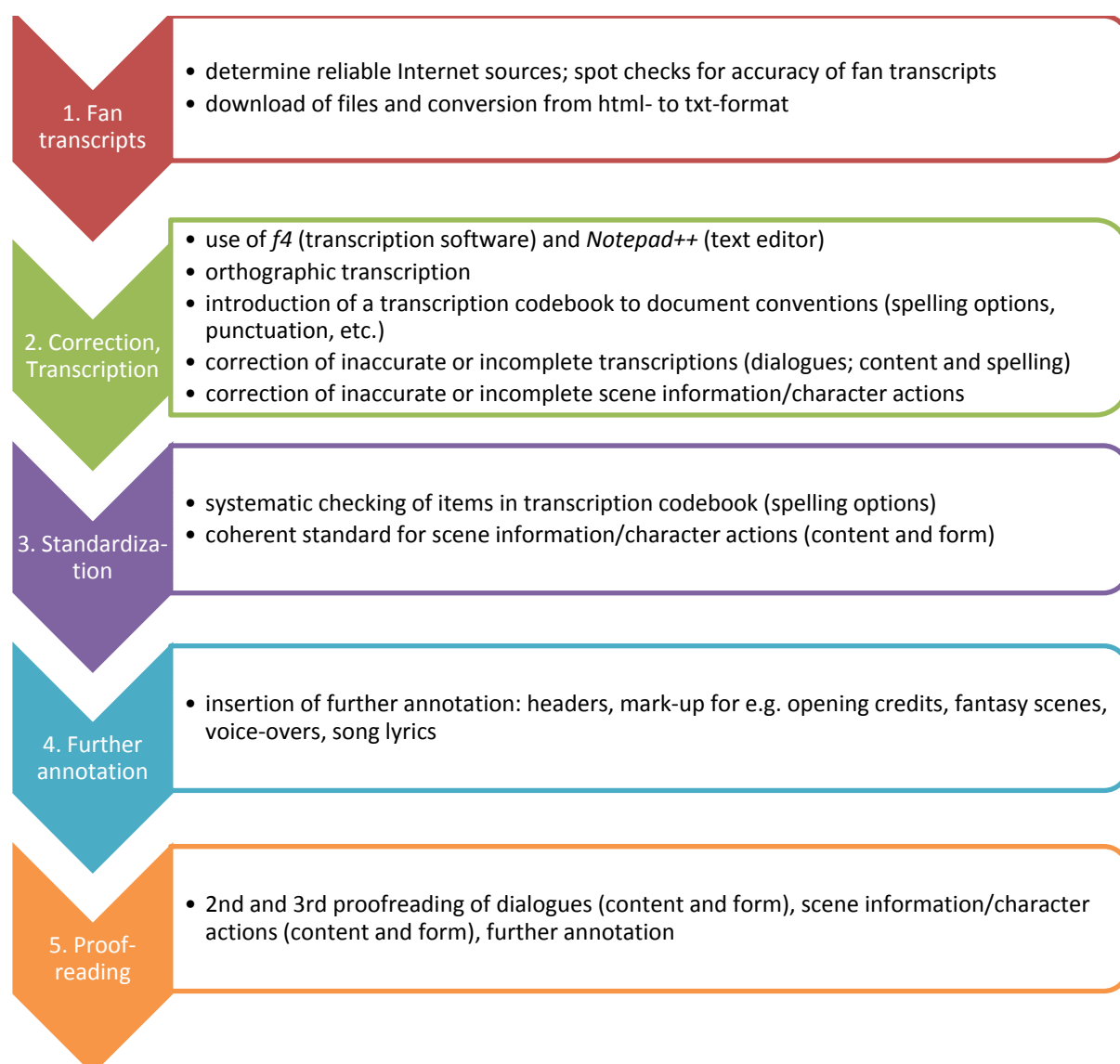


Figure 5-1: Transcription and post-editing process of spoken data in CATS

Despite the guidelines offered by the websites, the fan transcripts used for CATS indeed turned out to be very heterogeneous, as the transcribers used different formal standards (e.g. for marking scene information and character actions; general formatting), different spelling standards, and they introduced inconsistencies, missed details and/or added information that would be considered superfluous in a linguistic corpus. Obviously, fans transcribe their favorite shows solely for their own personal fun and entertainment and then share their work on the Internet platforms, i.e. by no means do they try to adhere to any established linguistic standard. Since the inconsistencies, omissions, and inaccuracies by the lay transcribers concerned precisely those phenomena which were of interest to the present study (e.g. hesitation phenomena, discourse markers, backchannels), the fan transcripts could only be taken as first drafts and then underwent extensive proofreading and editing in order to

achieve one coherent standard.⁸⁵ A great degree of accuracy and uniformity was deemed indispensable for the research aims of the present study, not least because the transcriptions would at some point be used as teaching and learning materials.⁸⁶

In Phase 2, I used the transcription software *f4* to check and edit the texts.⁸⁷ The dialogues in CATS are represented by a very close orthographic transcription, for which standard American English spelling was used. In case of two or more competing spellings, one variant was chosen and all other spellings found in the fan transcripts were adapted. Some items are typically not found in writing, as they rather reflect an informal pronunciation, and as such they present a challenge for transcription. This is, for example, the case for (')*cause*/(')*cos* as abbreviated forms of *because*. Again, one variant was selected and all other instances in the transcripts were adapted. The fan transcribers also varied in the degree to which they chose to represent the semi-modals *going to*, *(have) got to* and *going to* as contractions, i.e. *gonna*, *gotta*, and *wanna*. For CATS, solely the acoustically very clear cases of contractions were represented by the contracted spelling. These decisions concerning orthographic variation were all documented in a transcription codebook. Some examples are displayed in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2: Spelling variation in fan transcripts (examples)

Transcription in CATS	Other variants found in fan transcripts
<i>a.m./p.m.</i>	<i>am/pm, AM/PM</i>
<i>all right</i>	<i>alright, allright</i>
<i>'cause (for because)</i>	<i>cause, 'cos, cos, coz</i>
<i>Mr./Mrs./Ms.</i>	<i>Mr/Mrs/Ms</i>
<i>okay</i>	<i>OK, O.K.</i>
<i>pajamas</i>	<i>pyjamas</i>
<i>T-shirt</i>	<i>Tshirt, t-shirt, tshirt</i>

⁸⁵ See e.g. Mollin (2007) and Slembrouck (1992) on the limitations or even 'dangers' of using transcriptions by non-linguists in their original, unedited version for linguistic analyses of spoken language. For instance, Mollin (2007: 187) concludes from an investigation of the official Hansard parliamentary transcripts that they "omit performance characteristics of spoken language, such as incomplete utterances or hesitations, as well as any type of extra-factual, contextual talk (e.g., about turn-taking). Moreover, however, the transcribers and editors also alter speakers' lexical and grammatical choices towards more conservative and formal variants." Similar observations were made about the fan transcribers of the TV dialogues used in the present study.

⁸⁶ It should be mentioned that some of the transcripts (especially *Gilmore Girls*) were surprisingly accurate and more complete than others. See also Bednarek (2010: 70) and Quaglio (2009: 30), who considered the fan transcripts used for their corpus analyses accurate enough not to need systematic correction and post-editing.

⁸⁷ The software *f4* is developed by dr. dresing & pehl GmbH, <<http://www.audiotranskription.de/f4.htm>> (last checked: 28/05/2013).

While it is clear that an orthographic transcription cannot capture the manifold phenomena of spoken language, it is usually sufficient for lexical and grammatical corpus analyses (cf. Leech 2000: 678). The transcription conventions of this study do not conform to any established transcription standard – for pedagogical corpora, conventions are still being developed (cf. Braun 2007a: 34) –, but is customized to the requirements and purposes of this project. For example, conventional punctuation symbols (commas, periods, question marks, exclamation marks) were used in order to reflect the typical intonation contours and syntactic boundaries associated with these symbols. While this practice may be rather uncommon for linguistic transcriptions of speech and could be criticized for suggesting written norms or implying an interpretation, it has the major advantage of making the reading and comprehension of the transcripts much easier (cf. Halliday 2004: 15), especially if the corresponding audio/video data is not used along with the transcripts.⁸⁸ In the light of the anticipated purposes of the corpus (lexico-grammatical analyses as well as classroom usage by non-experts), this seemed to outweigh the disadvantages. Another reason why the 'spokenness' of the data was not considered to be compromised was that great care was taken in representing even minute phenomena of the spoken language as well as plenty of information on accompanying non-verbal behavior.

For example, filled pauses (*uh/uhm*), false starts, and repeats (*I - I - I*), as well as backchannels (e.g. *uh-huh*, *hm*, *mhm*) and other types of inserts and vocalizations typical of conversation were consistently transcribed and are all recorded in the transcription codebook to ensure uniformity throughout the corpus. The detailed documentation of performance phenomena distinguishes CATS from other pedagogical corpora. The ELISA corpus, for example, does not include filled pauses and repeats as they were not considered important for the prospective uses of the corpus (Braun 2007a: 35). The transcriptions of a selection of these spoken language items without firmly established spelling are shown in Table 5-3, along with examples from CATS ("SFU 1_5" indicates *Six Feet Under*, Season 1, Episode 5). Distinguishing between the individual vocalizations is quite difficult sometimes, e.g. between *hm* and *mm*. Repeated listening to the audio data resolved most ambiguities, but in some cases judgment calls had to be made.

⁸⁸ The choice of an appropriate punctuation symbol is not always clear. For example, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an intonation calling for an exclamation mark and an intonation calling for a period.

Table 5-3: Variety of inserts and vocalizations transcribed in CATS (examples)

Transcription in CATS	Function/meaning	Examples from CATS (emphasis added)
<i>uh</i>	filled pauses (filler, planner, hesitator)	<GARY:> This is good. This is, uh , good for you two to talk like this. These are, uh , obviously things you need to say. (SFU 1_5)
<i>uhm</i>	filled pauses (filler, planner, hesitator)	<LORELAI:> Okay, bye. Oh, and, uhm , Rory says thanks for everything, too. (GG 4_2)
<i>uh-huh</i>	backchannel / response token ('yes')	<SHARONA:> Adrian, you know how much I like this guy Dr. Vezza, right? <MONK:> Uh-huh . <SHARONA:> Okay. Now, look - look at me, please. (Monk 1_3)
<i>mhm</i>	backchannel / response token ('yes,' 'true,' 'I see')	<SHELDON:> Monk's been one step ahead of us all the way, but the man can't function without you. <SHARONA:> Mhm . <SHELDON:> The city of San Francisco would be eternally grateful. (Monk 1_1) <GINNIE:> You know, endorphins really are nature's anti-depressants. <HANNAH:> Mhm. Mhm . Life goes on. It doesn't go on by itself. Sometimes you just gotta kick it in the butt. (SFU 1_5) <DAVID:> Dad and I never talked about anything but work.
<i>Huh./!</i>	1. backchannel / response token 2. indicator of surprise ('oh')	<NATE:> Huh . That's exactly the relationship you and I have. (SFU 1_6) <LORELAI:> He didn't say anything? <SOOKIE:> Nope. He just walked around acting weirder than normal. <LORELAI:> Huh . Wonder what that's all about. So... are you gonna name him Lorelai? (GG 4_1)
<i>..., huh?</i>	invariant question tag	<MONK:> This - this is where you saw him, huh? (Monk 1_5)
<i>hm</i>	indicator of thinking / 'yes, true'	<NATHAN:> I told you. I don't have it. <VERONICA:> Hm . Looks like we're in a bit of a standstill. (VM 1_7)
<i>Hm? / ..., hm?</i>	'what?' 'really?' / invariant question tag	<SHARONA:> He's also a very naive man... who doesn't know when he's being used. <MONK:> Hm? What? Who's being used? (Monk 1_4) <SHARONA:> What kind of question is that, hm? (Monk 1_2)
<i>mm</i>	'yummy' / 'Yeah, I understand' / 'okay' / indicator of hesitation	<RORY:> <sips coffee> Mm . Whoa, this is really good. Kiosk by the library? (GG 4_2) <BRENDA:> No, it just means he likes you. Believe me, there were guys Billy didn't like. It's much better this way. <NATE:> Mm . I've, uh, been meaning to ask you. What's up with those matching tattoos you and he have? (SFU 1_7)
<i>uh-uh</i>	'no'	<MONK:> I'm having a little trouble getting started. <DR. LANCASTER:> Mhm. Do you know why? <MONK:> Uh-uh . (Monk 1_5)
<i>nuh-uh</i>	'no'	<LORELAI:> Hey, love, guys. Love, okay? "Lord of the Rings" is all about the love. <BOY:> Nuh-uh , it's about the destruction of all mankind. (GG 4_3)
<i>uh-oh</i>	indicating concern	<LORELAI:> 'Cause you need the protection. Hey, what time's your first class? <RORY:> Oh, you know, soon. <LORELAI:> Uh-oh . <RORY:> What? <LORELAI:> You're not gonna rush to your first class and get there like an hour early, are you? (GG 4_3)

Other examples of vocalizations and interjections in CATS:*ah, aargh, aw, ew, gee, jeez, oh, ooh, ouch, ugh, whoa, whoo-hoo, wow*

I refrained from annotating overlaps, length of pauses, or any phonetic information (e.g. stress, intonation) because this was not needed for mainly lexico-grammatical analyses. Phenomena such as fragmented utterances and interruptions were indicated by corresponding punctuation symbols, however, and, as mentioned above, clues on intonation could be found in commas, question marks, exclamation marks, etc. An overview of the most important transcription conventions in CATS can be found in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4: Major transcription conventions in CATS: Punctuation

Tran- scription in CATS	Function / meaning	Examples from CATS (emphasis added)
?	question	<VERONICA:> So, was it your idea or did you just play it your usual way? <Veronica crouches by the desk.> <DUNCAN:> What's my usual way? (VM 1_6) <RUTH:> This is a hard time. The hardest.
!	exclamation	<ADELE:> It was all a lie! He left us with nothing, because there never was anything. <pulls the watch off and hits him> Bastard! (SFU 1_2)
.	end of statement	<CLEMMONS:> I regret to inform you that there has been a mistake in tabulating the election results. (VM 1_6) <KEITH:> So. Veronica tells me, uhm... well, actually she hasn't told me anything about you. <TROY:> Well, I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing. <smiles> (VM 1_4)
...	1. speaker pauses (e.g. to think / to let the addressee guess the implications of what was just said) 2. stressing the preceding item / prolonging its pronunciation 3. indication of a sentence to be continued	<LILLY:> <off-screen> Come on, Veronica, it's your turn. Do not lame out. <All four are walking at the edge of the water. All have their champagne glasses except Duncan, who has the bottle. Logan is carrying the camcorder.> <VERONICA:> Okay, okay, okay, okay, okay. I've never... <As Veronica thinks, holding up her glass, Logan takes a swig of champagne and spits it into the water. He turns and walks backwards to watch.> <VERONICA:> ...gone skinny-dipping. <The others express their surprise all at once.> <LOGAN:> Oh, jeez... <LILLY:> Oh... <DUNCAN:> <laughs> What? (VM 1_4)
-	1. hesitation (repeat, false start, incomplete utterance) 2. truncated words 3. interrupted speech	<MONK:> I - I believe most people don't like their food to touch. They j- just don't have the guts to admit it. (Monk 1_7) <MS. DENT:> <laughs> No one will let me forget it. All I'm saying is I admire your enthusiasm, just don't let it get in the way of - <VERONICA:> Fair and balanced, that's me. (VM 1_6)
..	marked as 'quoted' speech by intonation or voice quality; titles of films/books etc.	<RORY:> Tell me he didn't fall asleep during "Casablanca." <LORELAI:> No, we made it through "Casablanca." He fell asleep during "Hardbodies." (GG 4_5)

The second part of Phase 2 in the post-editing process included the correction of the scene descriptions, camera movements, and descriptions of character actions which were provided in the fan transcripts. These were transcribed with varying degrees of detail. The amount of information primarily depended on the individual transcriber of the respective episode. Unless it was an inaccurate or completely subjective interpretation of the setting or action, I kept as much detail as possible and added wherever I found it necessary in order to adequately represent the communicative event, including all the non-verbal behavior that was needed to understand and picture the interaction.

In Phase 3, the main aim was to guarantee a consistent, uniform representation of the TV dialogues. After the first two rounds of correcting the transcripts mainly in terms of content and completeness, the focus in this phase was on making sure that the transcriptions followed the same conventions. The whole corpus was checked for uniformity in spelling again, and also the scene information and character actions were standardized. This included first and foremost formal changes (e.g. replacing italics, parentheses, bold print etc., capitalizing all speaker names, enclosing all information in angular brackets). It should be noted that there are still certain differences between the shows in the way scene information and character actions are represented. For example, VM is particular in the way that the settings are systematically encoded before every new cut (e.g. <EXT - STREETS, SAN DIEGO - DAY>, <INT - NEPTUNE HIGH SCHOOL, REBECCA'S OFFICE - DAY>). The episodes in SFU, in turn, are the only ones which are structured in acts and scenes, similar to a play. Furthermore, in SFU the character names are always capitalized in the descriptions of character actions too, not only for marking them as speakers. These formal differences between the shows were not standardized, but within one show, the format was kept consistent to ensure intra-show homogeneity.

Phase 4 involved further annotation, such as a systematic header for each episode, the marking of fantasy scenes (relevant for SFU only), of song lyrics (relevant for VM only), etc. In Phase 5, the transcriptions underwent two more rounds of proofreading: One along with the corresponding audiovisual files and one without. After Phase 5, the corpus compilation process was considered completed. No further changes were undertaken after this point.

Figure 5-2 shows an excerpt from one of the texts used in the corpus, i.e. an extract from *Six Feet Under*. This edited extract from CATS displays a number of the features and transcription conventions mentioned above, such the contextual information on the setting at the beginning of each scene (lines 1-2, 9), consistent information on relevant character actions

(lines 3-7, 10, 12), and detailed representation of performance phenomena (e.g. line 14, 16, 22).

```

1  <ACT FIVE>
2  <SCENE ONE: Nate's Bedroom>
3  <We see another flashback of when NATE and DAVID were
4  young kids. They play in the front yard, as NATHANIEL,
5  SR. sprays them and the grass with a hose. RUTH sits on
6  the front porch steps and laughs. They seem to be a
7  happy family. NATE wakes up.>
8
9  <SCENE TWO: Fisher Kitchen>
10 <NATE enters the kitchen, where RUTH is washing dishes.>
11 <NATE:> Good morning.
12 <They hug.>
13 <RUTH:> Thank God you're here.
14 <NATE:> Yeah, well, uh, of course I'm here.
15 <RUTH:> What do you want for breakfast?
16 <NATE:> Uh, I'm gonna go for a run. I'll eat when I get
17     back.
18 <RUTH:> Nate?
19 <NATE:> Yeah?
20 <RUTH:> You don't have to go back to Seattle right away,
21     do you?
22 <NATE:> Uh... <pauses> I guess not. I - can make a few
23     calls.
24 <RUTH:> Thank you.
25 <NATE:> Yeah, sure.
26 <RUTH:> Just for a few days.
27 <NATE:> Okay.

```

Figure 5-2: Excerpt from CATS (SFU, Season 1, Episode 1, "Pilot")

The transcription practice presented here is deemed to comply with Braun's (2005: 50) criteria for pedagogical corpora. It is consistent and relatively simple so as not to burden the intended beneficiaries, and it offers considerably more context information in the annotation scheme than traditional corpora.

5.1.3 The profile of the Corpus of American Television Series (CATS)

5.1.3.1 *Size and composition*

CATS consists of a total of 160,122 words of transcribed language spoken by American English native speakers (with only a few exceptions).⁸⁹ This size was deemed appropriate for the two main uses of the corpus, viz. as a database for lexico-grammatical analyses and as a

⁸⁹ The numbers in Dose (2012) and Dose (2013) are slightly different because they were based on a preliminary version of CATS, as mentioned above.

tool to be used by EFL teachers and learners (see e.g. Aston 1997: 54 on the size of corpora for teaching purposes). Table 5-5 shows the exact composition of the corpus.

Table 5-5: Composition of CATS

	Words	% of CATS
<i>Gilmore Girls</i> 4 (GG)	53,806	33.6
<i>Monk</i> 1	38,124	23.8
<i>Six Feet Under</i> 1 (SFU)	36,786	23.0
<i>Veronica Mars</i> 1 (VM)	31,406	19.6
CATS (total)	160,122	100.0

CATS is composed of four subcorpora, representing the four different series. I used the fourth season of *Gilmore Girls* and the first seasons of the three other series. From each of these, the first seven consecutive episodes were chosen for the corpus. Taking consecutive episodes rather than random ones seemed sensible because all of the programs include separate plotlines which extend over the whole season, or at least over several episodes. Bearing the prospective pedagogical uses of the corpus and Braun's (2005) criteria in mind, I decided to take advantage of the coherence and homogeneity of the episodes rather than aiming for a specific number of words per series.

As is evident from the percentages, the four shows contribute in unequal parts to CATS because the word counts vary greatly depending on the series. *Gilmore Girls*, for instance, has a much higher word count than the other series, although generally the series do not have very different running times (GG, *Monk*, VM: usually between 40-45 min. excluding commercial breaks; SFU: usually between 50-60 min. excluding commercial breaks). As has been mentioned above, however, the dialogues in GG are so quick that, to put it simply, a lot more words fit into the same amount of time.⁹⁰ *Veronica Mars*, in turn, appears to feature less dialogue per running time than the others. This imbalance obviously influences the results of a linguistic analysis of CATS, since the characteristics of *Gilmore Girl* will be more dominant than the others. On the other hand, since the linguistic analyses in this study do not only consider CATS as a whole but also always compare and contrast the results of the four different subcorpora (with normalized frequency counts of the various investigated phenomena, see also Ch. 5.6), the imbalance was not considered a major problem. As

⁹⁰ Tannen (2003: B01) mentions that "[s]creenwriters traditionally figure a page of dialogue to a minute on air; Sherman-Palladino [= the creator of *Gilmore Girls*, S.D.] figures 20 to 25 seconds a page." In the same vein, Westman (2007: 23) notes that the scripts of *Gilmore Girls* are around 80 pages long, in contrast to the industrial standard of 55 pages.

mentioned above, for pedagogical uses, it was deemed more sensible to have four times seven completed episodes with completed plotlines than cutting an episode off in the middle of the action. Furthermore, the discrepant word counts could be viewed as a result in itself: The dialogues in the four different shows may display very different characteristics, starting with different word counts.

5.1.3.2 *Topics/contents*

The topics/contents covered in CATS are manifold (see also the descriptions of the four TV series in Appendix 1). There are plenty of typical everyday interactions between family and friends, but the nature and purpose of television as entertainment obviously also brings along some encounters and happenings that are rather out-of-the-ordinary; after all, this is what makes a television show interesting. For instance, owing to its status as a crime detective series, *Monk* features many situations which would not be considered 'everyday,' e.g. during crime scenes, suspect interrogations, etc. The same 'extraordinariness' also applies to *Veronica Mars*, though here the focus is clearly more on interpersonal relationships and teenager life than on the crime investigations. *Six Feet Under* is extraordinary in the sense that it dares approach a number of controversial topics, two major topics being 'death' and 'homosexuality.' Indeed, the contents in CATS are not quite as 'sanitized' as typical ELT materials (e.g. textbooks), which tend to avoid any type of taboo topic.⁹¹

Overall, the contents in CATS are expected to be more relevant and interesting to learners than the topics in traditional corpora. As mentioned above, the contents are also more coherent because the individual texts (i.e. episode within one series) are closely related to each other. This is, incidentally, also an advantage of a corpus of TV series over a corpus of feature films.

5.1.3.3 *Data format*

As of yet, the corpus exists only as a collection of 28 text files. These are not yet aligned with the corresponding audiovisual data, but this is envisaged for a future project, since such an alignment would increase the pedagogical usefulness of CATS and turn it into a veritable multimedia teaching and learning tool as suggested by Braun (2010: 76). However, the video data can, of course, be accessed separately via the official, commercially available DVDs of

⁹¹ On the exclusion and inclusion of 'inappropriate' topics in ELT teaching materials, see e.g. Gray (2002), Ravitch (2003), and Thomas (2011).

the television series. Despite the extensive context information provided by the annotation in CATS, the audiovisual data is often very useful or even necessary for an accurate linguistic analysis. Furthermore, when using CATS in teaching contexts, it is desirable to combine work with the transcripts with the matching video data.

5.1.3.4 *Spoken language in CATS*

The dominant type of spoken language in CATS is face-to-face dialogue between family members, friends, classmates, and colleagues, which corresponds to a loose definition of 'conversation' (cf. Ch. 2.4.3). There is also some other verbal interaction which is somewhat more formal and/or transactional, such as between student and teacher, talks with a customer or client, as well as some phone conversations. All of these were intentionally kept in the transcripts; a) because the intended reference corpus (see Ch. 5.4) featured comparable types of spoken language data and b) because such spoken exchanges may also be of great use in EFL teaching. Finally, there is a small amount of monologic spoken language such as an occasional speech, teacher talk, and voice-overs (especially in *Veronica Mars*). Larger monologic bits (e.g. long prayers, song texts) were not entirely deleted from the corpus but remained as part of the annotation. This way, the information was still accessible but would not figure in the analyses. As regards the difficulty level of the dialogue in CATS, it is hard to make a general statement – firstly, because competence levels vary greatly between students in grades 10-13 at German high schools and secondly, because it depends on the speaker (i.e. the character of the individual show) and the specific situation. For instance, many exchanges between Lorelai and Rory in GG may be too quick and too full of cultural references for students to understand the first time around, while conversations with the grandparents are slower and clearer. Also, some uses of slang and dialect of young adults (especially in SFU and VM) may be difficult to understand, but this was not considered a major stumbling block. Eventually, it is up to the teacher to provide support and select activities which are appropriate and manageable for the learners.

The crucial question of the extent to which the spoken language represented in CATS actually resembles naturally occurring language will be explored in the analyses of this study.

5.2 Analysis (I): Indicators of spoken style

As already outlined in the Introduction (Ch. 1), there are two major analytical parts in this study. The aim of Analysis (I) is to compare CATS with naturally occurring conversation

(NOC) in order to find out how similar CATS is to natural conversation. The focus is on features of spoken lexico-grammar, and the analysis is predominantly quantitative. The analysis is also concerned with the internal homo- or heterogeneity of CATS and attempts to identify some general tendencies concerning the linguistic characteristics of FSTVL.

The 'degree of linguistic authenticity' is approached by the help of a set of indicators of spoken style. This procedure thus rests on the basic assumption that 'spokenness' in language is constructed (cf. Ch. 2.4.2.2, Ch. 2.4.4.2) and that the presence and frequency of particular linguistic features can indicate varying degrees of spokenness in different texts.

5.2.1 Selection criteria

Studies comparing speech-related registers – e.g. television dialogue, dialogue of plays, song lyrics – with naturally occurring language commonly analyze those linguistic features which have previously been identified as extremely frequent in spoken registers and are therefore strongly associated with the spoken language. They are used to determine the degree of spokenness, since they are assumed to represent in a *grosso modo* way how 'spoken-like' the data is overall. These features have received various labels, e.g. 'key conversational features' (Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009) or 'conversational diagnostics' (Culpeper and Kytö 2000). In the present study, they are called 'indicators of spoken style.'

I applied four basic criteria to select appropriate features as indicators of spoken style for the purposes of this study. The more of these were met by a feature, the more reason there was for including it.

1. Previous large-scale corpus-based studies have identified feature x as strongly typical of speech/conversation. It shows a strikingly different distribution in written registers.
2. Previous research studies have successfully used feature x for comparisons of speech-related registers with natural spoken language.
3. Feature x is susceptible to computer-based searches and analyses.
4. Previous large-scale corpus analyses of naturally occurring speech have produced adequate reference data that can be used for comparison.

Criterion 1 is the most important one and a necessary condition for inclusion in the set of features to be analyzed. Criterion 2 gives an idea of best practice conventions; furthermore, the results of the present study may be compared and set in relation to previous findings. Criterion 3 is important in so far as the aim is to develop a simple and efficient approach to determining the degree of spokenness in a corpus of FSTVL. The same approach should easily be applied to other sets of data, too, with the use of conventional corpus analysis

software. Criterion 4, i.e. the existence of appropriate reference data, has to some extent pragmatic reasons and will be addressed again in Ch. 5.4.

5.2.2 Indicators of spoken style selected for analysis

I selected ten spoken features to function as indicators of spoken style for the present study. The exact forms and functions will be explained in some more detail before every individual analysis in Ch. 6, so that for now, a pure listing shall suffice.

Since the aim of this study is to not only describe, but also account for the similarities and differences between CATS and NOC by drawing on the discrepant discourse circumstances, the features will be analyzed in four groups (I-IV):

I. Features related primarily to the real-time constraints of conversation

- 1) filled pauses (*uh, uhm*)
- 2) repeats (e.g. *you - you - you*)
- 3) *that*-deletion (e.g. *I thought _ he left already*)
- 4) contractions (e.g. *I'm, he's, we've*)

II. Features related primarily to the shared context of conversation

- 5) *do* as a pro-verb (e.g. *I wanna do it*)
- 6) demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *That's not true*)

III. Features related primarily to the interactivity of conversation

- 7) present tense verbs (e.g. *She says hello; We are having dinner at 6*)
- 8) second person pronouns (e.g. *you, your*)
- 9) analytic negation (e.g. *I don't like it; He is not in the mood*)

IV. Features related primarily to the expression of stance in conversation

- 10) private verbs (e.g. *think, mean*)

Note that alternative classifications would in some cases also be possible: E.g. '*do* as a pro-verb' is also related to the real-time constraints, since it serves to save time; a high frequency of 'present tense verbs' also has to do with the fact that two or more people share an immediate context and "conversational concerns tend to be with the immediate here and now" (Biber et al. 1999: 458); and second person pronouns (as pronouns in general) are naturally also related to the shared context. The above grouping is simply one possible way, and in the analyses I will refer to the mutual influence of these discourse circumstances.

The selection of features was predominantly based on two major corpus-based studies, whose findings have frequently been used as reference points in research on speech-related registers as well as on the differences and similarities of speech and writing: Biber's (1988) seminal study on register variation (cf. Ch. 2.4.2.2) and Biber et al.'s (1999) major reference grammar. These two studies have already been discussed in some detail in Ch. 2. Eight of the features selected for this study are the eight items with the highest positive loading (>.75) on Biber's (1988) crucial Dimension 1 ("Involved vs. informational production").⁹² According to Biber (1988), these features are particularly dominant in spoken registers, especially telephone and face-to-face conversation. This finding has been confirmed by Biber et al. (1999), who also identify these features as much more frequent in conversation than in fiction, press, and academic writing. In addition to these eight well-established spoken features, two features which are particularly characteristic of spontaneous conversation and the real-time conditions are filled pauses (*uh*, *uhm*) and repeats (e.g. *I - I*) (Biber et al. 1999). They were added to the list of features as they seem to be virtually exclusive to spontaneous spoken language and thus are interesting to research in the context of scripted language, such as FSTVL. Most of these ten features have also been analyzed in previous studies which investigated the degree of spokenness in speech-related texts (e.g. Culpeper and Kytö 2000; Pavesi 2008; Quaglio 2009; Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009; Valdeón García 2009; see also Ch. 4.3.4.3). All of the features are susceptible to computerized searches and corresponding frequency data for natural spoken language is available.

5.3 Analysis (II): Pedagogically relevant features

Analysis (II) takes the language-pedagogical perspective on board and is concerned with the level of 'linguistic appropriateness' of FSTVL for the language classroom. Before the actual second analysis, the results of Analysis (I) will be critically evaluated from a language-pedagogical point-of-view, with a focus on those items for which significant differences between CATS and NOC were found. What are the implications of the results for a potential application of CATS in an EFL classroom?

Then, a number of features which are considered pedagogically relevant will be investigated. 'Pedagogical relevance' can be defined in different ways, and opinions certainly differ about which language features are relevant for learners and therefore should be taught (cf. Ch. 3.2-3.4). Pedagogical relevance also depends on the individual learning context and

⁹² Private verbs (.96), *that*-deletion (.91), contractions (.90), present tense verbs (.86), 2nd person pronouns (.86), *do* as pro-verb (.82), analytic negation (.78), demonstrative pronouns (.76) (Biber 1988: 102).

the purpose for which the language is learned. Be that as it may, what has been pointed out throughout Ch. 3 is that items which are frequent in language are not automatically pedagogically relevant; rather, frequency is only one of several aspects to be considered. In a recent article, Timmis reminds the reader that

there is always a pedagogic filtering process that mediates between the findings of language research (whether about spoken language or not) and practice. This filtering process will generally consist of obvious questions such as

1. Is the item useful?
2. Is the item frequent?
3. Is the item complex?

In the case of spoken language, the first question may be particularly pertinent and, as we have seen, we need to add at least a fourth question, as follows:

4. Is the item socioculturally appropriate? (Timmis 2012: 518)

It is thus such questions that guided me in the selection of pedagogically relevant features to be analyzed.

5.3.1 Selection criteria

Four basic criteria guided the selection of pedagogically relevant features for the purposes of this study. The more of these were met by a feature, the more reason there was for including it in the analysis.

1. Feature x is included in curricular frameworks, though possibly not explicitly stated but only implied.
2. Feature x has frequently been suggested in the TEFL research community as an important teaching item in the area of spoken grammar.
3. Feature x is frequently neglected in teaching and/or mis- or underrepresented in EFL textbooks.
4. Learner corpus research has identified feature x as a 'problem area,' i.e. learners seem to have trouble using the feature appropriately.
5. High frequencies of feature x are actively avoided in teaching materials as the feature is considered a hindrance to the learning process or simply inappropriate (e.g. taboo language).

Criteria 1-3 have been discussed at length in Chapters 3.2 and 3.4.⁹³ Criterion 4 provides further evidence that additional teaching materials and methodologies are needed. Criterion 5 is the odd one out, as it were. While criteria 1-4 concern features which are 'welcome' in CATS, as they may potentially be taught with the help of CATS (productive or receptive skills), criterion 5 concerns features for which a lower frequency, i.e. a discrepancy from natural language use, in CATS would be somewhat desirable. This is e.g. the case for the use

⁹³ Regarding Criterion 2, see especially Table 3-3 ("Features for the spoken grammar syllabus") in Chapter 3.2.3.3.

of swearwords. So, in fact, my definition of *pedagogically relevant features* is extended to include 'features which require specific attention in teaching and learning contexts' – either in the sense that their production and/or reception should be developed or because exposure to these features should be limited to a certain extent.

5.3.2 Pedagogically relevant features selected for analysis

I selected four groups of pedagogically relevant features for Analysis (II), three of which (1-3) are mostly related to the interactiveness of conversation. All of the features will be explained in some more detail immediately before the respective analyses in Ch. 7. Note that the features considered here go beyond core grammatical items, but may also be classified as lexical or pragmatic features of language.

- 1) discourse markers (e.g. *you know*)
- 2) greetings and farewells: fixed expressions (e.g. *Hi*)
- 3) polite speech act formulae: fixed expressions which realize speech acts (e.g. *thanks, sorry*)
- 4) strong words: expletives, swearwords, etc. (e.g. *shit*)

The main focus of Analysis (II) will be on discourse markers. Discourse markers are spoken language items which fulfill criteria 1-4 to a very great extent, which is why they will be analyzed and discussed in considerably more detail than the other three groups. I will treat discourse markers as some sort of 'case study' of versatile spoken grammar features for which both productive and receptive skills should be developed in learners. After a purely quantitative comparison to NOC and a comparison between the four series represented in CATS, the aim is to see whether the functions of discourse markers which have been found for NOC can also be identified in CATS. In other words, the quantitative analysis will be complemented by a qualitative analysis.

In less detail, I will consider greeting and farewell expressions as well as polite speech act formulae. These are fixed expressions which learners should automatize for smooth interaction, and it is important for a pedagogical corpus to include the communicatively relevant speech contexts in which these expressions occur. Furthermore, strong words were selected for analysis on the basis of criterion 5: Their use should be somewhat limited in a pedagogically relevant corpus.

5.4 Reference data

As the speakers included in CATS are by and large American English speakers, the ideal reference point for comparison with CATS is data based on a large corpus of American English conversation. So far, corpus analyses of naturally occurring American English conversation are still quite rare, though. This has to do with the fact that the compilation of spoken American English corpora is still lagging behind that of British English corpora (see also Ch. 2.4.2.1). A number of spoken corpora and research studies based on them were considered, but ultimately discarded for the present project. Among them are the following:

1. The SBCSAE (*Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*, <<http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus>>; last checked: 28/05/2013) is transcribed in detail and corresponding sound files are available, but it is rather small to act as a reference corpus (approx. 249,000 words).
2. The American equivalent to the BNC, viz. the ANC (*American National Corpus*, <<http://www.americannationalcorpus.org>>; last checked: 28/05/2013), will ultimately have a large component of spoken American English from 1990 onwards, but its compilation is not completed yet. Currently available portions of the spoken component do not include sufficient conversation material to act as reference data (approx. 200,000 words).
3. The ICE-USA corpus (*International Corpus of English*, US American component, <<http://ice-corpora.net/ice/avail.htm>>; last checked 28/05/2013) has not been completed yet and no conversation material is available.
4. The COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*) includes 95,000,000 words of American English (AmE) conversations from 1990-2012 (<www.americancorpus.org>; last checked 28/05/2013), but the data is exclusively retrieved from non-linguistic transcripts of (unscripted) television and radio programs, so that it was considered unsuitable as reference data for this project (cf. Ch. 4.3.3.1).

The two largest corpora including appropriate and sufficient American English conversation data are the two following:

1. **The American English (AmE) conversation subcorpus within the LSWE Corpus (*Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus*)**, as described and used by Biber et al. (1999). In fact, two different versions of this corpus were used for this publication (Biber 17/05/2011 and Leech 21/05/2011; p.c.). In Chapters 1-13, a 2,480,800-word corpus was used (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 25). For Ch. 14 (on the grammar of conversation), an enlarged version of the AmE conversation corpus was used, which consisted of 4,100,000 words

(cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1057). The LSWE Corpus is owned by the Longman publishing group (Pearson Education), however, and not publically available. The authors comment on the origin and nature of the sampled conversations in the LSWE Corpus as follows:

The sampling for the conversation subcorpus was carried out along demographic lines: a set of informants was identified to represent the range of English speakers in the country (UK or USA) across age, sex, social group, and regional spread. Then, these informants tape-recorded all their conversational interactions over a period of a week, using a high-quality tape recorder. All conversations were subsequently transcribed orthographically, for use in lexicographic and grammatical research. (Biber et al. 1999: 29)

(...) The samples so obtained correspond fairly closely to the common interpretation of the term 'conversation': they largely consist of private everyday spoken dialogue conducted between people of comparable social status, who are relatively well-known to one another. (Biber et al. 1999: 1137)

Like the written registers, conversation is also a diverse register, but no effort was made to identify sub-registers or list all the topics of conversation. Most of the conversations in the LSWE Corpus are private (often domestic) talk. However, occasionally other kinds of talk are included, like service encounters in a store, or one side of a telephone call. (Biber et al. 2002: 8)

2. The LSAC (*Longman Spoken American Corpus*), which is also owned by the Longman publishing group and consists of approx. 5,000,000 words of AmE conversation (Stern 1997). It was compiled in the mid 1990s under the direction of Jack Du Bois at the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB) and is not publicly available. Only a few universities (e.g. those of authors who have written grammars or dictionaries for Longman) have restricted access to the LSAC, and individual researchers have been able to purchase a limited single license from Pearson Education (e.g. Mittmann 2004).

Both corpora represent appropriate reference points for comparison with CATS. In fact, it became apparent that the AmE conversation subcorpus of the LSWE Corpus (1st and 2nd version) consists of the same data as the LSAC. In other words, they are principally the same corpus, with the LSAC being the later, expanded version (also Biber 17/05/2011 and Leech 21/05/2011; p.c.). I therefore decided to consider any larger corpus study which is based on one of these two corpora as an appropriate reference point for Analysis (I) and Analysis (II) of this study. The three major works used for this study are thus Biber et al. (1999), Mittmann (2004), and Quaglio (2009). Only occasionally do I refer to studies based on other corpora to complement the evidence, such as studies based on the CANCODE corpus (e.g. Fung and Carter 2007).

My primary source of reference data is Biber et al. (1999), i.e. most comparisons with CATS are made with the findings of their corpus analysis. It is a major reference grammar of contemporary English and frequently used as a reference point in other corpus-based studies.

It is to date the most comprehensive description of the grammar of conversation and offers a wealth of frequency information on a large variety of phenomena. One of the most obvious advantages is that it offers information on register distribution and on differences between British and American English. The latter will also be referred to in the present study.

Nevertheless, a few minor drawbacks of this reference data must be acknowledged. First of all, Biber et al. (1999) do not provide raw frequencies for their results, and the normalized frequencies (pmw) are usually displayed by a certain number of circles or squares, where e.g. one circle represents 500 instances pmw. This means that the frequencies are rather approximate numbers and based on a certain extent of rounding. The authors comment on this issue as follows:

[...] [W]e report frequencies at a level of precision that we judge to be replicable, rather than reporting the exact frequency obtained in our analysis. These rounded frequencies accurately measure the relative use of features – across registers and relative to other features – without suggesting the sometimes spurious accuracy of an exact count. (Biber et al. 1999: 39)

Since the present study does not aim for a detailed description of low-frequency phenomena, these rough counts can be considered sufficient for the purpose. To obtain the raw frequencies (which were necessary for statistical testing), I re-calculated the normalized counts 'backwards,' as it were, based on the respective corpus size. This will also result in approximate numbers, but should nonetheless suffice. To make sure that the approximation of Biber et al.'s counts does not affect the levels of significance, I additionally conducted significance tests with (hypothetical) higher and lower numbers, which the rounded numbers could have been based on.⁹⁴ The use of the lower/higher numbers never resulted in a difference of the significance level in the present study.

What should furthermore be noted is that Biber et al. (1999) do not always provide separate frequencies for British and American conversation for the features under investigation here. For some analyses (e.g. *that*-deletion, present tense verbs), CATS is in fact compared to their 'core register of conversation' (or a subset thereof), which consists of British English conversation (3,929,500 words, cf. Biber et al. 1999: 25).⁹⁵ However, this was also not seen as a major problem since this concerned only those grammatical features for which, as the authors explicitly state, large differences between the two national varieties are very unlikely (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 26). This claim is corroborated by corpus-based analyses by

⁹⁴ For example, say the frequency information for feature x was "7 circles," with each circle representing 500 instances pmw, I used a count of 3,500 pmw for my main analysis, but in addition, I tested whether a frequency of 3,250 and 3,749 pmw would have changed the result in a substantial way, 3,250 and 3,749 pmw being the lowest/highest values which the authors would still have rounded to 3,500 pmw.

⁹⁵ Note that this core conversation subcorpus in the LSWE corpus is identical with the spoken demographic subcorpus of the BNC (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 28), i.e. these two corpora are in fact one and the same, too.

Quaglio (2009: 48) and Helt (2001: 174f.), who both find that AmE face-to-face conversation (retrieved from the same corpus which Biber et al. 1999 used, i.e. the LSWE Corpus/LSAC) does not differ significantly from British English (BrE) face-to-face conversation along Biber's (1988) Dimension 1. In other words, the linguistic features with a high positive loading on this dimension generally do not present salient differences in the two national varieties. Since eight of the ten indicators of spoken style analyzed in the present study are in fact the eight features with the highest positive loading on Dimension 1, their frequency can be considered as relatively variety-independent. For these reasons, the counts which are based on the 'core register of conversation' in Biber et al. (1999) are considered suitable reference points for the analysis of the present study, too.⁹⁶

Mittmann's (2004) comprehensive study on multi-word expressions in spoken British and American English represents a second reference point. Mittmann uses the entire LSAC corpus (4,884,960 words according to her counts) and the entire spoken demographic subcorpus of the BNC (3,954,368 words according to her counts). The corpora she uses are thus the same as Biber et al.'s (1999), only that her AmE corpus is the expanded version of Biber et al.'s AmE conversation subcorpus. Her work was consulted whenever Biber et al. (1999) did not offer appropriate frequency data for the feature under investigation. One of the assets of her work is that she offers plenty of frequency data for phenomena beyond the single word, e.g. routine formulae. However, since her work is predominantly form-based, she usually does not consider functional differences and rarely analyzes concordances manually. In consequence, only the frequency counts of those features were used as reference points in the present study whose functions were unambiguously the ones in question.

Quaglio (2009) is the third reference point. His work is also based on the Longman corpus, though only a subset of it (589,722 words). Quaglio provides raw frequency information on select phenomena of spoken grammar and also considers functional aspects. Quaglio's data is only used, however, when Biber et al. (1999) and Mittmann (2004) do not provide the necessary frequency information, which primarily concerns features in Analysis (II).

For the sake of simplicity, each of the reference data bases used in the present study is assigned a specific code, i.e. a certain letter (see Table 5-6). In the analyses in Chapters 6 and 7, I will use these codes in superscript when the results are presented in tables and figures, so

⁹⁶ Note that the AmE and BrE conversation subcorpora are not always used in their entirety by Biber et al. (1999). For some features, only subsets of them were used, usually when a finer manual analysis was required. The exact type of reference corpus will consistently be indicated during the comparative analysis of the present study.

that e.g. "AmE conv.^a" in a table or figure indicates that reference corpus "a" was used for the frequency comparison. In addition, the exact sources and word counts of the corpora are always mentioned in the text. Note again that corpora a, b, e, and g are each simply different versions of the same original corpus, as are the British English conversation corpora c, d, and f.

Table 5-6: Superscript codes for the reference corpora used in the present study (a-h)

Code	Corpus	Word count	Source
a	AmE conversation subcorpus of the LSWE Corpus (enlarged version)	4,100,000	(Biber et al. 1999)
b	AmE conversation subcorpus of the LSWE Corpus (standard version)	2,480,800	(Biber et al. 1999)
c	Core conversation subcorpus of the LSWE Corpus (BrE, standard version)	3,929,500	(Biber et al. 1999)
d	Core conversation subcorpus of the LSWE Corpus (BrE, subset)	3,400,000	(Biber et al. 1999)
e	LSAC (Longman Spoken American Corpus)	4,884,960	(Mittmann 2004)
f	BNC spoken demographic subcorpus (British National Corpus)	3,954,368	(Mittmann 2004)
g	AmE conversation subcorpus of the LSWE (subset)	589,722	(Quaglio 2009)
h	CANCODE pedagogic subcorpus (BrE)	460,055	(Fung and Carter 2007)

5.5 Computer-assisted analysis: Tools and procedures

The corpus analysis in the present study was carried out with *WordSmith Tools* version 5 (Scott 2008). I used mainly two tools, viz. *WordList* and *Concord*. The *WordList* tool computes a variety of lexical statistics about a corpus. One major function is that it provides a list of all the words in the corpus which may be sorted in alphabetical order or frequency order. I used this tool to determine the overall word counts of CATS and its four subcorpora as well as the frequencies of individual lexical items which required no further disambiguation. *Concord* generates concordance lines for a specific word, string of words, or even tag. The concordance lines are displayed in KWIC (keyword in context) format and may be sorted according to different criteria. The settings in *WordSmith Tools* may be configured in a way suitable for one's particular purposes. For instance, in my analysis, all text occurring within tags (here: angular brackets, <...>) was ignored for the computation of frequencies and concordances. I used the *Concord* function for the majority of analyses, since most of the lexical searches required manual disambiguation and/or subsequent sorting and coding. For example, for the analysis of *that*-deletion (see Ch. 6.1.3) I needed to manually identify and delete cases where *that* was the relativizer of a relative clause rather than the phenomenon

searched for. Other searches also required an inspection of the extended context of the search item, e.g. in the case of the discourse marker *you know*. For this and other spoken features, the sound files were consulted (via DVD) if the text alone did not allow for disambiguation.

Furthermore, I used the corpus analysis and comparison tool *Wmatrix* version 3 (Rayson 2008, 2009), which provides a web interface to two corpus annotation tools and other corpus methodologies. Through *Wmatrix* I annotated CATS with the part-of-speech (POS) tagging tool CLAWS4 (with the C7 tagset, cf. <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws7tags.html>>; last checked: 28/05/2013; see also a complete list of verb tags in Appendix 2). In order to improve the accuracy of the POS-tagging, I pre-edited CATS with the text editor *Notepad++*: By using regular expressions, I deleted the entire annotation in CATS so that the result was a 'stripped' version of CATS. In addition, I divided the corpus into four separate text files representing the four subcorpora. The POS-tagged subcorpora will be called GG_pos, Monk_pos, SFU_pos, and VM_pos.

5.6 Statistical methods

In order for word frequencies to be sensibly compared across corpora of different sizes, they need to be normalized. The three major reference works used for this study (Biber et al. 1999, Mittmann 2004, and Quaglio 2009) all report their frequencies as 'instances per million words' (pmw), as is very common for corpus-linguistic studies with large corpora. For the sake of simplicity, I normed the frequencies in CATS to a base of 1,000,000 words too, although the corpus only totals 160,122 words. While it is generally preferable to use a base near the size of the smallest corpus in the comparison (so as not to evoke the impression that the absolute frequency is higher than it actually is), this procedure makes the comparison somewhat easier. Absolute frequencies will also always be provided along with the normalized frequencies. All (pmw) counts are given without decimal places and are therefore rounded to the nearest unit.

To test the significance of the results in the data analysis, I primarily made use of the log-likelihood (LL) ratio, which is a suitable test for determining the significance of frequency differences of certain linguistic items across different corpora (cf. Rayson and Garside 2000).⁹⁷ The higher the LL value (G^2), the higher the statistical significance of the difference between the two frequency scores. The critical G^2 values are 3.84 (for $p < 0.05$), 6.63 (for $p < 0.01$), 10.83 (for $p < 0.001$) and 15.13 (for $p < 0.0001$). As is common in linguistic studies, the result will be considered statistically significant when the p-value is < 0.05 , which means

⁹⁷ Rayson's online log-likelihood calculator was used for this purpose: <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>> (last checked: 28/05/2013).

that the probability of the observed difference being due to chance is lower than 5%. If the result of a test is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$, this will be marked with one asterisk (*); if it is significant at $p < 0.01$, two asterisks (**) will be used; and if it is statistically significant at $p < 0.001$, three asterisks (***) will be used. Whenever a difference becomes significant at $p < 0.05$, the terms 'overuse'/'overrepresentation' and 'underuse'/'underrepresentation' will be used.

6 Analysis (I): The degree of linguistic authenticity

This chapter is composed of six sections. Chapters 6.1-6.4 present the results of the analysis of the ten indicators of spoken style, sorted according to the discourse circumstances to which they are primarily related. Ch. 6.5 provides a final account and addresses the question of whether and to what extent CATS is linguistically similar to naturally occurring conversation regarding features of spoken grammar. Ch. 6.6 finally addresses the major trends discerned and the implications of the results for the study of FSTVL.

The presentation of the analysis in sections 6.1-6.4 follows the same procedure for each indicator of spoken style. Each of these sections starts with a brief reflection about the respective discourse circumstance, which includes some basic assumptions and hypotheses regarding the outcome of the analysis. Then, each subsection dedicated to one indicator of spoken style starts with a grammatical description and examples of the variable in question. These examples are always extracted from CATS in order to illustrate which items are considered.⁹⁸ Since the reference data differ from variable to variable, they are explicitly stated for each indicator of spoken style. Then the results of the analyses are presented; first for CATS as a whole and second for each subcorpus (i.e. GG, *Monk*, VM, and SFU) separately. The separate analyses provide clues as to whether the finding is a general phenomenon or more series-specific, and so they throw more light on the extent to which the results may be extrapolated to FSTVL in general. The presentation of results is always followed by a discussion, in which I try to provide functional explanations for the quantitative findings. For this purpose, I draw first and foremost on the "Taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of 'spokenness' in FSTVL" developed in Ch. 4.4.5. This implies that I adopt a more interpretative approach here. Finally, wherever possible, I relate my results to previous findings on FSTVL and conclude each section with a summary.

6.1 Indicators of spoken style (I): Related primarily to real-time constraints

As mentioned before (cf. Ch. 4.4.2.2.5), of all the discourse circumstances governing naturally occurring conversation (NOC), the factor 'real-time constraints' is probably where FSTVL is most different from natural language, as the speakers (i.e. the actors) are only to a

⁹⁸ One drawback of using extracts from CATS for illustrating these features *before* the presentation of results is certainly that it implies and/or anticipates to some extent that the use in CATS is natural. Despite this, I use examples from CATS rather than from another corpus because it will familiarize the reader with the structure and contents of CATS. The source of the example is given in brackets, indicating the respective subcorpus and episode, e.g. "VM_4" indicates '*Veronica Mars* subcorpus, episode 4.'

minor extent subject to genuine online pressure. Consequently, one could expect this to be also the area displaying the largest linguistic differences, i.e. generally fewer spoken language features.

However, what also needs to be taken into account is the inherent 'binariness' of this discourse circumstance. Since this has implications for the study of scripted speech, I will briefly comment on this issue here. There are in fact two different scenarios resulting from the online planning and production pressure of spontaneous conversation (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1048f.). These are illustrated in Figure 6-1.

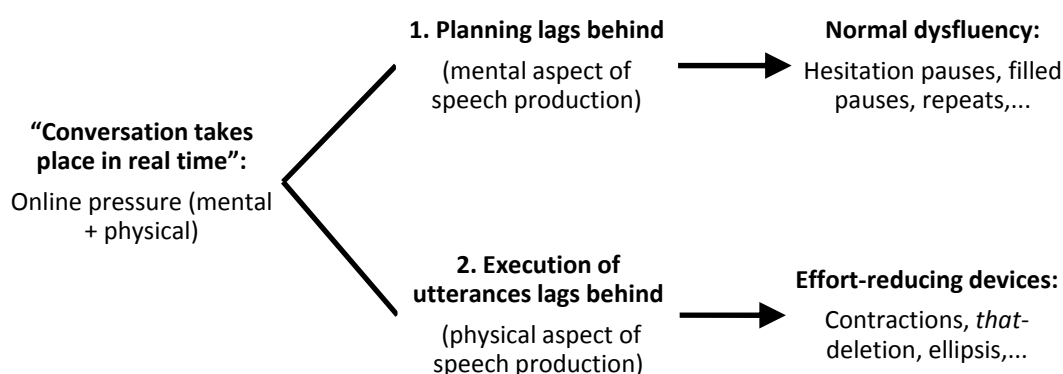


Figure 6-1: Binariness of real-time constraints in natural conversation

The most obvious phenomenon is, of course, that speakers cannot prepare their utterances as quickly as they would like to execute them. The lack of planning time on the level of content and form clashes with the need to 'keep talking' (cf. Ch. 2.5.2) and so the result is 'normal dysfluency,' including hesitation pauses, filled pauses, repeats, incomplete utterances, etc. The second phenomenon imposed by real-time constraints is that in other cases, "planning runs ahead of speech production" (Biber et al. 1999: 1048), i.e. speakers know exactly what they want to say, but the execution of the utterance takes longer than desired. Especially in lively interaction it can be important to quickly make your point. Thus another general tendency in conversation is to use effort-reducing devices, in line with the Economy Principle (cf. e.g. Leech 1983: 67 and Rühlemann 2010: 61), or 'principle of least effort' in language (Zipf 1949). Among these devices which reduce the length of the utterance are e.g. verb contractions, negative contractions, other morphologically reduced forms (e.g. *gonna*, *wanna*), and different types of ellipsis. The ultimate results of these two scenarios, which are both related to the same discourse circumstance, are thus fundamentally different. Features such as filled pauses and repeats lengthen the production process and therefore prolong the

utterance. In contrast, features such as *that*-deletion and contractions simplify and speed up the production process and therefore shorten the utterance.

In the context of FSTVL, the first scenario applies to a very restricted extent, as there is barely any genuine planning pressure. A prolongation of the spoken text is undesirable, too. The features associated with this are consequently likely to be less frequent in FSTVL. In contrast, features which simplify and shorten the production process are certainly needed and desirable in television dialogue, too, and are thus more likely to appear at frequencies comparable to that of NOC.

6.1.1 Filled pauses *uh* and *uhm*

The items *uh* and *uhm* (usually spelled *er* and *erm* in BrE) are strongly associated with online production pressure in spontaneous conversation and typically indicate varying degrees of hesitation (see e.g. example (1)).

- (1) <KEITH:> Oh, shit, David, I'm so sorry. What can I do?
 <DAVID:> **Uh**, nothing. Thanks. But, **uh**, I have to stay here.
 <KEITH:> Listen, **uh**, if you need anything, don't hesitate to call me.
 <DAVID:> Sure. (SFU_1)

There is debate over the extent to which these items are an automatic and involuntary by-product of the specific communicative circumstance and indicators of 'trouble' (thus the traditional term 'hesitator,' cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1092) or whether they are strategically applied and functional. Filled pauses have been claimed to have various functions, e.g. they buy the speaker time to think about what to say next, to find the right words and in the meantime signal that s/he wants to hold the floor and keep his/her turn. The different approaches to filled pauses are also reflected in the variable terminology: Apart from the label 'filled pauses' (e.g. Biber et al. 1999; Kjellmer 2003), they have also been called 'fillers' (e.g. Clark and Fox Tree 2002; Corley and Stewart 2008) and, more recently, 'planners' (Tottie 2011). Correspondingly, filled pauses have been considered as one type of the various 'dysfluency phenomena' or more generally 'performance phenomena' (e.g. Biber et al. 1999) or, with a much more positive connotation, a type of 'speech management phenomenon' (e.g. Rühlemann 2006).

The reference data for the analysis of filled pauses were taken from Mittmann (2004: 367, 371).⁹⁹ The counts include spelling variants which were used in the transcriptions (*uh/er; uhm/um/erm*) and exclude occurrences of *uh* whenever it is not used as a filled pause (e.g. in the combinations *uh(-)huh, uh(-)oh*).

Filled pauses occur significantly ($p < 0.0001$) less frequently in CATS than in NOC, as can be seen in Table 6-1.¹⁰⁰ The discrepancy is especially strong in the case of *uhm*, where CATS displays 1,205 instances pmw and AmE conversation displays 3,537 pmw, i.e. there is a ratio of about 1:3.

Table 6-1: Filled pauses *uh* and *uhm* in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^e

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^e 4,884,960 words		LL	P	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>uh</i>	608	3,797	25,620	5,245	68.80	<0.0001	(-)***
<i>uhm</i>	193	1,205	17,279	3,537	323.33	<0.0001	(-)***
TOTAL	801	5,002	42,899	8,782	300.48	<0.0001	(-)***

The lower frequency does not come as a surprise. Since filled pauses are typically used when planning time is lacking, they can be expected to be used much less frequently in FSTVL, where scriptwriters have had plenty of time in advance to plan the content and form of the utterances. In fact, intuitively, an even lower frequency may have been expected. There are rather negative attitudes towards these features and they are sometimes condemned in screenwriting handbooks (cf. Ch. 4.4.3.3, 4.4.4); they are considered a 'nuisance' which, in common opinion, just adds to the script length but not to the content. They are also rather difficult to perform naturally (i.e. as an imitation of hesitation). In other words, the filled pauses that are found are very likely to be there for specific reasons, for instance, for consciously making the dialogue sound natural, for the creation of suspense, or for the characterization of a particular individual.

In a second step, the four TV series in CATS were looked at separately in order to see whether the four series behave in similar ways. In Table 6-2 one can see that the four shows follow the same overall trend, as they all feature much lower frequencies of filled pauses than NOC. The underrepresentation thus seems to be a general feature in dramedy series.

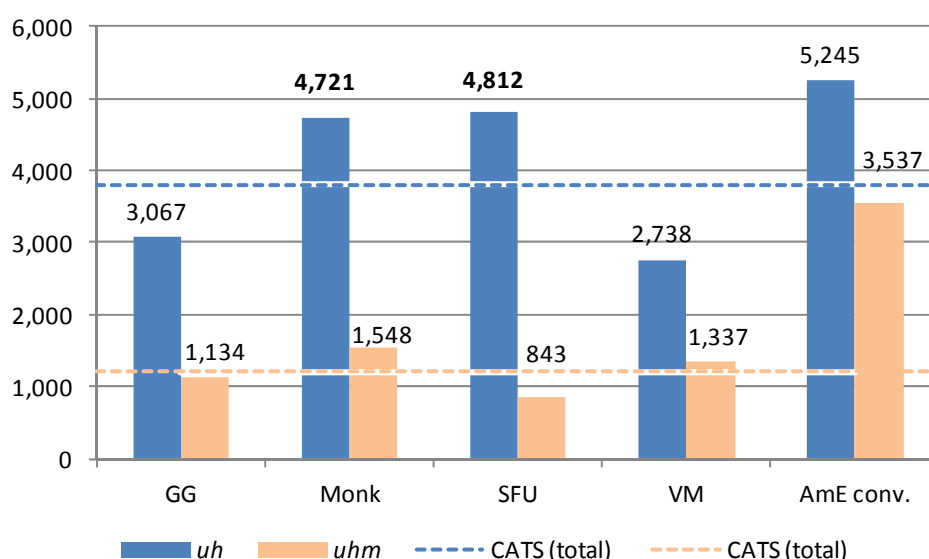
⁹⁹ While Biber et al. (1999) was generally my preferred source of reference data because they consider the functions of the spoken features under investigation, for this variable I used Mittmann's (2004) data because there were conflicting frequency counts for filled pauses in Biber et al. (1999: 1054 vs. 1096) which could not be disambiguated (Biber 17/05/2011 and Leech 21/05/2011; p.c.).

¹⁰⁰ An analysis of filled pauses based on a preliminary version of CATS and different reference data is presented in Dose (2013).

Table 6-2: Filled pauses (*uh* and *uhm* taken together) in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^e

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv.^e (4,884,960 words)	42,899	8,782			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	801	5,002	300.48	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	226	4,200	158.26	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	239	6,269	30.27	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	208	5,654	46.65	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	128	4,076	98.58	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

At the same time, there are strikingly different degrees of underrepresentation: *Monk* and SFU both display much higher frequencies than GG and VM, thereby forming two distinct groups. The range between VM with 4,076 instances pmw and *Monk* with 6,269 instances pmw is very large. In fact, the difference between these two series is statistically significant at $p < 0.0001$ ($G^2 = 16.03$). Before trying to identify some possible reasons for this substantial variation between the series, it is useful to take a look at the individual frequencies of *uh* and *uhm*. Figure 6-2 illustrates the distribution (see also Table A-1 in Appendix 3 for raw frequencies and p-values). The upper dashed line represents the total frequency (pmw) of *uh* in CATS, while the lower dashed line represents the total frequency (pmw) of *uhm*.

Figure 6-2: Filled pauses *uh* and *uhm* in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^e (pmw)

This visual representation throws some more light on how the total frequencies for filled pauses in CATS came about. In the case of *uhm*, the picture is quite uniform, as none of the shows comes even close to NOC and the differences from it are highly statistically significant

($p < 0.0001$) for every show. There is also not such a clear grouping as was suggested by the overall counts for filled pauses (i.e. when *uh* and *uhm* were considered together). In contrast, the disparity between the four subcorpora is very large in the case of *uh*. It is striking that *Monk* and SFU have very similar frequencies to NOC. In fact, the difference between these two shows and natural AmE conversation did not prove statistically significant in a log-likelihood test ($G^2 = 2.05$ and 1.34 respectively; $p > 0.05$).¹⁰¹ In contrast, GG and VM both differ significantly (both $p < 0.0001$) from NOC as regards the frequency of the filled pause *uh*. The grouping which was discerned for all filled pauses together (with *Monk* and SFU showing higher frequencies vs. GG and VM with lower frequencies) clearly has to do with the higher frequency of *uh* – after all, *uh* ($n = 608$) is more than three times as frequent as *uhm* ($n = 193$) and thus has a greater impact on the overall results.¹⁰²

The reasons for the heterogeneous distribution across the four series may be various. Many of these have already been discussed in the context of the "taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness." In this particular case, i.e. filled pauses, one reason for the high frequency of *uh* in *Monk* may be that the protagonist is a very insecure and hesitant person by nature. It is likely that scriptwriters consciously script this feature to characterize Adrian Monk. This claim would need to be ascertained by further analysis, i.e. by coding every instance of a filled pause according to the speaker. The high frequency in SFU is probably due to other reasons, possibly very attentive scriptwriters and actors who aim at a high degree of naturalness.

6.1.2 Repeats

Besides filled pauses, repeats represent a second type of very common features which are used when speakers are under planning pressure. In FSTVL, a lower frequency can be expected due to the substantially reduced planning pressure. The term 'repeat' means that the same linguistic item is repeated until the speaker can continue. The most frequent kind is a 'double' (i.e. the item is repeated once) and often occurs at the beginning of a major syntactic unit, when planning pressure is particularly high (Biber et al. 1999: 1055ff.). Following Biber et al. (1999), I use the term *repeat* for the involuntary repetition of an item, and *repetition* for the general phenomenon of repeated words or phrases, irrespective of whether the verbal repetition is intentional (e.g. for the purpose of intensification) or not. In example (2), the

¹⁰¹ Dose (2013) found that in *Monk* and SFU, *uh* is even significantly overused compared to BrE conversation.

¹⁰² Note, however, that the ratio of *uh* and *uhm* varies from show to show. In natural conversation (cf. Mittmann 2004), the ratio is around 3:2. For GG, the proportion is a bit less than 3:1, for *Monk* around 3:1, for SFU almost 6:1, and for VM around 2:1. SFU clearly disprefers *uhm* as a filled pause.

repetitions of the items *wait* and *look* are not considered repeats, but deliberate repetitions which function to intensify the utterance and to get the attention of the listener. In contrast, *the - the*, transcribed with a dash, is considered a single repeat (i.e. a 'double').

- (2) <WEEVIL:> Okay. Wait, wait, wait, wait, look, look. I'm sorry man, uhm, for, you know, taping you to **the - the** flagpole. I'm sorry.
<WALLACE:> All right. (VM_1)

In the analysis, all query hits were manually checked to make sure that only unplanned repetitions were counted. Ambiguous cases (of which there were only very few) were discarded. Furthermore, only consecutive repeats (i.e. without any intervening items such as filled pauses) were counted. This also excluded items such as *I - I'll - I'm gonna (...)*. Table 6-3 shows the frequencies of one-word repeats incl. doubles, triples, and quadruples of the five items for which Biber et al. (1999: 1055) provide suitable reference data (based on the 4.1-million-word AmE conversation corpus): The functions words *I*, *the*, *and*, *it*, and *you*, which are "some of the most common words in the Corpus [sic]" (ibid.) and among the seven most frequent words in CATS.¹⁰³ Note that the normalized frequencies provided by Biber et al. are approximations, and that their frequency information "less than 12 pmw" (Biber et al. 1999: 1055) was counted as 6 pmw. As discussed in Ch. 5.4, I re-calculated their frequency counts based on the respective corpus size to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies.

Table 6-3: Repeats in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^a (incl. doubles, triples, and quadruples)

	CATS (total)		AmE conv. ^a		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>I</i>	151	943	2,587	631	20.50	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>the</i>	16	100	947	231	14.70	<0.001	(-) ^{***}
<i>and</i>	23	144	742	181	1.28	>0.05	n.s.
<i>it</i>	2	12	357	87	15.73	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
<i>you</i>	26	162	357	87	7.90	<0.01	(+) ^{**}
TOTAL	218	1,361	4,990	1,217	2.54	>0.05	n.s.

It turns out that the total frequency of repeats of these five items in CATS (1,361 pmw) is even higher than in NOC (1,217 pmw), although the difference is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). CATS appears to be very similar to natural English here. Nevertheless, a curious

¹⁰³ These five items are typically among the top five to eight word forms in spoken corpora. For example, they are also the top five words in the 5-million-word CANCODE spoken corpus (O'Keeffe et al. 2007) and among the top six in the BNC spoken demographic subcorpus (<<http://www.kilgarriff.co.uk/BNClists/demog.num.o5>>; last checked: 28/05/2013).

picture emerges if the individual frequencies of these five items are regarded. Repeats of the pronouns *I* and *you* occur significantly more frequently, *the* and *it* occur significantly *less* frequently, and *and* displays no significant difference. Especially the conclusions for *the* and *it* must remain tentative, though, since the raw frequencies in CATS are quite low.

My data do not confirm what Quaglio (2009: 119) has found for his *Friends* corpus, i.e. that repeats are almost twice as frequent as in natural spoken English. He attributes his findings to the scriptwriters' and actors' aim of making the dialogue more informal, but I find it difficult to see why repeats *per se* would carry informality. Characterization and dramatization seem more likely explanations, especially considering the fact that – at least superficially – repeats are features which, like filled pauses, may take too much screen time if they do not have an identifiable purpose. Furthermore, they are difficult to act in a natural way. Be that as it may, Quaglio's data are barely comparable to mine as a) he does not mention which exact features he analyzed and b) he included instances of repeats with interceding items.

There is also great variation across the four series; in fact, there is one series which turns out to be 'responsible' for more than half of all the repeats in CATS: *Monk* features 112 of the 218 repeats. Figure 6-3 displays the distribution of repeats across the four subcorpora (see also Table A-2 in the Appendix for raw frequencies and p-values). The dashed line represents the total frequency of repeats in CATS.

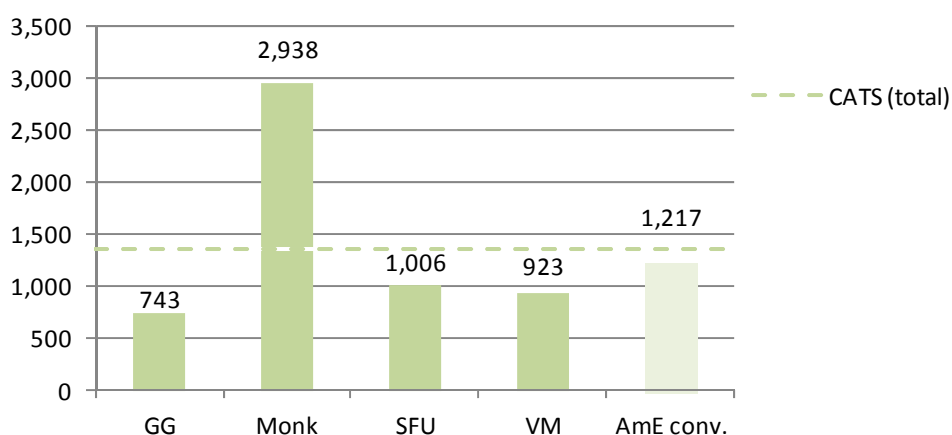


Figure 6-3: Repeats of *I*, *the*, *and*, *it*, and *you* (incl. doubles, triples, and quadruples) in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^a (pmv)

It is immediately visible that *Monk* is the odd one out. There is a highly significant overuse ($G^2 = 65.34$; $p < 0.0001$) compared to natural AmE conversation. SFU and VM feature fewer repeats than AmE conv., but do not deviate significantly ($G^2 = 1.42$ and 2.41), while GG

displays a highly significant underuse ($G^2= 11.41$; $p<0.001$). It thus appears that *Monk* somewhat skews the results and causes the overall frequency in CATS to be so strikingly similar to NOC – the other corpora alone look quite homogeneous. A closer look at the five different types of repeats in *Monk* reveals that only repeats of *I* and *you* are significantly more frequent ($p<0.0001$), while the other items display insignificant differences from NOC. This coincides with the results for CATS (total). Indeed, if the *Monk*-subcorpus were taken out of the equation, CATS (w/o *Monk*) would display a highly significant underuse ($p<0.001$) of repeats ($n= 106$; 869 pmw). The high frequency of repeats in *Monk* may have the same explanation as filled pauses. The repeats may be instrumentalized by the makers of the show to characterize the protagonist as especially insecure. Further analysis of repeats according to speakers would be needed for clarification here.

One general conclusion for the study of FSTVL which could be drawn at this point already is that in a corpus such as CATS, idiosyncrasies of individual speakers (i.e. characters, especially the protagonists) may have a much stronger impact on the overall results than in traditional spoken corpora, since there are probably fewer different speakers in relation to the number spoken words in the corpus. The lower number of different speakers has great advantages from a pedagogical perspective, viz. more homogeneity and coherence, but it causes some difficulties as regards the degree to which one can extrapolate the results to FSTVL in general.

6.1.3 That-deletion

Numerous verbs take *that*-clauses in post-verbal position. According to Biber et al. (1999: 661), they fall into three major semantic domains, namely mental verbs (esp. cognition verbs such as *think*, *know*), speech act verbs (e.g. *say*, *tell*), and other communication verbs (e.g. *show*, *suggest*). In conversation, the most common verb taking *that*-clauses is *think* (approx. 2,000 instances pmw), but also *say* (approx. 1,250 pmw) and *know* (approx. 750 pmw) are very frequent (Biber et al. 1999: 668). The subordinator *that* can generally be deleted when the *that*-clause functions as a direct object, complement, or extraposed subject (cf. Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 306; Leech 2006: 112; Quirk et al. 1985: 1049). Such clauses are then called 'zero *that*-clauses.' Examples (3) and (4) illustrate *that*-retention and *that*-deletion.

(3) <LILLY:> I just **think that** maybe you should just move on. (VM_7)

(4) <VERONICA:> Yesterday you **said** \emptyset we were made for each other. (VM_7)

Previous studies have shown that there are substantial register differences as regards the retention or omission of *that* (e.g. Biber 1988). Omission is much more common in conversation than e.g. in academic English: In conversation, omission is the norm, and retention is rare (Biber et al. 1999: 680). As Biber et al. (ibid.) explain, the online production pressure in spontaneous face-to-face conversation invites this type of syntactic reduction, which, in combination with the shared context and interactivity of conversation, is well possible without hindering the success of the communication act.

To compare CATS with NOC, I used data from Biber et al. (1999: 668, 680f.). They provide approximate normalized frequency counts for the two most frequent verbs controlling *that*-clauses, viz. *think* and *say*, which I re-calculated based on the respective corpus size (here: the core register of conversation) to obtain the raw frequencies. Biber et al. also offer percentages of *that*-deletion for these two verbs, which I again used for comparison. To extract the *that*-clauses controlled by *think* and *say* from CATS, I searched for all morphological forms of the two verbs and manually deleted all ambiguous cases as well as cases which were clearly irrelevant to my query, i.e. those hits which did not involve *that*-clauses (5) and items such as *thought* or *saying* as nouns.

(5) <LORELAI:> Fine, I'll think about it. (GG_3)

All remaining concordance lines were manually coded according to whether *that* was retained or deleted. The manual analysis was deemed necessary since not all instances of *that* following a verb are in fact subordinators, as is illustrated in (6).

(6) <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> Five hundred dollars a day, plus expenses?
<SHARONA:> Well, I think that's more than fair. He's never had a raise. (Monk 1_6)

Altogether, there are 694 *that*-clauses in CATS introduced by any form of the verbs *think* and *say*. 93.1% of these (n= 646) display omission of *that*. This percentage is strikingly similar to NOC: Biber et al. (Biber et al. 1999: 681) report approx. 93% of *that*-omission in *that*-clauses introduced by *think* and *say* (see Table 6-4 below). A log-likelihood test showed that the difference is not statistically significant.¹⁰⁴ This result contrasts with the previous two items which are related to the real time circumstances of conversation. In the case of *that*-

¹⁰⁴ Note that the LL test was performed with the frequencies of *that*-deletion vs. the possible slots for deletion (i.e. all *that*-clauses). This is a more accurate measure than looking at *that*-deletion per million words, since this proportion is independent of the possibly divergent frequencies of all *that*-clauses in the two corpora.

deletion, the altered discourse circumstances (i.e. the lack of planning pressure) do not manifest themselves in a general lack of the phenomena associated with it.

Table 6-4: *That*-deletion with *think* and *say* in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	CATS 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^c 3,929,500 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	%	n	%			
<i>that</i> -deletion	646	93.1%	11,877	93.0%	0.00	>0.05	n.s.
<i>that</i> -retention	48	6.9%	894	7.0%			
TOTAL <i>that</i>-clauses	694	100.0%	12,771	100.0%			

In fact, since the ultimate purpose of *that*-deletion is to quicken the communication process (cf. introduction to 6.1), there is no reason for not including it in the script of a television series – quite the opposite is the case. The taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness (esp. branch "C: Specific to linguistic feature") also offers some further clues. There are no negative attitudes towards this feature and it is not condemned in screenwriting handbooks, it is easy to perform, it carries notions of informality, and its frequent use does not adversely affect comprehensibility – at least not in an obvious way.¹⁰⁵ All of this may contribute to the fact that its frequency is highly similar to NOC.

The frequency of *that*-deletion does not vary much from series to series (see Figure 6-4; see also Table A-3 in the Appendix for raw frequencies and p-values).

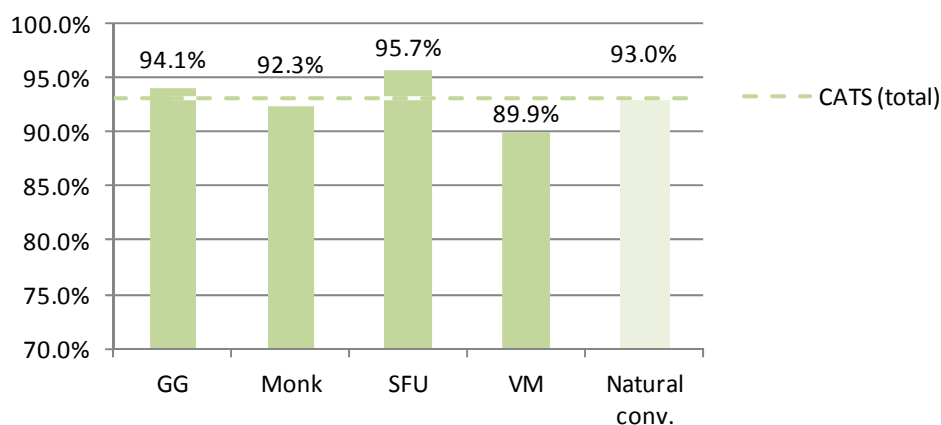


Figure 6-4: *That*-deletion with *think* and *say* in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

¹⁰⁵ One might, of course, argue that *that*-deletion effects a lower degree of explicitness and therefore may be a source of ambiguity, which is somewhat undesirable in FSTVL. Moreover, *that*-deletion places a higher processing burden on the recipient than the more explicit alternative, i.e. *that*-retention. However, these are probably factors which scriptwriters are not aware of and thus *that*-deletion is unlikely to be considered a potential 'threat' to intelligibility. For these reasons, these aspects should not have a great impact on the frequency of *that*-deletion in FSTVL.

All four shows display deletion rates of around 90%, and none of the series differs significantly from NOC (with G^2 -values between 0.00 and 0.16; $p > 0.05$).¹⁰⁶ *Veronica Mars* has the lowest deletion rate, but still, the difference from NOC is not statistically significant, and neither are differences between the four individual shows. It seems that *that*-deletion does not depend on the individual scriptwriters, actors, or fictional worlds. The B-factors in the taxonomy ("Specific to TV show") thus do not appear to be very influential here.

6.1.4 Contractions

Contractions in English can basically be of two kinds: There are negative contractions (e.g. *doesn't*, *won't*) and verb contractions (e.g. *she's*, *we've*), the latter of which are in the focus of this analysis. Verb contractions occur with forms of the primary verbs *be* and *have* as well as with the modal verbs *will* and *would*, and they are particularly frequent with pronominal subjects (as opposed to non-pronoun subjects, i.e. full noun phrases; cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1129f.). They are often cited as typical features of speech, saving the speaker time and effort, though there are no absolute differences between speech and writing (e.g. Biber 1988; Biber et al. 1999; Chafe and Danielewicz 1987): Contractions are also found in written registers. However, style guides and other prescriptive instances typically recommend a limited use of contractions in writing (e.g. The Economist 2009), particularly formal writing.

Biber et al. (1999: 1062) provide suitable reference data for 'subject pronoun + verb' contractions: *'m*, *'re*, *'s* (*be*), *'ve*, *'s* (*have*), *'d* (*have*), *'ll*, and *'d* (*would*). Their normalized frequencies for natural AmE conversation are rough figures, and the authors themselves concede that in the case of contractions, some uncertainty or approximation inherently lies in the transcribers' transcription conventions (Biber et al. 1999: 1129). This is also true for CATS: It was sometimes difficult to discriminate between e.g. the uncontracted *I am* and the contracted *I'm*. Most cases were clear, however, and ambiguous cases were transcribed as 'uncontracted.' Table 6-5 (below) displays the results. Verb contractions are more frequent in CATS than in natural AmE conversation, with 32,519 instances pmw vs. approx. 31,000 instances pmw. The difference is highly significant at $p < 0.001$. Relating this to the taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness in FSTVL, this result is by no means surprising. Screenwriters and actors are certainly aware of this feature, there are no negative connotations attached to it in speech, screenwriting handbooks do not warn against using it, it is easy to perform, and it does not affect intelligibility when frequent.

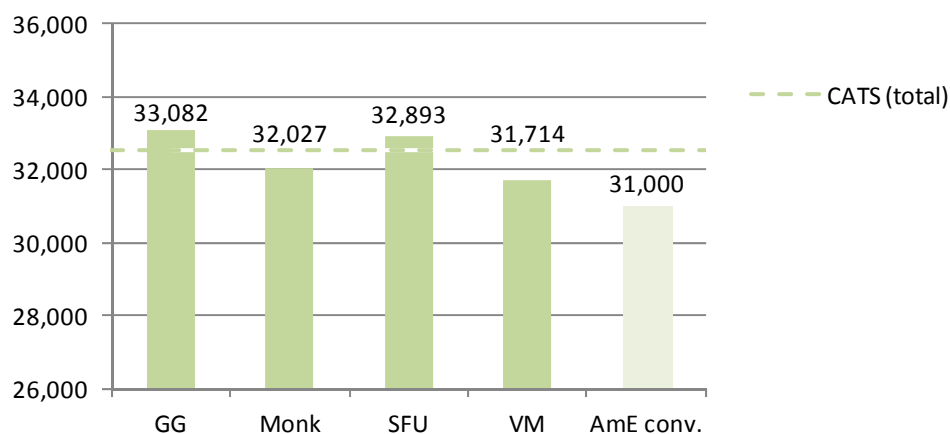
¹⁰⁶ Again, the LL test was performed by contrasting the frequencies of *that*-deletion vs. the possible slots for deletion (i.e. all *that*-clauses).

Table 6-5: 'Subject pronoun + verb' contractions in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^a

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^a 4,100,000 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
subject pronoun + 'm, 're, 's (be); 've, 's (have), 'd (have); 'll, 'd (would)	5,207	32,519	127,100	31,000	11.27	<0.001	(+)***

Moreover, it does have at least two very desirable effects in the television business, viz. it carries notions of informality and, like *that*-deletion, shortens and simplifies the production process and thus allows for quicker interaction. In television, quick interaction is just as desired as in natural conversation – a quick progression of the narration is usually preferred. In the case of scripted television dialogue, then, there is no reason for a lower frequency of contractions, but rather a higher one. This view in fact contradicts what some previous studies on FSTVL have found. For instance, Rodríguez Martín (2010a, 2010b) reports a significant *underuse* of verb contractions in her corpus of feature films. She assumes that this can be contributed to "[t]he fact that film dialogues are based upon written scripts" (Rodríguez Martín 2010b: 161). In the present study, I argue the opposite. It is also worth noting that the frequency of contractions in natural language use has been shown to have increased in the past few decades even in the written language, probably as part of the larger development of 'colloquialization' (Mair and Leech 2006). The higher frequency of contractions in CATS may be a reflection of that trend, as the language of CATS is approx. 10-15 years 'younger' than the language collected for the reference corpus.

The very frequent use of contractions in CATS is common to all four subcorpora; none of the series sticks out here (see Figure 6-5; also Table A-4 in the Appendix).

Figure 6-5: 'Subject pronoun + verb' contractions in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^a (pmw)

The range is not wide, just between 31,714 pmw (VM) and 33,082 pmw (GG), and the difference between these two TV shows is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). The difference from natural AmE conversation is insignificant for *Monk* and VM ($p > 0.5$), but significant for GG ($p < 0.01$) and SFU ($p < 0.05$). It seems to suggest itself that a similar or more frequent use of contractions is a general characteristic of FSTVL.

The overuse of contractions found in CATS may, of course, be related to a generally higher frequency of the verbs in question, which could then entail a higher frequency of contracted verbs, too. To avoid a skewing effect, it is therefore useful to take an additional approach and compare the number of contracted forms with the number of corresponding uncontracted forms, i.e. determine the proportional use of a verb as a contraction. Biber et al. (1999: 1130) offer some useful reference numbers (based on their core register of conversation^c) for contractions with the verb *be*. The verb forms of *be* (*'m*, *'s*, *'re*) tend to be contracted around 75% of the time in conversation; in combination with subject pronouns even around 85% of the time. In order to calculate the proportion of contracted forms in CATS, I first manually disambiguated the results of the first search, as the contraction *'s* may realize a form of *be* or *have*: Out of the 1,668 instances of subject pronoun + *'s*, 1,567 instances were a form of *be* (93.9%). Afterwards, I searched for uncontracted forms, i.e. full forms (*I am*, *you are*, etc.) without any interceding items. Table 6-6 shows the results.

Table 6-6: Proportional use of *be* as contraction (*'m*, *'re*, *'s*) with subject pronouns in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	CATS		Natural conv. ^c		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	160,122 words		3,929,500 words				
	n	%	n	%			
<i>be</i> contraction (e.g. <i>I'm</i>)	3,870	90.3%	n.a.	85%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>be</i> with full form (e.g. <i>I am</i>)	417	9.7%	n.a.	15%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
TOTAL subject pronoun + <i>be</i>	4,287	100.0%		100.0%			

In CATS, the verb *be* with subject pronouns is contracted 90.3% of the time, i.e. more frequently than in NOC as reported by Biber et al. (1999: 1130). Since Biber et al. (1999) do not provide separate frequencies for the instances of *'s* realizing *be* and *'s* realizing *have* and I therefore did not have access to normalized or raw frequencies for *be*-contraction, I was unable to perform a log-likelihood test. Still, this result indicates that the higher frequency of contractions in CATS as displayed in Table 6-5 may in fact be a genuine stylistic difference rather than a by-product of a higher frequency of the verb phrases in question. What needs to be taken into account here is that the proportion reported above does not consider whether or

not contraction would theoretically be possible in the individual case, but simply compares the frequency of contracted forms vs. uncontracted forms. However, it is ungrammatical to contract the verb in some cases, e.g. in clause-final position, such as **I'm not sure where he's*, so that, strictly speaking, there is no slot for contraction. For CATS, I conducted an additional analysis to determine the number of actually possible slots. It turns out that 93.7% of all possible slots for contraction were used, so there is a slightly higher proportion.

The proportional use of contracted forms does not display much variation between the individual series either. Figure 6-6 shows the results. All four series have percentages higher than those reported for NOC by Biber et al. (1999: 1130), ranging from 88.1% (GG) to 92.3% (SFU).¹⁰⁷ The differences between the four series are not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). These numbers support the assumption that a highly frequent use of contractions is a general characteristic of FSTVL. It appears to be a spoken feature that scriptwriters and actors routinely make use of, independently of the individual settings, topics, or characters of the shows. Another point is that contractions do not carry specific connotations other than that of informality. As opposed to filled pauses or repeats, for examples, contractions (or lack thereof) cannot effectively be used to characterize a person since they are not associated with any particular character traits.

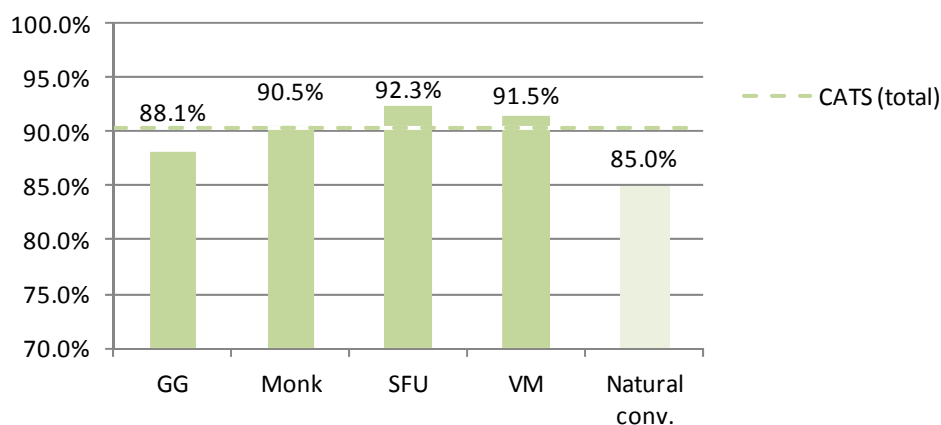


Figure 6-6: Proportional use of *be* as contraction (*'m*, *'re*, *'s*) with subject pronouns in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

6.1.5 Summary and discussion

The four indicators of spoken style related to real-time constraints display very different distributional patterns. When CATS is looked at as a whole, it turns out that there is a

¹⁰⁷ If only the actually possible slots of contractions were counted, the percentages would need to be adjusted: GG 91.6%, *Monk* 94.4%, SFU 95.1%, and VM 95.0%.

significant underuse of filled pauses, insignificant differences concerning repeats (though this result was clearly caused by *Monk's* tremendous overuse of repeats – otherwise, CATS would display a highly significant underuse of repeats), insignificant differences concerning *that*-deletion and a significant overuse of contractions. These findings clearly show that depending on which exact item is analyzed (though belonging to the same superordinate category), very different conclusions may be drawn as regards the degree of naturalness of CATS. The findings also confirm the assumption that features related to normal dysfluency are less frequent in FSTVL, while features saving effort in the production are not less frequent. Furthermore, it has been shown that individual shows may show striking variation. This corroborates the results of other scholars investigating different types of FSTVL (e.g. Bednarek 2011; see also Ch. 4.3.4).

6.2 Indicators of spoken style (II): Related primarily to shared context

The features related to shared context which are investigated here have in common that they involve a grammatical reduction and that they make the content less explicit or certain. As has been discussed in Ch. 4.4.2.2.2, while a grammatical reduction is principally also desirable in scripted TV language as it goes along with a shortening/simplification of the utterance (see also the introduction to 6.1), less explicitness may at some point be problematic since the TV audience does not necessarily share all the necessary knowledge about the situation. These two characteristics thus conflict in the context of FSTVL and 'work against each other,' as it were, so that it is difficult to form hypotheses about the frequency of these indicators. Nevertheless it is assumed that the frequency of these spoken features is either lower in FSTVL or even similar to NOC.

6.2.1 Do as a pro-verb

When *do* is used as a pro-verb (typically followed by the pronouns *it* or *that*), it substitutes for a longer verb phrase. "This device leaves implicit the exact referent of the verb, as well as following noun phrases, other complements, or adverbials in many cases" (Biber et al. 1999: 432). The linguistic and/or non-linguistic context usually clarifies what it refers to, as e.g. in example (7). The instance of *do it* clearly substitutes for *get to know them*.

- (7) <LORELAI:> You know, it might not be such a bad idea to get to know the people in your building, see who's gonna be the one to have the emergency Pop Tarts on hand.
 <RORY:> I'll get to know them.
 <LORELAI:> A party might be kind of a fun way to **do it**. (GG_3)

In this example, the textual clue for 'de-coding' the *do it* was openly presented in the preceding utterance, but this is not always the case. In natural conversation, the referent of *do it* is frequently not explicitly mentioned in the preceding verbal exchange, or is even outside the current conversation.

To compare CATS with NOC, I used data from Biber et al. (1999: 432). They provide approximate normalized frequency counts for all forms of *do + it*, which is, in fact, the use of pro-verb *do* which displays the largest contrast with written registers. I re-calculated the counts based on the respective corpus size (here: their core register of conversation) to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies. The results are shown in Table 6-7.

Table 6-7: All forms of *do + it* (pro-verb *do*) in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	CATS 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^c 3,929,500 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
all forms of <i>do + it</i>	114	712	3,537	900	6.54	<0.05	(-)*

Pro-verb *do* is used significantly less frequently in CATS ($p < 0.05$) than in NOC, with 712 occurrences pmw compared to 900 pmw. This result appears to confirm the assumption that linguistic features rendering the content less explicit are not as frequent in FSTVL as in natural language, and is in line with previous findings on vague language in FSTVL (e.g. Bednarek 2010 and Quaglio 2009).¹⁰⁸ Scriptwriters and actors are restricted by the limited shared context, as it were. While speakers in naturally occurring conversations can use *do it* to refer to all kinds of things which are internal or external to the current discourse, relying on the fact that the addressee can ask for clarification if need be, scriptwriters and actors can primarily use it when it refers to something mentioned in the previous discourse seen and/or heard by the TV audience, so as not to risk misunderstandings or confusion. The avoidance of implicitness seems to be the most crucial factor at work here, figuring even more than the fact

¹⁰⁸ Note, however, that Bednarek (2010) and Quaglio (2009) focused on e.g. hedges (e.g. *sort of, kind of*) and vague coordination tags (e.g. *...or something*), which are of course also related to the shared context of conversation but not entirely comparable to the two indicators analyzed here. Although hedges and coordination tags also create imprecision, they add to the length of the script (rather than reducing complexity) and often attract negative attitudes, which are two characteristics which do not apply to the pro-verb *do*.

that the use of the pro-verb *do* shortens the utterance, a fact otherwise quite welcome for TV dialogue. Other factors of the taxonomy are probably less important here. For example, there are no overt negative or positive attitudes toward this feature which would somehow have an impact on its frequency of use, it is not difficult to perform, and its use or non-use is not associated with any particular character traits which would make it attractive for characterizing purposes. However, if we look at the four shows separately, considerable variation comes to light (see Figure 6-7) and the preliminary conclusions drawn so far turn out to need adjustment.

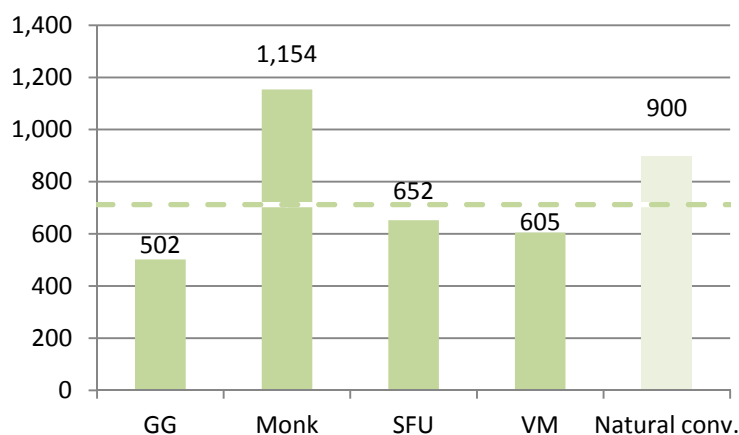


Figure 6-7: All forms of *do + it* (pro-verb *do*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c (pmw)

It turns out that the normalized frequency of 712 pmw in CATS (see dotted line in the figure) does not reflect a homogeneous trend of the four series. In fact, it is only because *Monk* displays such a high frequency (1,154 pmw) that the overall CATS value is as high as 712 pmw – the three other shows have considerably lower frequencies of the pro-verb *do* (see also Table A-5 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values). Nevertheless, only the underuse in GG is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). SFU and VM do not differ significantly in statistic terms from NOC, and neither does *Monk*. The fact that three out of four subcorpora display no significant differences thus considerably weakens the previous conclusion that CATS is less imprecise or vague. In this case, it would be useful to study larger corpora, as the raw frequencies of the pro-verb *do* are quite low in CATS. Furthermore, it would be worthwhile analyzing the uses of this pro-verb from a qualitative perspective and distinguish discourse-internal and -external references – it is possible that FSTVL features fewer discourse-external references as these are more likely to present a challenge to the TV audience.

Despite all this, it is curious that three series show relatively similar low frequencies and one series stands out from the rest. The difference between *Monk* and the other shows is unlikely to have come about by chance – e.g. the difference between *Monk* and SFU, i.e. the series with the next highest frequency, is already significant at $p < 0.05$. An explanation may lie in the varying genres represented in CATS. Specifically, *Monk* is a crime detective genre. A frequent topic here is homicide, i.e. murders and other crimes. A typical, frequently used expression in this context is "he/she did it," meaning 'he/she committed the crime,' which is in most cases the murder which is to be solved. Example (8) illustrates this usage. Captain Stottlemeyer, detective Monk, and his assistant Sharona are outside a church, talking about their current murder suspect Lawrence Grayson.

- (8) <CAPT. STOTTMLEYER:> Monk! Where's Grayson?
 <MONK:> He's still inside.
 <SHARONA:> Monk doesn't think he **did it**.
 <CAPT. STOTTMLEYER:> Oh, really? Well, this should interest you.
 Grayson bought a bunch of knives online a year ago that match the murder weapon. (Monk_7)

Indeed, a closer examination of the concordances allowed me to identify all the instances of *do + it* (including all forms, e.g. *did it* and *done it*) which implied 'commit the murder/crime.' Of the 44 occurrences in *Monk*, 24 (54.5%) had this particular meaning. The genre of the show and the respective recurring topics in that fictional world thus clearly influence the frequency of this linguistic feature. Were it not for this specialized meaning of *do it*, *Monk* would only have a frequency of 525 instances pmw, thus clustering much more neatly with the other three series. This result instantly raises the question of whether this pattern applies to VM too, i.e. the other series in CATS which is concerned with the solving of crimes. In VM, however, only 4 of the 19 (21.5%) instances have this specialized meaning; 2 referring to a murder, 2 to another crime. The extent to which this particular usage of the pro-verb *do* influences the results is thus not as large as for *Monk*. *Monk* is structured more like a typical 'whodunit'-type of detective series. It starts with a murder crime scene and then, throughout the entire episode, the detective(s) (and the TV audience) try to solve the mystery and find out 'who did it.' In contrast, VM is not primarily concerned with murders, but with smaller crimes, ethically questionable actions or simply *suspected* wrong-doings of different kinds. It furthermore features several other not crime-related plotlines and is concerned with more interpersonal matters, so that there are not as many 'opportunities' to use the classic 'he/she did it'-line. Due to the different genres and the different topics in the depicted fictional worlds, the

other two series in CATS, i.e. GG and SFU, barely offer any opportunity to use *do + it* with this specialized meaning. An analysis of the individual contexts of use showed, indeed, that no instance of the pro-verb *do* refers to murder or crime in these two series.

6.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns (*this, that, these, those*) are deictic items which typically substitute for noun phrases.¹⁰⁹ Previous research has shown that they are much more frequent in conversation than in written registers (cf. Biber 1988; Biber et al. 1999: 349). Especially the pronoun *that* shows large register-specific frequency differences.

Demonstrative pronouns point to an entity known from the preceding discourse (anaphoric reference) or, less frequently, to something in the following discourse (cataphoric reference). In example (9), for instance, the demonstrative pronoun *that* is clearly used to substitute for the noun phrase *crystal meth*.

- (9) <RUTH:> Is Brenda a vegetarian?
 <NATE:> She'll eat anything. <whispering to DAVID> Did you know the night that Dad died, Claire was high on crystal meth?
 <DAVID:> Oh, my God! Isn't **that** a horse tranquilizer? (SFU_4)

Anaphoric reference can be made to an explicit individual nominal entity, as in example (9), or to a larger unit (clause, sentence, text). For example, in (10) the pronoun *that* refers to Capt. Stottlemeyer's entire utterance *Don't give up*.

- (10) <The police officers leave. Monk looks at Leland Stottlemeyer.>
 <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> Don't give up.
 <MONK:> Wait a minute. Is **that** an order?
 <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> Yes, it is. <smiles> (Monk_4)

Demonstrative pronouns may also refer to an entity which has not been explicitly verbalized, but which is outside the spoken text and retrievable by the interlocutor(s) through the respective situational context (exophoric reference). This type of text-external reference is interesting in the context of FSTVL because this may be an area where television dialogue is somewhat restricted, since the TV audience does not share the same amount of context knowledge as natural conversationalists typically do (see also above in 6.2.1).

¹⁰⁹ Excluded from the present discussion and analysis are demonstrative determiners *this, that, these, those*, as in *This house is big*.

- (11) <SOOKIE:> I can't do **this**.
 <LORELAI:> Yes, you can. We just need to be clearer on the menu next time.
 <SOOKIE:> No, not **this**. <points to her stomach> **This**.
 <LORELAI:> Isn't it a little late?
 <SOOKIE:> You saw me with that little girl. I mean, and her face - I made that face.
 <LORELAI:> You were upset.
 <SOOKIE:> **This** is not right. **This** is all wrong. I - I - I don't - I don't want to be pregnant anymore! <walks away> (GG_3)

Example (11) from *Gilmore Girls* illustrates the use of demonstrative pronoun *this* with exophoric reference. Sookie and Lorelai are catering a children's birthday party and have just dealt with an organizational crisis, as Sookie had not prepared enough appropriate kids' food for the party and then brushed off a child who wanted a drink. Sookie is now experiencing a nervous breakdown. When she says *I can't do this*, Lorelai first thinks that *this* refers to their new catering business. Sookie clarifies by pointing to her pregnant stomach: She thinks that her pregnancy is not right, because she does not consider herself to be fit for motherhood. This example shows that a) even the interacting speakers may sometimes need to clarify the reference of a demonstrative pronoun when it is used to point to something outside the previous text and that b) context information is often indispensable to understand the meaning of demonstrative pronouns. This also includes accompanying gestures, such as Sookie's pointing to her stomach.

For the comparison of CATS with NOC, I drew on data provided by Biber et al. (1999: 349). They provide approximate normalized frequency counts for all four demonstrative pronouns. I re-calculated the counts based on the respective corpus size (here: a subset of their core register of conversation, 3.4 million words) to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies. To extract the demonstrative pronouns from CATS, I conducted a simple lexical search for the four items, including contracted forms (e.g. *That'll work*), and manually excluded all irrelevant hits, i.e. homonymous demonstrative determiners and instances of *that* functioning as conjunction, relative pronoun, and degree adverb. I also excluded instances of *this one/that one* etc., as in *I want this one*. While they are mentioned in Biber et al. (1999: 348) as special uses of demonstrative pronouns, the items *this/that* etc. are determiners from a syntactic perspective, not pronouns.

The results of the frequency comparison are presented in Table 6-8 (below). The total figures show that demonstrative pronouns are used significantly more frequently in CATS than in NOC ($p < 0.01$). In the light of the considerations above, this overuse is rather

surprising. The imprecision brought about by demonstrative pronouns does not seem to factor greatly, i.e. the 'manipulated' shared context in FSTVL does not appear to reduce their use.

Table 6-8: Demonstrative pronouns in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^d 3,400,000 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>this</i>	861	5,377	5,100	1,500	887.30	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>that</i>	1,390	8,681	37,400	11,000	80.92	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
<i>these</i>	33	206	1,700	500	34.37	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
<i>those</i>	19	119	1,700	500	65.35	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
TOTAL	2,303	14,383	45,900	13,500	8.63	<0.01	(+)^{**}

However, when looking closer at the individual pronouns, one can see that the four pronouns do not display the same pattern. Only the pronoun *this* shows a very significant overuse ($p < 0.0001$), while the other three pronouns are significantly *underused* ($p < 0.0001$), a result which corresponds more to the hypotheses. In a way, the results for *this* skew the overall results, then. An analysis of the four series indicates that the striking overuse of *this* is a phenomenon common to all four series, as is the underuse of *that* (see Table 6-9).¹¹⁰ Consequently, the result is unlikely to be related to idiosyncrasies of the individual shows; rather, it seems to be a general phenomenon of FSTVL, or at least of the type of drama series represented in CATS.

Table 6-9: Demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that* in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

		n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv.^d (3,400,000 words)	<i>this</i>	5,100	1,500			
	<i>that</i>	37,400	11,000			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	<i>this</i>	861	5,377	887.30	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
	<i>that</i>	1,390	8,681	80.92	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	<i>this</i>	252	4,683	225.66	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
	<i>that</i>	455	8,456	33.92	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	<i>this</i>	220	5,771	262.11	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
	<i>that</i>	379	9,941	3.97	<0.05	(-) [*]
SFU (36,786 words)	<i>this</i>	208	5,654	241.89	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
	<i>that</i>	311	8,454	23.34	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	<i>this</i>	181	5,763	216.03	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
	<i>that</i>	245	7,801	32.28	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

¹¹⁰ *These* and *those* are also significantly underused in all four shows – the only exception is *these* in SFU (n=13): Here, the difference is not statistically significant ($G^2=1.75$; $p > 0.05$).

The proportion of *this* and *that* is consequently also very different. In natural conversation, *that* is more than 7 times as frequent as *this*, while in CATS, it is only about 1.5 times as frequent as *this*. The reasons for the different distribution of *this* and *that* in CATS and in natural conversation are not clear. Referring to the taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness, there is no factor that immediately comes to mind which could be at work here. There are probably no differences between *this* and *that* in terms of the scriptwriters'/actors' awareness of them, there are no linguistic attitudes involved or issues of intelligibility or performability. They have the same effect on the length of the utterance and are not associated with particular personal characteristics. It must have to do with the individual functions of *this* versus *that*, which are used to different degrees in FSTVL. This issue can only briefly be broached here, as a detailed qualitative study is beyond the scope of this study.

This tends to be used to refer to items that are, in a physical or psychological sense, proximate to the speaker, while *that* signals something more distant and is generally more vague (Biber et al. 1999: 350). In other words, *this* produces less vagueness than *that* and the TV audience is therefore probably less dependent on the context in order to understand the reference. Scriptwriters and actors may not need to be as careful to avoid lack of clarity as with *that*. This may be one reason why there is an underuse of *that*, but not of *this*. Nevertheless, it does not explain the *overuse* of *this*. One could also change the perspective here and ask why there are fewer instances of *this* in natural conversation. There may be individual uses of *this* which are simply less frequent in corpora of natural conversation. For example, a look at the concordance of *this* in CATS reveals that many instances are found in reference to humans, i.e. when a new person is introduced to someone else, as in examples (12) and (13), or when picking up the phone and introducing oneself, as in (14).

- (12) <RUTH:> <noticing Keith in his uniform> Is something wrong?
<DAVID:> No, uh, nothing's wrong. **This is** Keith Charles. He's a friend of mine. He came to pay his respects to Dad. (SFU_1)
- (13) <WAITRESS:> Hi, I'm Vickie.
<MONK:> Hi, Vickie, I'm Adrian Monk, and **this is** Monica Waters. (Monk_7)
- (14) <VERONICA:> <into the phone> Hi. **This is** Sarah Williams. I'm just wondering if I can get my test results over the phone. (VM_7)

Previous research on FSTVL has pointed out that greeting expressions are more frequent in FSTVL (e.g. Quaglio 2009) simply because the relevant settings (where people greet each

other and introduce unknown people to others) are included to a lesser degree in standard speech corpora due to their sampling procedures (see also below in Ch. 7.3.3). Since for the compilation of spoken corpora, permission for recording must usually be sought in advance, the people recorded are usually already familiar with each other and there is no need for an introduction. A lower frequency of introductory expressions such as the ones above in examples (12)-(14) in natural spoken corpora may thus contribute to a lower frequency of the demonstrative pronoun *this* in the type of spoken English captured by the corpora. This is only one example of a function of *this* which is probably overrepresented in FSTVL; further qualitative analysis could provide additional clues and should be envisaged for future study.

Keeping in mind the gross overuse of *this* in all four subcorpora, it is still worthwhile to compare the total frequencies of demonstrative pronouns (considered as a batch) with NOC. Figure 6-8 displays the results (see also Table A-6 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values).

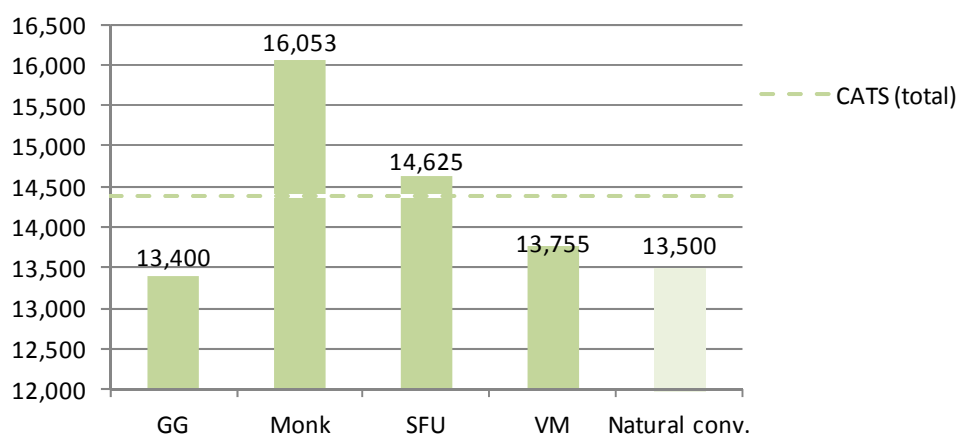


Figure 6-8: Demonstrative pronouns (*this, that, these, those*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d (pmw)

GG displays a lower frequency than natural conversation (13,400 pmw), while the other three shows have higher frequencies. However, except for *Monk*, the differences between the TV shows and natural conversation turn out to be statistically insignificant ($p < 0.05$). Only *Monk* differs highly significantly from natural conversation ($G^2 = 17.14$; $p < 0.001$), as demonstratives (considered as a group) are strongly overrepresented with 16,053 pmw. *Monk* is again the odd one out – the other three shows do not differ significantly from each other. Closer inspection of the results for *Monk* reveals that it is especially the pronoun *that* where major discrepancies between the four shows emerge (as opposed to the homogeneity regarding *this*, where, as mentioned above, all four shows display a significant overuse; cf. Table 6-9). While *Monk* features 9,941 instances pmw of *that* ($n = 379$), the next highest value

is reached by GG with 8,456 pmw (n= 455). This difference is significant at $p < 0.05$ ($G^2 = 5.38$). *Monk's* frequency is still an underrepresentation compared to natural conversation, but it is interesting to note that *Monk* behaves differently from the rest. The reasons for this are not clear. A trivial cause may simply be that *that* is repeated more often in *Monk* than in the other series (since *Monk* also displays a higher frequency of repeated other items, cf. 6.1.2), which leads to a higher frequency of *that*. A closer look at the concordances shows, however, that only seven instances of *that* can be accounted for by repeats. Although this is more than in the other shows (GG: 0, SFU: 0, VM: 1 repeat), there must be other reasons. The higher frequency of *that* may have something else to do with the genre and the fictional world of *Monk*. One could suppose that the fact that Monk and the other detectives in this series constantly try to solve crimes and thus speculate about past and/or uncertain things, is also conducive to more vague expressions, including the pronoun *that*. Discussing possible crime scenarios is possibly also an activity where speakers – more often than in other types of verbal interaction – "need to express contrast and emphasis" (Biber et al. 1999: 350), which is a function fulfilled by *that* when it is used as a stressed alternative to *it*. Since *that* furthermore expresses emotional distance, indicating feelings such as impatience and disapproval (see example (15)), it is tempting to suggest that such uses of *that* may simply be present more often in *Monk* than in other shows.

- (15) <Downstairs, Randy Disher chats with Sharona by the buffet table.>
<LT. DISHER:> So, uh, what, he leaves the house, like, uh, twice a week now?
<SHARONA:> What kind of question is **that**, hm? He leaves the house all the time. He's not disabled. He just gets a little anxious about -
<LT. DISHER:> Every single thing. (Monk_2)

All this may contribute to the fact that *Monk* comes closer to the score for natural conversation than the other three shows, even though it still remains significantly below it. Again, however, more detailed qualitative work would need to be done to understand how this distribution really came about. Another possible subject for closer future examination is the distribution of demonstrative pronouns with text-internal vs. text-external functions. Such a distinction is also acknowledged by Biber (1988: 114) and Culpeper and Kytö (2000: 186) and might provide further clues for the study of FSTVL. The ideas presented above are simply some possible starting points for future investigation.

6.2.3 Summary and discussion

The spoken features which relate primarily to the shared context of conversation present a varied picture. The pro-verb *do* is, as expected, used significantly less frequently in CATS than in NOC, though there is one show which does not go with this trend: *Monk* shows a higher frequency of the pro-verb and so diminishes the actual extent of underuse in CATS. The analysis of demonstrative pronouns also bore some surprises. Just as with previous spoken features, it turned out that two items belonging to the same superordinate category may even display diametrically opposed results: *This* is highly overrepresented, while *that* is highly underrepresented in all four shows. Despite this general trend, *Monk* sticks out here, too, in the sense that it features the highest frequency of demonstrative pronouns altogether. The differences from the other three shows are particularly striking in the case of *that*.

The interpretations of the results of these two analyses have emphasized the importance of taking into account the individual functions of the features under discussion and their different uses in the fictional worlds depicted by the television shows. It has furthermore been pointed out that there may be results which are better explained by possible shortcomings of natural spoken corpus data: Spoken features related to greeting expressions, for example, are less likely to be captured in traditional spoken corpora simply because of the restrictive compilation procedures.

6.3 Indicators of spoken style (III): Related primarily to interactivity

The next three features are all related to the interactivity of conversation. It should be stressed here again, though, that an alternative classification may well have been possible. For example, present tense verbs are related to the shared context of conversation, too. The same applies to second person pronouns – one obviously converses with a 'you' if another speaker is present in the same context (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1042; Biber et al. 2002: 430).

The great extent to which Biber et al.'s (1999) factor of 'interactiveness' also applies to film and television dialogue, too, has been discussed in Chapter 4.4.2.2.3. Based on these assumptions, it is expected that overall, the frequencies of these three features are not significantly lower than in NOC.

6.3.1 Present tense verbs

The category of 'tense' in English captures the grammatical difference between past and present as it is marked by inflectional endings of the verb.¹¹¹ Present tense verbs consist either of the base form of the verb (e.g. *sing*, *have*) or the 's-form' (e.g. *sings*, *has*) for the 3rd person singular. There is no 1:1 correspondence of 'tense' and time reference, since e.g. present tense can be used to refer to events in the past (e.g. the 'historic present') or in the future, too. This makes this tense particularly versatile. Most uses of the present tense, however, refer to current states, habits, or activities (Biber et al. 1999: 458). This also explains why present tense verbs have been shown to be much more frequent in conversation than in written registers (Biber 1988; Biber et al. 1999). "Because conversational concerns tend to be with the immediate here and now, speakers use present tense most of the time" (Biber et al. 1999: 458). While it is true that verbs are overall more frequent in conversation than in written registers and thus a higher frequency of present tense verbs is automatically implied, the proportion of present tense verbs as opposed to past tense and modal verbs is still substantially higher in conversation than in the registers of fiction, news, and academic prose (Biber et al. 1999: 456). Present tense can further combine with the categories of 'aspect' and 'voice,' and so e.g. instances of the present progressive and the present perfect include a present tense verb as well. The following excerpt (16) illustrates some uses of present tense verbs, which are marked in bold print. The focus of the speakers is clearly on immediate concerns and so there are many more present tense forms than past tense forms.

- (16) <CUT TO LUKE'S DINER>
 <Rory walks in and sits at the counter.>
 <RORY:> Hey, Luke.
 <LUKE:> Hey, Rory. **Isn't** today Yale?
 <RORY:> Uhm, yeah, I'**m** going right now.
 <LUKE:> You **look** so calm. How **do** you feel?
 <RORY:> A little nervous, but a last Luke's fix before I **go** will help.
 <LUKE:> Well, today **is** whatever you **want** on the house.
 <RORY:> Wow, I **feel** important.
 <LUKE:> You **are** important. Where's your mom?
 <RORY:> She's coming. She's having a wee bit of trouble with your truck.
 <Luke looks out the window and sees Lorelai backing his truck toward the diner.>
 <LUKE:> What **is** she doing?

¹¹¹ There are other classifications, e.g. in which the 'perfect' is considered a tense and not an aspectual category (e.g. Leisi and Mair 1999). However, I will follow Biber et al. (1999) and Quirk et al. (1985) and consider the perfect as part of the grammatical category of aspect.

<RORY:> Well, she, uh, backed the truck out of our driveway all fine and everything, but once she hit the road, she couldn't get it out of reverse, so she -
 <LUKE:> Backed it here?
 <RORY:> Slow but steady. (GG_2)

Luke and Rory talk about the current day, which is important to Rory because it will be her first day as a student at Yale University. Present tense verbs are used to talk about current states and ongoing activities (*Isn't today Yale?, you look so calm, I feel important, What is she doing?*) as well as present plans and events in the future (*I'm going right now, before I go, She's coming*).

The extraction of present tense verbs from CATS was less straight-forward as for the previous features, as expected. As present tense verbs cannot be extracted by a particular lexical search string in *WordSmith Concord*, CATS needed to be POS-tagged first, for which the standard tagger CLAWS4 with the CLAWS C7 tagset was used via the tool Wmatrix (cf. Ch. 5.5). Out of the 31 verb tags in the C7 tagset, the following ten are relevant for a frequency analysis of present tense verbs (the complete CLAWS tagset is displayed in Appendix 2):

VB0 *be*, base form (finite i.e. imperative, subjunctive)
 VBM*am*
 VBR *are*
 VBZ *is*
 VD0 *do*, base form (finite)
 VDZ *does*
 VH0 *have*, base form (finite)
 VHZ *has*
 VV0 base form of lexical verb (e.g. *give, work*)
 VVZ -s form of lexical verb (e.g. *gives, works*)

In line with Biber et al. (1999: 456), modal verbs were not considered tensed verbs and thus not included in the search. Roughly 16,000 verb forms in CATS were tagged by CLAWS4 with one of these ten verb tags. These underwent extensive post-editing.¹¹² A spot-check of the accuracy of the assigned tags revealed that a systematic, manual checking of all the POS-tags was necessary.¹¹³ As CLAWS4 was not specifically designed for use with spoken corpora, phenomena such as ellipsis (e.g. *Lorelai, you have a minute?*, GG_4) represent a

¹¹² In fact, the extraction of present tense verbs (incl. post-editing) turned out so time-consuming that in hindsight, it might have been more feasible with a corpus as small as CATS to extract the present tense verbs manually, by simply reading through the corpus texts rather than aiming for a (semi)automated analysis first. See also Gilquin (2003) on corpus analyses of grammatical phenomena and the substantial amount of manual post-editing which can be associated with it.

¹¹³ The error rate of the tags was quite high (e.g. 21% in the case of the VV0 tag), which was considered unacceptable in the light of the relatively small corpus size of CATS. However, it should be acknowledged that this accuracy rate is probably common for tagged spoken corpora.

challenge in the tagging process. It is only by considering the context and the meaning of such utterances that one can disambiguate between operator ellipsis (so that the remaining verb is an infinitive) and a declarative question (which indeed features a present tense verb). Apart from the correction of erroneous tags, manual checking was also necessary because lexicalized expressions which are better seen as inserts (e.g. *thank you*) needed to be excluded from the counts, too. Finally, imperatives needed to be identified as well.

Imperatives constitute a tricky case because, while they may carry associations of present time, they cannot be tensed, i.e. marked in a grammatical way and there is no equivalent past tense. It is therefore a methodologically important decision to either exclude or include them in present tense verb counts. In fact, many previous studies have included imperatives in their counts of present tense verbs, be it for practical reasons (unfeasibility of laborious human intervention in an otherwise automated analysis of large data sets) or for conceptual reasons (some may argue that imperatives are indeed present tense verbs).¹¹⁴ For instance, Biber (1988: 224) took into account imperatives in his frequency analysis of present tense verbs: He considered all verbs which were tagged "VB (base form) or VBZ (third person singular present) verb forms in the dictionary, excluding infinitives" (ibid.). Other studies which refer to or are based on Biber's (1988) multidimensional study proceeded the same way, e.g. the analyses presented in Forchini (2012), McEnery et al. (2006), and Quaglio (2009). Nevertheless, I decided in the present analysis to filter out imperatives as I do not consider them relevant to my analysis of present tense verbs.

The reference data for the analysis of present tense verbs are taken from Biber et al. (1999: 456). They provide approximate normalized frequency counts for modal verbs, past tense verbs, and present tense verbs, i.e. the three complementary options for finite verbs. I recalculated the counts for present tense verbs based on the respective corpus size (here: their core register of conversation consisting of 3,929,500 words) to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies. One major problem as regards the comparability of my data and theirs, however, is that it is unclear whether Biber et al. (1999: 456) *included* or *excluded* imperatives for their analysis. For these reasons, I compared their data to two different counts for present tense verbs in CATS, viz. one *including* imperatives and one *excluding* imperatives. Table 6-10

¹¹⁴ For example, the entire BNC is tagged with the CLAWS C5 tagset (or "BNC basic tagset"), and in this tagset it appears that the imperative is considered a present tense verb, e.g. "VBB: The present tense forms of the verb BE, except for *is*, '*s*: i.e. *am*, *are*, '*m*, '*re* and *be* [subjunctive or imperative]" and "VVB: The finite base form of lexical verbs (e.g. *forget*, *send*, *live*, *return*) [Including the imperative and present subjunctive]" (*BNC2 POS-tagging Manual* by Leech and Smith 2000, <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2/bnc2guide.htm>>; last checked: 28/05/2013).

displays the results. The data from Biber et al. (1999: 456) are in italics in order to indicate that it is unclear which comparison is valid.

Table 6-10: Present tense verbs and imperative verbs in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^c: Two scenarios

	CATS 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^c 3,929,500 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
present tense verbs excluding imperatives	15,057	94,035	<i>408,668</i>	<i>104,000</i>	<i>152.01</i>	<i><0.0001</i>	<i>(-)</i> ***
present tense verbs including imperatives	17,309	108,099	<i>408,668</i>	<i>104,000</i>	<i>24.52</i>	<i><0.0001</i>	<i>(+)</i> ***

The in- or exclusion of imperatives in the counts for present tense verbs would have a huge impact on the overall frequency of present tense verbs in CATS. Present tense verbs *excluding imperatives* are significantly less frequent in CATS than in NOC, with 94,035 instances pmw compared to 104,000 instances pmw ($p < 0.0001$). This result would be rather surprising. The functions for which the present tense is needed were expected to be equally dominant in the dialogues of the fictional worlds (i.e. exchanging current thoughts and feeling and speaking about immediate concerns), so that present tense forms should be represented correspondingly. Furthermore, present tense verbs are not subject to any of the C-factors listed in the taxonomy ("specific to linguistic feature"); e.g. they are not stigmatized features, nor do they negatively affect the length of the utterance or intelligibility when frequent. All these factors would not apply in this case. If present tense verbs *including imperatives* were compared to the counts by Biber et al., the interpretation of the results would in fact be the reverse: Present tense verbs including imperatives would be significantly *overused* in CATS compared to NOC, with 108,099 pmw vs. 104,000 pmw ($p < 0.0001$). This outcome would be more in line with my expectations and with previous findings on FSTVL.

The two alternative search methodologies thus lead to entirely different results. Due to the uncertain comparability of the two data sets, the findings for present tense verbs are inconclusive. For these reasons, I will exclude present tense verbs from the set of indicators of spoken style in the present study. Only the remaining nine indicators will be considered in the final account.

6.3.2 Second person pronouns

Second person pronouns are "obviously dialogic features" (Leech 2000: 696) of grammar, which have been found to be extremely frequent in conversation compared to written registers of English (e.g. Biber 1988; Biber et al. 1999). They "refer directly to [...] the addressee and are thus used frequently in highly interactive discourse" (Biber 1988: 105), and they are indicative of the many immediate concerns which are typical of natural conversation. Example (17) is an extract from CATS which illustrates their frequent use. Lorelai is visiting her daughter Rory, who just started studying at Yale University and now lives in a dormitory on campus. In this scene, Rory is about to go to one of her first classes.

- (17) <LORELAI:> **You** do know that if **you** weren't so pretty, **you** would've gotten the crap kicked out of **you** every day of **your** life.
 <RORY:> Walk me up?
 <LORELAI:> 'Cause **you** need the protection. Hey, what time's **your** first class?
 <RORY:> Oh, **you** know, soon.
 <LORELAI:> Uh-oh.
 <RORY:> What?
 <LORELAI:> **You're** not gonna rush to **your** first class and get there like an hour early, are **you**?
 <RORY:> No.
 <LORELAI:> **You** are.
 <RORY:> I am not.
 <LORELAI:> When **you** started elementary school, **you** told me the teacher wanted to meet all the parents at 6:30, and when we got there, the school wasn't open yet.
 <RORY:> I did that once.
 <LORELAI:> No, **you** got away with it once. **You** tried it every year.
 <RORY:> I'm not gonna be early.
 <LORELAI:> **You** know, if **you** took all the time **you** wasted being early for things... <looks around the room>
 <RORY:> What? (GG_3)

The following analysis investigates the frequencies of *you*, *your*, *yours*, *yourself* and *yourselves*.¹¹⁵ The item *your* deserves further comment. Indeed, it has traditionally been considered a possessive pronoun. However, syntactically, it has the function of a determiner (e.g. *your life*) and so the terminology varies in different grammars.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, I kept

¹¹⁵ Note that Biber (1988) investigated only *you*, *your*, *yourself* and *yourselves*, but not *yours*.

¹¹⁶ Quirk et al. (1985: 336, 361) consider the set *my*, *our*, *your*, etc. as well as the set *mine*, *ours*, *yours*, etc. possessive pronouns, but they distinguish between possessive pronouns with "determinative" function (*my*, *our*, etc.) and possessive pronouns with "independent" function (*mine*, *ours*, etc.), the latter of which they also label 'true pronouns' (Quirk et al. 1985: 336). Biber et al. (1999: 328) separate a "possessive determiner" (*my*, *our*, etc.) from a "possessive pronoun" (*mine*, *ours*, etc.), but comment that they both clearly correspond to a particular personal pronoun (*I*, *we*, etc.).

the possessive determiner *your* in the analysis because it has equivalent communicative functions and clearly relates to the personal pronoun *you*. It has also been included in previous analyses of the frequency of second person pronouns. Henceforth, I will refer in the analysis to 'second person pronouns,' although I am aware that one of the items is syntactically a determiner, albeit with parallel functions.

For the comparison of CATS with NOC, I made use of data provided by Biber et al. (1999: 271, 334, 342, 345). They provide approximate normalized frequency counts for all five pronouns. I re-calculated the counts based on the respective corpus size (here: a subset of their core register of conversation, 3.4 million words) to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies. Their frequency information "less than 25 pmw" (Biber et al. 1999: 345) for the reflexive pronouns, which was the lowest value possible, was counted as 13 pmw (i.e. half of it, rounded). To extract the five items from CATS (including all possible contracted forms with *you*, e.g. *you're*), I used the *WordList* function of *WordSmith*. In the analysis I also included the spelling variant *ya* (reflecting informal pronunciation), which, as in the reference data, was counted as a *you*. I did not consider the item *y'all* (with varying spellings) nor contracted forms such as in *gotcha* or *watcha*.

Table 6-11: Second person pronouns in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	CATS (total)		Natural conv. ^d		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>you</i>	6,969	43,523	102,000	30,000	811.95	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>your</i>	1,093	6,826	8,500	2,500	757.78	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>yours</i>	30	187	680	200	0.12	>0.05	n.s.
<i>yourself</i>	56	350	510	150	28.97	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>yourselves</i>	4	25	44	13	1.33	>0.05	n.s.
TOTAL	8,152	50,911	111,734	32,863	1,286.22	<0.0001	(+)^{***}

The total figures in Table 6-11 show that second person pronouns are highly significantly overrepresented in CATS. The overuse compared to natural conversation is quite dramatic, with $G^2 = 1,286.22$ and $p < 0.0001$. A look at the individual pronouns reveals that this overuse applies to *you*, *your*, and *yourself*, but not to *yours* and *yourselves*. The latter two are the pronouns with the lowest raw frequency, too, and the difference from natural conversation is not statistically relevant. The overall picture remains homogeneous: Second person pronouns are much more frequent in CATS. This result confirms what has been noted in previous studies on FSTVL. For instance, Quaglio (2009) has found that second person pronouns are used significantly more frequently in the TV sitcom *Friends* than in natural conversation.

Similar findings on second person pronouns in FSTVL have been reported by e.g. Pavesi (2008) and Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén (2009). There is thus a strong indication that a higher use of second person pronouns is a universal feature of FSTVL, which is independent of individual actors, fictional worlds, TV genres, or particular audiences. It is also unlikely to be related to any of the C-factors (i.e. "specific to linguistic feature") which are presented in the taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness: For example, the effect of the pronoun *you* on the length of the utterance is irrelevant because there is no alternative item to be used instead. It is also not considered 'hip' or humorous, which would explain why a feature would be more frequent in a spoken texts which aims at entertaining an audience. The reason for the higher use of second person pronouns may be sought in something more general, namely the basic function of the pronouns. Second person pronouns are used to address someone with whom one directly interacts, and speaking about oneself and about/to the interlocutor are core concerns in natural conversation. As Biber (1988: 106) phrases it, second person pronouns (among other items) "are used for involved discourse, marking high interpersonal interaction or high expression of personal feelings." One reason, then, for the higher frequency of second person pronouns in CATS may be that in fictional film and television, the dialogues tend to focus more on the speaking characters, and the dramatic dialogue is more concerned with interpersonal, private matters than the normal, everyday conversations of 'real people.' This is motivated by the principal aims of television (an A-factor in the taxonomy): Entertaining the audience, often through the depiction of extraordinary emotion, drama, confrontation, etc. Such a view is also expressed by Pavesi (2008). She found a higher frequency of second person pronouns in her FSTVL data together with a higher frequency of first person pronouns, but a lower frequency of third person pronouns. According to her, this "shows a greater emphasis on the people who actively take part in the one-to-one interactions portrayed on the screen" and "suggests that in film dialogues characters are involved in talking to one another more than talking about a third, absent party, whose exact reference may in fact be less accessible to the viewers." This appears to tie in with the constrained shared context for FSTVL, which makes a focus on present speakers and actions more likely. Indeed, an additional analysis of first person pronouns in CATS replicated Quaglio's (2009), Pavesi's (2008), and Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén's (2009) findings: First person pronouns are also highly overrepresented in CATS, as Table 6-12 shows.¹¹⁷

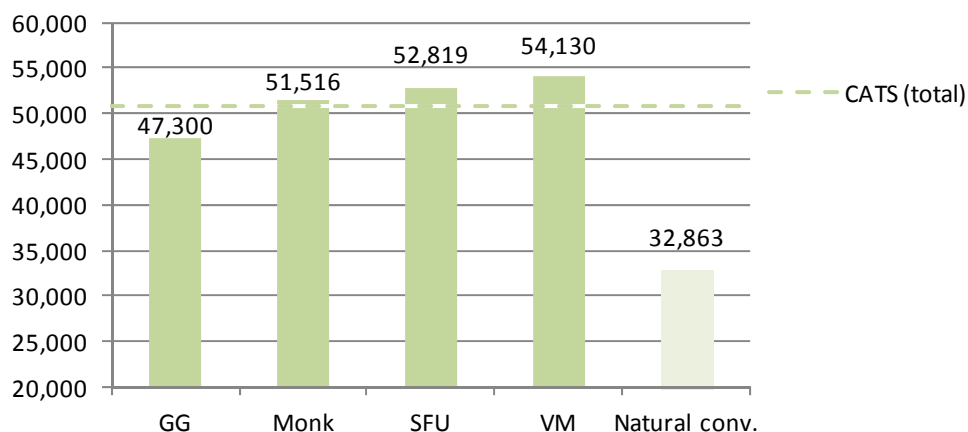
¹¹⁷ The reference data for natural conversation come again from Biber et al. (1999: 271, 334, 342, 345) and as before, their data here represent approximate frequency counts.

Table 6-12: First person pronouns (sg. and pl.) in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	CATS 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^d 3,400,000 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
First person pronouns (<i>I, me, my, mine, myself, we, us, our ours, ourself, ourselves</i>)	12,074	75,405	180,455	53,075	1,261.72	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}

CATS features 75,405 first person pronouns pmw, compared to only 53,075 in natural conversation. This highly significant result supports the previous findings and assumptions. In the case of first and second person pronouns, FSTVL is 'more spoken' than real conversation, as it were.¹¹⁸

The idea that the general purpose of fictional film and television dialogue (i.e. entertainment, dramatic narration, depiction of emotion, etc.) is the major reason for the higher frequency of second person pronouns is further strengthened by the fact that there is great homogeneity within CATS. As can be seen in Figure 6-9, all four subcorpora present the same picture; in all of them, second person pronouns are highly overrepresented (see also Table A-7 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values). Overuse of second person pronouns clearly seems to be a general characteristic of fictional scripted television language.

Figure 6-9: Second person pronouns in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

Nevertheless, what can also be discerned is that while the general trend is the same (i.e. a dramatic overuse compared to natural conversation), there is still some dispersion within CATS. GG (the show with the lowest second person pronoun frequency; 47,300 pmw) sticks

¹¹⁸ First person pronouns will not be further investigated here, although they are generally considered typical indicators of spoken style, too: For example, in Biber (1988), they score 0.74 on the crucial Dimension 1. Similarly, Biber et al. (1999) show that the frequency of first person pronouns (especially *I*) varies substantially between conversation and fiction, news, and academic writing.

out from the rest in that the difference between GG and each of the other shows in CATS is statistically significant,¹¹⁹ while the other three shows do not differ significantly from each other. An explanation may lie in the individual fictional worlds and slightly different formats of the four series, but this issue remains somewhat puzzling and would need further qualitative study.

6.3.3 Analytic negation

Clausal negation in English can be synthetic or analytic. Synthetic negation (or: "no-negation," Biber et al. 1999: 159) includes forms such as *no*, *none*, and *nobody*. Analytic negation (or: "not-negation," Biber et al. 1999: 159) refers to uses of the particle *not* to negate the verb, including contracted forms such as in *doesn't* or *won't*. Negation in general has been found to be much more frequent in spoken than in written registers – especially analytic negation (e.g. Biber 1988; Biber et al. 1999: 159, 170; Tottie 1981, 1983, 1991). The high frequency of negation has been explained e.g. with the fact that in spoken registers there are more verbs to begin with (which can then potentially be negated), especially mental verbs, and that there are repeats of negative forms due to online production pressure. Negative forms also occur as part of other structures typical of conversation, such as question tags (e.g. ..., *aren't you?* ..., *isn't it?*), which furthermore increases their overall use. Most importantly perhaps, conversation is highly interactive, including questions and answers, exchanges of ideas, conflicting viewpoints, etc., and this leads more often to the need to negate than in written registers (cf. e.g. Biber et al. 1999: 159). This is exemplified in (18), where Emily disagrees with her husband Richard, who was recently fired at his job and now wants to go into business with the son of his former boss.

- (18) <EMILY:> I **don't** think this is very funny, Richard.
 <RICHARD:> No, no, I suppose **not**. However, I **can't** stop smiling. <keeps laughing>
 <EMILY:> I **don't** think you should go into business with this boy.
 <RICHARD:> Oh, now, Emily...
 <EMILY:> He's obviously very troubled. You certainly **don't** need to hand over your business to a troubled youth.
 <RICHARD:> He's 37 years old.
 <EMILY:> Yes, he's 37 years old, and all he can think about is how to get back at his father. I **don't** understand that kind of thinking. (GG_3)

¹¹⁹ GG vs. *Monk*: $G^2 = 8.05$ ($p < 0.01$); GG vs. SFU: $G^2 = 13.35$ ($p < 0.001$); GG vs. VM: $G^2 = 18.37$ ($p < 0.0001$).

The reference data for my analysis of analytic negation were taken from Biber et al. (1999: 159). As before, I re-calculated their approximate normalized frequency counts based on the respective corpus size (here: a subset of their core register of conversation, 3.4 million words) to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies.

Table 6-13: Analytic negation in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	CATS 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^d 3,400,000 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
analytic negation (<i>not</i> , <i>*n't</i>)	3,183	19,879	66,300	19,500	1.11	>0.05	n.s.

As can be seen in Table 6-13, CATS is very similar to NOC regarding analytic negation, with 19,879 instances pmw compared to approx. 19,500 pmw.¹²⁰ The difference between the two is statistically not significant ($p > 0.05$). This result confirms the assumptions made beforehand: Features associated with interactivity are not less frequent in FSTVL, since the dialogues in fictional television dialogues are highly interactive, too. In fact, maybe an even higher frequency of negative forms may have been expected: Aiming to entertain an audience, actions and dialogues in television series are constructed to feature much opposition, confrontation, conflict, drama – certainly more so than in the usual conversations that an average speaker has in his/her everyday life. It needs to be mentioned here that this argumentation runs counter to the conclusions reached by a previous study on FSTVL: Rodríguez Martín (2010a, 2010b) reports a significant *underuse* of negative forms (*not*, *n't*) in her corpus of features films and – similar to the case of verb contractions – attributes this to the scriptedness. The opposing results may stem from the fact that the nature of the films in her corpus is different from the television series in CATS: She used mostly romantic comedies from the 1990s. Be that as it may, her findings for FSTVL cannot be corroborated by the results of the present study.

The high similarity to natural conversation applies to all four series. In statistical terms, none of the four shows differs significantly from NOC ($p > 0.05$). Figure 6-10 shows that three of the series have only slightly higher frequencies, while VM scores slightly below natural conversation (see also Table A-8 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values).

¹²⁰ In analogy to Biber et al. (1999), these counts do not include the form *cannot*, which is overall quite rare in CATS (n= 25; 156 pmw).

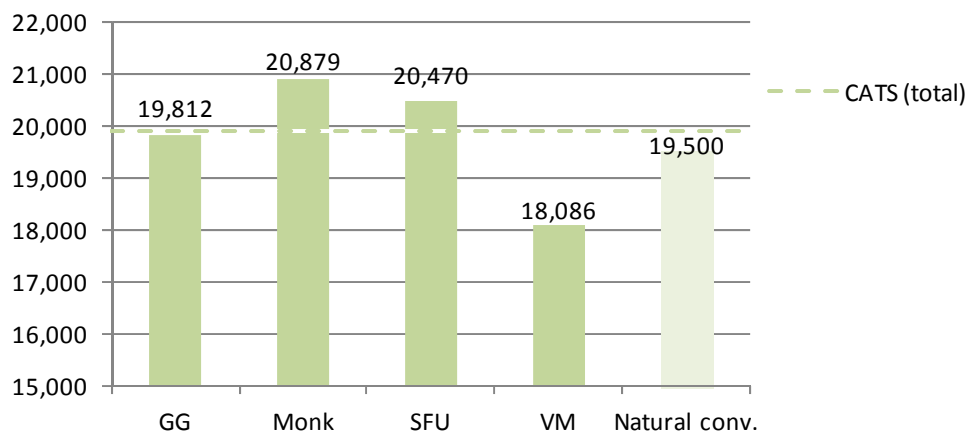


Figure 6-10: Analytic negation (*not*, **n't*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

However, when we consider the dispersion within CATS, we find marked discrepancies between the four shows. The difference between *Monk* and SFU, i.e. the shows with the highest frequency of negative forms (20,879 pmw and 20,470 pmw respectively), and *Veronica Mars*, i.e. the show with the lowest (18,086 pmw), is statistically significant, with $G^2 = 6.89$ ($p < 0.01$) and $G^2 = 4.99$ ($p < 0.05$). The discrepancy between them is thus unlikely to have come about by chance. Reverting to the taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness in FSVTL, there are no reasons which immediately spring to mind. Scriptwriters' and actors' intentions, awareness, and attitudes probably play a lesser role, since negative forms are not especially marked or connotated. It must again have something to do with the individual fictional worlds and occasions for which the functions of the negative forms are needed. This would mean that in *Veronica Mars*, there are fewer opposing views, people contradicting each other, etc. This is only speculation, though. Further qualitative exploration of this issue would be needed. In any case, it is interesting to note in this context that if VM was taken out of the equation, analytic negation would be significantly more frequent in CATS (i.e. *CATS without VM*) than in NOC ($G^2 = 4.19$; $p < 0.05$). When VM is left in the equation, the overall scores indicate that it is simply very similar to natural conversation, with no significant difference.

One caveat that applies to the whole analysis of negative forms is that these frequency counts obviously depend on the overall number of verb phrases, since it determines the number of possible slots for negation. Here, too, further investigation would be needed, which is beyond of the aims of the present study.

6.3.4 Summary and discussion

In terms of features associated with the interactiveness of conversation, CATS is just as 'spoken-like' as NOC. In fact, in the case of second person (and first person) pronouns, the language in CATS is conspicuously 'more spoken than the real thing,' as it were. The fact that we are dealing with fictional, scripted language does not seem to affect the use of the investigated features related to interaction – at least not in the sense of an orientation toward written norms. In contrast to the preceding indicators of spoken style, the findings for second person pronouns (as well as first person pronouns) and analytic negation forms also point towards specific patterns possibly being universal to FSTVL, or at least universal to drama series. As regards frequencies, all four shows followed the same trend (dramatic overuse and no significant difference, respectively). The findings for present tense verbs have been neglected in this summary because of the methodological issues related to imperative verbs outlined in 6.3.1.

6.4 Indicators of spoken style (IV): Related primarily to expression of stance

The expression of stance in the context of FSTVL has been discussed in some detail in Ch. 4.4.2.2.4. In general, it is assumed that FSTVL expresses thoughts, feelings, and attitudes to the same degree or even a higher degree than natural conversation, and so the features associated with the expression of stance should not be less frequent.

6.4.1 Private verbs

Quirk et al. (1985: 1180ff.) categorize certain specialized classes of verbs according to their meaning. Among these are 'private verbs,' which are distinguished from 'public verbs' in that the states and acts expressed by them cannot have an outside observer. A large group of them may "express intellectual states" (Biber 1988: 242) (e.g. *think, know*) or intellectual acts (e.g. *recognize, learn*). They largely overlap with what other studies have called 'mental verbs' (e.g. Biber et al. 1999: 362).¹²¹ Private verbs are the phenomenon with the highest positive loading (0.96) on Biber's crucial Dimension 1 (involved vs. informational production). The frequency of private verbs clearly differentiates spoken and written registers. Private verbs are

¹²¹ It should be acknowledged that such a semantic classification of verbs necessarily has to deal with the polysemy of verbs: Verbs may have several meanings which would call for different semantic categories. Biber et al. (1999: 361) explain that they grouped the verbs according to the most typical (i.e. most frequent) meaning.

particularly characteristic of conversation because interlocutors typically exchange thoughts and feelings. According to Biber et al. (1999: 374–378), the most common private verbs ('mental verbs' in their terminology) in conversation are *know*, *think*, *see*, *want*, and *mean*. These five items will be analyzed in the present study.

To compare CATS with NOC, I used data from Biber et al. (1999: 375), as they provide appropriate normalized frequency counts for all the forms of these five verbs (i.e. including past tense, participles, etc.). I re-calculated their counts based on the respective corpus size (here: their core register of conversation) to obtain the corresponding raw frequencies. Note that I included the form *wanna* in my counts, since the contraction of *want + to* was consistently transcribed *wanna* in CATS. To ensure comparability with Biber et al. (1999), I also included routinized uses of the five verbs which go beyond their core meaning, such as in the discourse markers *you know* and *you see*.

Table 6-14: Private verbs (all forms) in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		Natural conv. ^c 3,929,500 words				
	n	pmw	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
<i>know</i>	1,269	7,925	26,721	6,800	27.12	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>think</i>	783	4,890	18,076	4,600	2.76	>0.05	n.s.
<i>see</i>	571	3,566	12,574	3,200	6.20	<0.05	(+) [*]
<i>want</i>	626	3,910	11,789	3,000	38.53	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>mean</i>	302	1,886	9,824	2,500	25.46	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
TOTAL	3,551	22,177	78,983	20,100	31.90	<0.0001	(+)^{***}

The total counts for private verbs are displayed in Table 6-14. There are 22,177 private verbs pmw (n= 3,551) in CATS, as opposed to around 20,100 pmw (n= 78,983) in natural conversation. This difference between CATS and NOC is statistically significant with $p < 0.0001$. The private verbs investigated here are thus highly overused in CATS. However, a closer look at the distribution of the individual verbs reveals that the overuse in fact only applies to the verbs *know* (^{***}), *see* (^{*}), and *want* (^{***}). The verb *think* has a frequency comparable to that of natural conversation ($p > 0.05$), while the verb *mean* is underrepresented ($p < 0.0001$). The latter finding is rather difficult to explain. It is possible that *mean* is not used as often because of some of its primary functions and meanings. For example, it is often used when a speaker wants to clarify the reference of something, and as has been stated above, vagueness is usually avoided in FSTVL from the start. Consequently, the need to use the verb *mean* may not arise to the same extent. Furthermore, the discourse marker usage in the combination *I mean* may play a particular role here. As will be shown later (Ch. 7.3.4.3), the

discourse marker *I mean* is highly underrepresented in CATS. The underuse of this function probably contributes to the overall lower frequency of *mean*.¹²² Other factors, such as scriptwriters'/actors' awareness and attitudes, the performability of the verb, and its effect on the length of the utterance probably do not figure greatly, at least when it comes to the non-discourse marker uses of *mean*.

Be that as it may, the overall picture is exactly as expected: CATS is not less spoken-like than NOC concerning verbs associated with the expressions of thoughts and feelings. In fact, CATS exceeds the degree of spokenness of NOC in this respect. A separate analysis of the four subcorpora indicates that they all follow the same trend: In all four television series, private verbs are more frequent in comparison with natural conversation (see Figure 6-11).

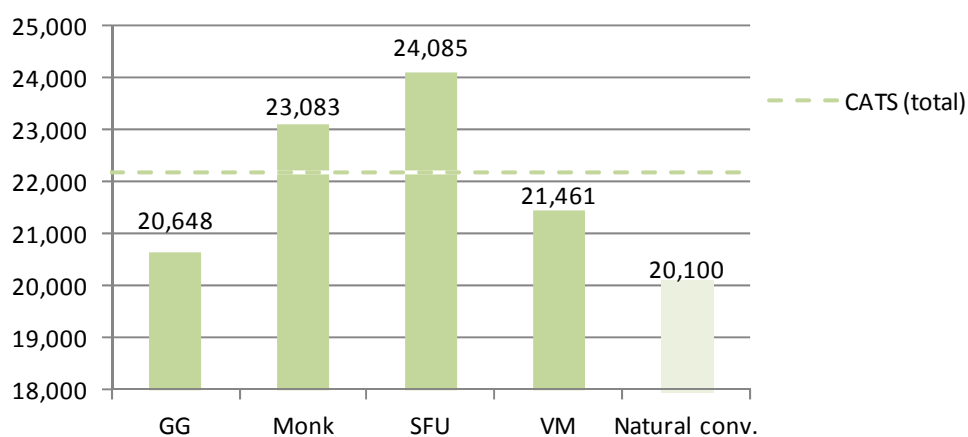


Figure 6-11: Private verbs (all forms of *know*, *think*, *see*, *want*, *mean*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

The difference is highly statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$) in the case of *Monk* and SFU (see also Table A-9 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values). For GG and VM, the difference is not as pronounced and does not prove statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). The patterning within CATS is homogeneous in the sense that the distributions presented in Table 6-14 also apply to each individual show: Compared to natural conversation, there are either higher or at least comparable frequencies of all verbs apart from *mean*. The total figures for CATS thus represent very well what is happening in the individual components of CATS. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that an overrepresentation of private verbs is a universal characteristic of FSTVL.

¹²² In CATS, 141 of the 302 instances (46.7%) of the verb *mean* occur as part of the discourse marker *I mean*. In other words, this discourse marker contributes greatly to the overall frequency of *mean*. The same does not apply to the verb *know*: Only 250 of 1269 instances (19.7%) of the verb *know* are accounted for by the discourse marker *you know*. If the same pattern applies to natural conversation, this would mean that in the case of *you know*, the frequency of the discourse marker does not influence the overall frequency to such a great extent.

Although the four shows all score above natural conversation, there is quite some dispersion, ranging from 20,648 pmw (GG) to 24,085 pmw (SFU). The difference between GG and SFU (and also GG and *Monk*) is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$ and $p < 0.05$, respectively). It is thus very unlikely that this particular distribution has come about by chance. The taxonomy of factors, however, does not provide an immediate explanation. The fictional world of the detective series *Monk*, which is about uncovering the deeds of a criminal, of course includes a lot of reasoning, exchanges of thoughts, expansion, and comparison of knowledge. This may be conducive to a higher use of private (mental) verbs. But *Six Feet Under* features an even higher use of private verbs – especially the high frequencies of the verbs *know* and *want* make it stand out from the rest of the corpus. More in-depth qualitative research would be needed here to account for the differences across the four shows.

6.5 Final account: How similar is CATS to naturally occurring conversation?

The analyses of the ten indicators of spoken style have shown one thing very clearly: FSTVL is not generally less spoken-like than natural conversation due to its close relationship to written language, as has traditionally been assumed. Such claims are clearly a thing of the past, when a) film and television scriptwriters and actors of the investigated programs did not aim for the same extent of linguistic realism as today and b) it was not possible to put the claims on an empirical footing (e.g. by corpus-linguistic means), so that they were mostly based on intuition and incidental observations. FSTVL is certainly 'unreal' in terms of the genuineness and spontaneity of the communicative situation, but in many ways it can be quite 'realistic' when it comes to the frequency of the linguistic features associated with spokenness (regardless of the variable reasons for their presence).

However, it is difficult to answer the question formulated in the heading of this section, i.e. the crucial question that drove the research of the present study, in a straightforward way without any 'it-depends'-qualifications. As has been shown in the course of this chapter, there is considerable variability in the degree to which the nine indicators of spoken style are represented, which means that different aspects of spokenness are represented to different degrees. Expressing the degree of similarity to NOC by only one overall 'similarity score' will not reflect the complexity involved.

Nevertheless, if a generalized judgment was to be made (i.e. without referring to individual linguistic features), I would claim that overall, CATS mirrors naturally occurring

conversation surprisingly well. I thereby agree with e.g. Forchini (2012) and Quaglio (2009), who have come to similar conclusions in their multi-dimensional corpus-based studies of FSTVL. The frequency of individual spoken features in CATS may be higher or lower than in NOC, but viewed as a whole, the total frequency appears to balance out, as it were. In other words, spokenness in CATS is constructed in different ways from NOC, but ultimately to a comparable degree.

One simple approach to capture the overall degree of spokenness in CATS is to consider the score (measured in 'instances pmw' or as %) for each individual indicator of spoken style as a percentage of the corresponding score for NOC, which is taken as the benchmark. In the case of filled pauses, for example, CATS represents 57% of the natural frequency, while in the case of second person pronouns, CATS represents almost 155% of the natural frequency (see Table 6-15).

Table 6-15: Degree of spokenness in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation, measured as percentage

Indicators of spoken style	Frequency score (pmw or %)		
	CATS	natural conv.	percentage (CATS/natural conv.)
(I) Related primarily to real-time constraints			
1. filled pauses (<i>uh + uhm</i>)	(pmw) 5,002	8,782	57.0%
2. repeats	(pmw) 1,361	1,217	111.8%
3. <i>that</i> -deletion	(%) 93.1	93.0	100.1%
4. contractions	(pmw) 32,519	31,000	104.9%
(II) Related primarily to shared context			
5. <i>do</i> as a pro-verb	(pmw) 712	900	79.1%
6. demonstrative pronouns	(pmw) 14,383	13,500	106.5%
(III) Related primarily to interactivity			
7. second person pronouns	(pmw) 50,911	32,863	154.9%
8. analytic negation	(pmw) 19,879	19,500	101.9%
(IV) Related primarily to expression of stance			
9. private verbs	(pmw) 22,177	20,100	110.3%
		mean	103.0%
		s.d.	24.8

A look at the individual percentage scores of the nine indicators thus provides a useful first impression and clearly shows that more features have a higher frequency in CATS (>100%) than a lower frequency (<100%), viz. seven out of nine features. Only filled pauses and the pro-verb *do* have a lower percentage score.

If one calculates the mean percentage of the nine spoken indicators in CATS, one ends up with 103%, which is strikingly close to the benchmark (natural conversation = 100%). However, as mentioned above, such a measure (i.e. the mean percentage) needs to be viewed

with some caution. It does not consider the absolute frequencies of the linguistic features nor the statistical significance (or lack thereof) of the individual frequency differences. This overall score of 103% also conceals the fact that there is substantial variation across the scores, which is also indicated by the high standard deviation (s.d.= 24.8). Finally, one should not forget that the nine indicators are only an abstract feature set and so the numerical score of 103% appears, as it were, more exact than is warranted. Be that as it may, the table clearly shows that the frequencies of these features of spoken style do not indicate a lower degree of spokenness in CATS. If anything, they point to a higher degree of spokenness.

A complementary way of summarizing and judging the extent to which CATS is similar to NOC is to examine once again the significance levels for all of the investigated features. Whenever a frequency comparison results in a statistically insignificant difference, CATS can be considered 'linguistically similar' to NOC regarding that specific feature. In turn, when there is a statistically significant overrepresentation or underrepresentation, the two corpora can be considered 'linguistically different' with respect to that specific feature.¹²³ Table 6-16 summarizes the findings for the ten indicators of spoken style analyzed in the present study.

Table 6-16: Overview of results: Indicators of spoken style in CATS compared to naturally occurring conversation^{a,c,d,e}

Indicators of spoken style			
	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
(I) Related primarily to real-time constraints			
1. filled pauses (<i>uh + uhm</i>)	300.48	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
2. repeats	2.54	> 0.05	n.s.
3. <i>that</i> -deletion	0.00	> 0.05	n.s.
4. contractions	11.27	<0.001	(+) ^{***}
(II) Related primarily to shared context			
5. <i>do</i> as a pro-verb	6.54	<0.05	(-)*
6. demonstrative pronouns	8.63	<0.01	(+) ^{**}
(III) Related primarily to interactivity			
7. second person pronouns	1,286.22	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
8. analytic negation	1.11	> 0.05	n.s.
(IV) Related primarily to expression of stance			
9. private verbs	31.90	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}

¹²³ It should be acknowledged that a more comprehensive analysis of linguistic similarity and difference would, of course, also need to take into account the functions with which these features are used, not only the frequencies.

There are three indicators of spoken style which do not display a statistically significant difference from NOC (repeats, *that*-deletion, analytic negation) and four features which are significantly more frequent in CATS than in NOC (contractions, demonstrative pronouns, second person pronouns, private verbs). Only two features are significantly underrepresented (filled pauses, *do* as a pro-verb) in CATS. As mentioned above, the present study can confirm what e.g. Quaglio (2009) has found for the language of the situation comedy *Friends*, too: The degree of spokenness, understood here as the frequency of features associated with spoken style, depends very much on the exact features under investigation, and so some aspects of FSTVL are strikingly similar to NOC, while others are quite different in the sense that they are either much more frequent or much rarer. On the whole, this summary based on the significance levels of the frequency differences indicates, too, that the indicators of spoken style are leaning toward an overrepresentation rather than an underrepresentation, implying that, if anything, CATS is rather 'more spoken' and not 'less spoken' than NOC – at least on the basis of the variables analyzed here.

One thing that is particularly striking is that there is no clear one-to-one mapping between the discourse circumstance that the features are primarily related to (i.e. I-IV) and the direction and degree of difference from NOC. This is particularly obvious in the case of group I, i.e. features related to real-time production: The results range from statistically significant overuse to significant underuse and even insignificant differences. Only the features related to interactivity present a relatively clear picture.

Certainly, one needs to take into account here that the assignment of features to groups I-IV was to some extent arbitrary, as a number of features are related to more than just one discourse circumstance. As has been mentioned above, the features in group II (pro-verb *do*, demonstrative pronouns) are also intricately related to the real-time context, as they serve to save production time; and present tense verbs and second person pronouns do not only relate to the interactivity of conversation, but also to the fact that it takes place in shared context. But still, even the combination of discourse circumstances is not sufficient for a complete explanation of the results, and a re-categorization of the indicators (to groups I-IV) does not create a clearer picture. Therefore, it is indispensable to perform a close examination of the linguistic features regarding their precise formal and functional characteristics in the context of fictional television, and the restrictions and requirements that come with it. The taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness developed in Ch. 4 provided a useful framework to account for the similarities and differences between CATS and NOC, which goes beyond a sole consideration of the altered discourse circumstances.

Nevertheless, a few results remain somewhat puzzling. There are so many intertwining factors at work here that it is often difficult to pin-point definite reasons for the outcomes of the analysis, and much more qualitative analysis would be needed. A few general tendencies of the language in CATS can be observed, however, which are independent of the factors specific to the individual TV shows (i.e. the B-factors in the taxonomy). The results of the present study indicate that linguistic features which have one or more of the following characteristics are likely to be represented at a similar or even higher frequency than in NOC (e.g. contractions, second person pronouns, and private verbs in my data):

- supports time-efficient language production (or at least does not prolong the utterance)
- conveys drama, emotion, and attitude
- is easily performable
- is *not* marked or stigmatized
- does *not* create a vagueness that may hinder comprehensibility.

Finally, a comment on the diagnostic conclusiveness of the indicators is in place. One may well ask to what extent these nine features can indeed be considered *indicators* of spoken style, i.e. to what extent it is possible to extrapolate from the results of the present study. What is their predictive power – can they, after all, really be considered to represent, to *indicate* the overall degree of spokenness in CATS?

On the basis of my findings, I suggest that they can. The features which have been chosen for analysis are related to a variety of discourse circumstances, covering a variety of different functions of conversation. In other words, many different characteristics of conversational grammar are considered, instead of the focus just being on the most obvious ones, i.e. the scriptedness and manipulated time constraints. All of the features analyzed in this study have previously been identified as co-occurring very frequently in conversation, and as differentiating well between conversation and written registers. The results for CATS indicate that in the majority of respects, CATS is very similar to or even more spoken-like than NOC.

As has been mentioned above, the results for the individual features cannot predict the results for all other features related to the same discourse circumstance. In other words, we cannot extrapolate the frequency of, say, feature x from the results of a frequency analysis of another feature y which is related to the same discourse circumstance, because the discourse circumstances are very large and internally diverse categories and they interact with each other to a great extent. For instance, due to the binariness of the real-time constraints (cf. Ch. 6.1), we cannot deduce from a higher frequency of contractions that there is also a higher frequency of incomplete utterances, even though both phenomena are associated with real-

time constraints. Likewise, a lower frequency of demonstrative pronouns cannot predict the outcomes of an analysis of hedges and coordination tags, even though all three items are associated with the shared context of conversation. Their formal and functional characteristics are simply too different. Be that as it may, it *has* been shown in this study that individual spoken indicators apparently *can* predict the findings for further features if these have very closely related functions and formal characteristics, as e.g. in the case of second person pronouns and first person pronouns.

Note that the present analysis of the degree of spokenness and similarity to NOC has only captured aspects of spoken language production, but not perception. Some linguistic features might strike the hearer as particularly 'spoken-like' (e.g. filled pauses, repeats), while other features may not be perceived as 'spoken-like' at all or they are not even noticed (e.g. demonstrative pronouns, analytic negation). This largely has to do with the fact that some features are almost never used in writing, so that they carry a stronger 'flavor of spokenness' than other features (cf. Ch. 2.4.4.2), and so the use of such features in FSTVL may create a stronger impression of spokenness than those features which only display gradual frequency differences compared to written registers. However, the varying 'flavors of spokenness' could not be systematically considered in the analysis of the present study (e.g. by weighting the indicators differently).

6.6 Implications of the results for the study of FSTVL

In the light of the variability in the results for the four CATS subcorpora, to what extent can the results for CATS be generalized for FSTVL? Table 6-17 summarizes the trends in CATS which have been discerned in the course of this analysis and thus the probable and possible trends in FSTVL, i.e. the general characteristics of FSTVL.

In four out of nine cases (a-c), the four subcorpora all follow the same trend: All the subcorpora feature no significant differences in the case of *that*-deletion and analytic negation, a statistically significant underuse (-) of filled pauses, and a statistically significant overuse (+) of second person pronouns. These four items are probably general characteristics of FSTVL. Another four indicators share at least a tendency. The results for pro-verb *do* and demonstrative pronouns range from "n.s." to an underuse and overuse, respectively; however, three out of four shows had "n.s." for both features, so that a possible trend in FSTVL is that there are no significant differences from NOC.¹²⁴ The results for contractions and private

¹²⁴ Again, the results for 'pro-verb *do*' should be considered with care as it is a low-frequency item in CATS.

verbs range from "n.s." to overuse, and all the shows feature higher frequencies of the item in questions, so that the tendency would be 'overrepresentation.' Only the analysis of repeats triggered completely disparate results for the four corpora, ranging from a highly significant underuse (GG) to no significant difference (SFU, VM) and a significant overuse (*Monk*). Here, it would certainly be useful to analyze larger samples and possibly additional television series to determine a certain trend in FSTVL.

Table 6-17: Trends in CATS indicating probable and possible trends in FSTVL

Probable trends in FSTVL	Evidence in CATS
a) Insignificant difference	
1. <i>that</i> -deletion	all TV shows "n.s."
2. analytic negation	all TV shows "n.s."
b) Clear underrepresentation	
1. filled pauses (<i>uh + uhm</i>)	all TV shows (-)
c) Clear overrepresentation	
1. second person pronouns	all TV shows (+)
d) Tendency to insignificant difference	
1. <i>do</i> as a pro-verb	3 "n.s.", 1 (-)
2. demonstrative pronouns	3 "n.s.", 1 (+)
e) Tendency to overrepresentation	
1. contractions	2 (+), 2 "n.s."; all display higher frequency
2. private verbs	2 (+), 2 "n.s."; all display higher frequency
f) No trend discernible	
1. repeats	2 "n.s.", 1 (-), 1 (+)

To sum up, especially in those cases where the four TV series in CATS show identical patterns, it is probable that the distribution of the features in CATS mirrors FSTVL in general well, or at least the genre 'dramedy' with similar target audiences as the series in CATS. As was pointed out in 6.5, linguistic features with a certain 'profile' are particularly likely to be represented at a comparable or even higher frequency than in NOC, viz. features which can be classified as effort-saving devices, which convey emotion and attitude, which are easily performable by actors, which are *not* subject to negative attitudes/stigma, and which do *not* create a vagueness which could affect intelligibility.

Nevertheless, this study has also demonstrated that it is rather improbable that we can ever provide a comprehensive, *general* description of FSTVL, as this category is extremely diverse. In this study, I restricted the analysis to the language of television series. Indeed, there are some core tendencies that most fictional scripted TV shows have in common, but then, depending on the genre and the individual fictional worlds, scriptwriters and actors, "each individual series will have its own linguistic profile, being a cultural artifact in its own right," to put it in Bednarek's (2011: 72) words. The individuality of each series is reinforced

by the fact that individual speakers (i.e. the characters – particularly the protagonists – of a show, whose lines are scripted by a limited number of scriptwriters) have much more speaking time than the typical speakers recorded for the compilation of natural spoken corpora. As there are thus more spoken words per speaker in the corpus, idiosyncratic language use has a larger influence than in natural corpora. For this study, a limited number of different speakers is certainly desirable considering the pedagogical uses of CATS, as it increases the internal coherence of the corpus. At the same time, the lower number of different speakers may be problematic when we try to draw conclusions for FSTVL in general, as it decreases representativeness. Moreover, this complicates the comparison of a small corpus such as CATS, which consist of only four different TV series with recurring casts (= speakers), with natural spoken corpora, which include a large number of different speakers to ensure representativeness.

From a purely linguistic perspective, it would be useful to analyze larger FSTVL corpora in the future, including larger samples and a greater variety of television series of different genres. This could set the claims put forward here on a more solid footing. From a language-pedagogical perspective, the analysis presented here produced sufficient evidence, as it allowed us to assess the degree of spokenness of the four series selected for a pedagogically relevant corpus and draw corresponding conclusions (about this corpus). The precise implications of the results for the language-pedagogical context are addressed in more detail in the following chapter.

7 Analysis (II): The level of linguistic appropriateness

7.1 Appropriate language input in the foreign language classroom

As has been mentioned in the introductory chapter (Ch. 1.1.2) of this study, the question of which language input is suitable or appropriate for learners depends on a variety of factors. In Ch. 3, I noted that linguistic authenticity is certainly not the only characteristic of language that is important for language learning. There are many other issues which an EFL teacher must consider when choosing appropriate language input, such as

- "Who are the learners? How old are they and what are their interests?"
- "What is the learners' proficiency level of English?"
- "Which topics are represented in the language input? How do these connect to the syllabus?"
- "What is the current learning aim? What do I want to teach?"

These are variables which are different in every classroom situation. Consequently, it is impossible to make a universally valid statement on whether CATS represents appropriate language input for *the* EFL classroom – it would always depend on the individual constellation. In the present study, the main focus is on only one of the characteristics of appropriate language input, viz. the degree of naturalness or linguistic authenticity. This characteristic can be investigated independently of the other issues mentioned above and was assessed for CATS with the help of a number of indicators of spoken style. In the following, I will recapitulate what the results of that analysis mean for the context of language teaching and learning. Afterwards I will analyze further features which, while they did not serve as indicators of spoken style in the previous analysis, are still pedagogically relevant for a variety of reasons (cf. Ch. 5.3), either because similar frequencies and usage patterns would be desirable or because similar frequencies would be considered inappropriate for classroom scenarios.

7.2 Evaluation of the results of Analysis (I) from a language-pedagogical perspective

The analysis in Ch. 6 aimed at assessing the overall degree of linguistic authenticity in CATS, measured in terms of the frequency with which certain critical language features occur in comparison with corpora of NOC. From a pedagogical point of view, a high degree of similarity is principally the desirable outcome (cf. Ch. 3.3). The results indicated that there is, in fact, a mix of similarities and differences between the language in CATS and NOC,

depending on the kind of linguistic feature. However, it was also pointed out that most differences from NOC tended to be in the shape of *higher* frequencies of spoken language features. In other words, the "indicators of spoken style" indicated a high degree of spokenness. From a pedagogical perspective, this can be considered quite a positive outcome, as it generally indicates that CATS is 'spoken-like' enough to function as useful input for teaching spoken grammar.

Indeed, a higher density of spoken features may be exactly what we are looking for if we want to teach the characteristics of the spoken language. After all, for the design of language teaching materials, it is common to present a high frequency of precisely those features which the learner is supposed to focus on. So, a higher frequency of spoken language features is unproblematic as long as these features do not negatively impact on the comprehensibility of the language. Significantly lower frequencies of spoken features, in turn, may be problematic if they concern features which are immediately pedagogically relevant. Let us therefore have a look at the individual results of the indicators of spoken style, keeping in mind that the four series in CATS patterned in varying ways.

Three indicators of spoken style did not present significant differences from NOC in CATS (overall), i.e. repeats, *that*-deletion, and analytic negation (for the latter two items, no significant differences from NOC were found in all four subcorpora). They will not be further commented upon here. More interesting in the pedagogical context are the features for which a significant under- or overrepresentation was found. In the following, I will discuss what the lower or higher frequency implies with respect to the individual feature itself but also with respect to what it may predict about other spoken features with very similar functions and characteristics.

A substantial underuse in CATS (in all four subcorpora) was found for filled pauses. The result suggests that other hesitation phenomena may also be less frequent (even if the analysis of repeats produced mixed results). A lower frequency of filled pauses and also features such as incomplete utterances and false starts would not necessarily be drawbacks in educational contexts. In fact, they may be welcome, as they present quite a challenge for learners, especially in scenarios in which students work with the transcripts. A lower frequency means that the language is "tidied up" to some extent. Such 'polished language' is what is traditionally found in educational materials such as textbook dialogues, too. CATS appears to include a sufficient number of filled pauses to be able to demonstrate the usual processes in spontaneous speech, while at the same time not burdening potential 'consumers' of the

language in CATS. This means that the spoken language is more 'digestible' for language learners, who could be easily overwhelmed by work with transcripts of 'real' spoken language.

The second indicator for which a slight underuse ($p < 0.05$) was found in CATS (overall) is the pro-verb *do*. In fact, however, for three series (*Monk*, SFU, VM) the difference from NOC was insignificant here, but the larger subcorpus of GG with its great underuse ($p < 0.001$) was responsible for the overall result of CATS. The lower frequency of pro-verb *do* in this one subcorpus should not negatively impact on the suitability of CATS for language teaching purposes, especially since it is not a feature which figures in any major way in teaching syllabi. It serves as an appropriate indicator of spoken style, but is usually not included in the instruction of productive or receptive skills. It is also not clear to which extent the underuse of the pro-verb *do*, which is a feature related to the shared context of conversation, indicates that other pedagogically relevant features related to the shared context are likewise less frequent. As mentioned above in Ch. 6.2.1, vagueness markers (which have also been listed as important spoken grammar features, cf. Ch. 3.2.3.3) such as hedges and coordination tags are barely comparable to the pro-verb *do*, so that they would need separate analysis.

There are four substantially overrepresented features in CATS (contractions, demonstrative pronouns, second person pronouns, private verbs). The overuse of contractions can in fact be considered a merit, as contractions are clearly items which are pedagogically relevant and deserve special focus. They have been shown to be underused by learners (see e.g. Götz 2006 and Mukherjee 2009b on advanced German learners), possibly because the share of contracted vs. uncontracted verb forms is not represented adequately in German EFL textbooks (see e.g. Römer 2005 in the context of progressive verb forms). If this means that further effort-saving devices related to the real-time context are also more frequent, this is certainly a welcome result. *That*-deletion has been analyzed in this study already, and while it was not *more* frequent, at least its frequency was similar to NOC. Another effort-saving device would be ellipsis (e.g. as in *You ok?*), but I would consider a higher frequency rather improbable as ellipsis seems even more context-dependent than pro-verb *do*.

The pedagogical relevance is less immediate in the case of demonstrative pronouns, second person pronouns, and private verbs. They probably do not receive particular attention in the language classroom, since e.g. the higher frequency of second person pronouns will emerge naturally in the discourse circumstances of a conversation. The higher frequency will thus not affect concrete teaching scenarios in any major way, and certainly not in a negative one.

In sum, the results of Analysis (I) indicate that the overall degree of spokenness in CATS is indeed suitable for language teaching and learning purposes, despite the detected discrepancies from NOC. If anything, most of the identified areas of difference have been judged to be rather fruitful than hurtful for the learning process. However, there are also other aspects to be considered apart from the degree of spokenness and the frequency of individual indicators of spoken style. These will be discussed in the following.

7.3 Analysis (II): Pedagogically relevant features

It has been pointed out in several places of the present study that the notion of 'frequency' in language is not attributed the same relevance in language teaching as it is in linguistics, especially the corpus-based study of language. Despite this, the frequency of certain language features sometimes *does* matter to language learning and teaching scenarios, also apart from matters of syllabus-design. It is therefore worthwhile to investigate the frequency of pedagogically relevant features. For instance, a language teacher may want to have an idea of how many swear words occur in a specific language sample (in this case: CATS), so that he/she can decide whether this specific type of language is appropriate for, say, tenth-graders. Also, a teacher may want to know whether certain conversational features which are part of the syllabus actually occur in the corpus with which the students will be confronted. For example, a teacher may be interested to know whether there are sufficient examples of greeting expressions in the corpus which could then be used for illustrative purposes.

In Analysis (I) I took the frequency of select features as an indication for the general degree of spokenness of CATS and I tried to account for similarities and differences by using a functional approach. Here, in Analysis (II), I investigate the frequency of some pedagogically relevant features, but I do not try to explain and interpret the results in as much detail as in Analysis (I), and the approach is not as contrastive as before. Rather, my focus in Analysis (II) is on the description of CATS and the individual subcorpora as regards a number of characteristics which are of interest to language teachers. One main question which I am trying to answer is whether the frequency of certain linguistic features is acceptable for language teaching purposes.

In this study, only a selection of features can be examined (cf. Ch. 5.3), and the main approach is quantitative, although it is clear that the various functions of pedagogically relevant features would certainly be of interest, too. In fact, a teacher may be even more interested in whether certain features are represented in FSTVL in natural contexts and with

natural functions than whether they are represented at natural frequencies. For this reason, I provide an additional qualitative analysis of three discourse markers in 7.3.4, and, based on the results of this analysis, I suggest some classroom activities which may be possible with CATS.

7.3.1 Strong words

In the first part of this section, I look at strong words. Many of these are interjections (e.g. *Fuck!*), but I also included other word classes, such as verbs (e.g. *Don't **fuck** with me!*) and adjectives (e.g. *you **fucking** moron*). Such expressions are included in definitions of what is elsewhere called 'expletives' or 'swear words' as well as simply 'tabooed' language items. These can be one-word or multi-word expressions. My definition of strong words is in line with Stenström's (1991: 240) definition of *expletives*: "Expletives are realized by taboo words related to religion, sex and the human body, which are used figuratively and express the speaker's (genuine or pretended) emotions and attitudes." While such expressions are certainly part of authentic language use, many of them will be considered too offensive and simply inappropriate for educational contexts. I therefore want to assess the degree to which they are represented in CATS.¹²⁵

Example (19) illustrates the use of strong language in an extract from *Six Feet Under*. Keith and David, a homosexual couple, are in the parking lot of a supermarket, loading the shopping into their car. Items considered 'strong language' in the analysis of the present study are marked in bold print.

- (19) <Meanwhile, a man in a pick-up truck has been waiting to pull into their space. He has been getting increasingly annoyed.>
 <PICK-UP TRUCK MAN:> Are you guys pulling out or what?
 <KEITH:> Yeah, in a minute.
 <PICK-UP TRUCK MAN:> <impatient> Well, let's go. <waits a beat> **Fucking fags**, man.
 <He starts to drive away. KEITH looks after him for a moment and then chases his car down.>
 <DAVID:> Keith! Keith! <runs after KEITH>
 <The car stops. KEITH reaches it.>
 <KEITH:> Say it again.

¹²⁵ As described in Ch. 5.1.1.3, all of the four shows used in the present study are officially rated appropriate for ages 12 and above (*Gilmore Girls*: 6 and above) by the German FSK (Voluntary Self Regulation of the Film Industry), while the American 'TV Parental Guidelines' rated the series a bit more strictly: *Gilmore Girls* and *Monk* were rated "TV PG," *Veronica Mars* was rated "TV 14," and *Six Feet Under* was rated "TV MA," i.e. recommended for adult audiences.

<PICK-UP TRUCK MAN:> What?
 <KEITH:> <opens the man's door> I said, say it again. <takes out his badge>
 Next time you call someone a **fucking fag**, you make sure that **fag** isn't an
 L.A.P.D. officer. <presses his badge on the man's forehead> You got that? You
 understand me?
 <PICK-UP TRUCK MAN:> <intimidated> Yeah.
 <KEITH:> Now, you got my badge, file a complaint. I dare you. Now get your
 punk **ass** out of here. **Fucking bitch**.
 <The PICK-UP TRUCK MAN quickly drives away, terrified.>
 <KEITH:> Tore his **ass** up.
 <DAVID:> I don't think he meant anything by it.
 <KEITH:> You hate yourself that much?

In the analysis I also considered common expressions which are not tabooed to the same extent, but which function as 'milder' alternatives or replacements. My reference data for the strong words come from Quaglio (2009: 101f., 158f.), who used a 589,722-word corpus of American English conversation for his study. As mentioned in Ch. 5.4, his data is a sample of the same corpus which Biber et al. (1999) and Mittmann (2004) used. Table 7-1 displays the results for the selected common strong words. Note that the values for AmE conversation (pmw) were calculated afresh on the basis of the raw frequencies provided in Quaglio's study. They differ slightly from Quaglio's published numbers (pmw), probably due to some rounding differences.

Table 7-1: Strong words in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^g

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^g 589,722 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>damn, damnit</i>	41	256	57	97	20.75	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>fuck</i> (and variations, e.g. <i>fucking</i>)	140	874	256	434	40.80	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>shit, shitty</i>	57	356	144	244	5.48	<0.05	(+)*
<i>crap, crappy</i>	19	119	28	47	8.70	<0.01	(+)**
<i>bitch, bitchy</i>	27	169	23	39	25.43	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>ass</i>	33	206	38	64	22.08	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>butt</i>	9	56	20	34	1.48	>0.05	n.s.
TOTAL	326	2,036	566	960	107.37	<0.0001	(+)***

Strong words are much more frequent in CATS than in NOC. The results for all expressions except *butt* (which is quite a mild expression and an 'alternative' to *ass*) are statistically significant, some of them very highly. This overall result confirms what previous studies on FSTVL have shown (e.g. Bednarek 2011; Quaglio 2009), namely that FSTVL is highly emotional, and more so than NOC. After all, strong words are used to express emotions and

attitudes, and as such they fit into the concept of television series, which aim at entertaining an audience with drama and emotions. One might also wonder to what extent the numbers for the corpus of AmE conversation really represent NOC. For corpus-based analyses, the idea that the corpus represents 'the real language' is obviously the underlying assumption, but swear words may be an exceptional case, in which the circumstances of corpus sampling influence the naturalness of the data: The speakers recorded for the corpus might feel observed and thus 'watch their language' (cf. the so-called 'observer's paradox,' W. Labov). This feeling of being observed might not impact on other grammatical features, but swearing is certainly an area which speakers are conscious of. Be that as it may, what is rather surprising is that the expressions *fuck* and *shit* are so frequent in American TV programs which are intended for youth audiences, too. The American television industry is known to be rather strict regarding the use of swear words. Let us therefore have a look at whether the overuse of strong expressions is common to all four subcorpora.

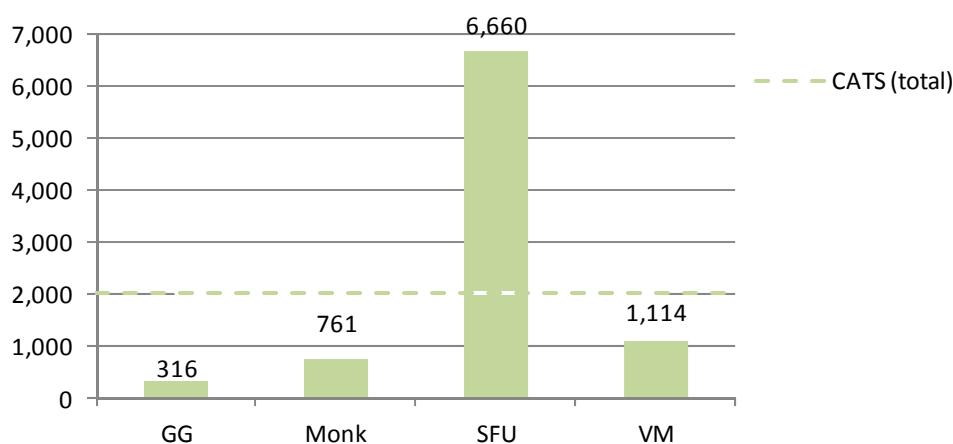


Figure 7-1: Strong words in CATS subcorpora: *damn*, *damnit*, *fuck* (and variations), *shit*(*ty*), *crap*(*py*), *bitch*(*y*), *ass*, *butt* (pmw)

The bar chart in Figure 7-1 displays very clearly that there is enormous variation between the four subcorpora. SFU features by far the highest frequency of strong words, with 6,660 instances pmw (n= 245), with which it differs significantly from NOC ($G^2= 463.98$; $p<0.0001$). The other shows have much lower frequencies. In fact, VM and *Monk* do not differ significantly from NOC, while GG shows a significant underuse ($G^2= 29.52$; $p<0.0001$) compared to NOC. SFU appears to have much more explicit language content than the other three shows. This also confirms my initial impression when I viewed and transcribed the TV shows, and corresponds to the higher American TV certification ("TV MA"). Table 7-2 throws some more light on the exact distribution of the individual strong words. There are very clear patterns for the terms *fuck** (and variations) and *shit*(*ty*): GG, *Monk*, and VM do

not present a single instance of these expressions. SFU, in turn, presents 140 instances of *fuck** and 57 instances of *shit*(*ty*), which equals about 20 instances per episode and eight, respectively. The same picture, incidentally, applies to the strong word *goddamn* (not displayed in the table) – here, too, SFU is the only show where the item can be found (n= 12; 326 pmw). Very clearly, the restrictions of the TV networks prevent the other three shows from including these words in the fictional dialogues, even though they may be very common in natural language use and typical of the kinds of characters represented in the shows. SFU, in contrast, may have a somewhat different target audience and can afford to include such explicit language in their dialogues because it is broadcast via a private pay-TV channel (HBO), which is not bound by the same kind of restrictions.

Table 7-2: Strong words in CATS subcorpora

	GG 53,806 words 33.6% of CATS		Monk 38,124 words 23.8% of CATS		SFU 36,786 words 23.0% of CATS		VM 31,406 words 19.6% of CATS	
	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw
<i>damn, damnit</i>	6	112	16	420	11	299	8	255
<i>fuck</i> (and variations)	0	0	0	0	140	3,806	0	0
<i>shit, shitty</i>	0	0	0	0	57	1,550	0	0
<i>crap, crappy</i>	4	74	4	105	4	109	7	223
<i>bitch, bitchy</i>	0	0	5	131	12	326	10	318
<i>ass</i>	0	0	4	105	19	517	10	127
<i>butt</i>	7	130	0	0	2	54	0	0
TOTAL	17	316	29	761	245	6,660	35	1,114
(% of all strong words in CATS)	(5.2%)		(8.9%)		(75.2%)		(10.7%)	

Similar findings on the use of the 'f-word' have been reported by e.g. Mittmann (2006: 577) as well as Quaglio (2009: 101f.), who furthermore notes for the sitcom *Friends* that the absence of the items *shit* and *fuck* appears to be compensated for by other, more 'family-friendly' expressions – for example *crap*. GG, *Monk*, and VM, however, do not feature many instances of *crap*, either; there is less than one instance per episode. Another common alternative, viz. the interjection *shoot* (not displayed in the table), is also quite infrequent in my data with only 5 instances altogether (GG: n= 4, *Monk*: n= 0, SFU: n= 0, VM: n= 1). Nevertheless, it is probable that *Gilmore Girls* and *Monk*, the two series with the lowest frequency of strong words, resort to other, less offensive options of expressing intense emotions. According to Mittmann (2004: 191f.), some of the most common milder expletives in natural AmE conversation are *oh my god* (108.70 pmw), *oh God* (75.74 pmw), *oh my gosh* (74.31 pmw), *oh man* (65.30 pmw), and *oh boy* (51.38 pmw). Table 7-3 provides an overview of the

frequencies of these and a number of other items in CATS vs. natural conversation. The reference data is adopted from Mittmann (2004: 191f.). Note that the values for American conversation (pmw) have been rounded to units, which is why they differ slightly from Mittmann's original numbers.

Table 7-3: Mild expletives in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^e

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^e 4,884,960 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>oh(,) God!</i>	26	162	370	76	11.41	<0.001	(+) ^{***}
<i>oh(,) my God</i>	89	556	531	109	138.32	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>oh(,) my gosh</i>	1	6	363	74	16.52	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
<i>gosh [total]</i>	4	25	891	182	33.81	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
<i>oh(,) man</i>	14	87	319	65	1.05	>0.05	n.s.
<i>oh(,) boy</i>	9	56	251	51	0.07	>0.05	n.s.
<i>what the hell('s)...</i>	32	200	200	41	47.56	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>geez, jeez</i>	10	62	161	33	3.21	>0.05	n.s.
TOTAL	185	1,115	3,086	632	53.49	<0.001	(+)^{***}

These mild expletives present a varied picture. The expression *what the hell('s)...* as well as the expressions *oh God* and *oh my God* are greatly overrepresented, while the milder alternative for the latter two, *gosh*, is barely used at all (n= 4) and underused compared to natural conversation. The interjections *oh man*, *oh boy*, and *geez/jeez* do not show any significant differences. Taken together, however, this list of mild expletives is overrepresented in CATS. The overuse of mild expletives is common to all four subcorpora (Figure 7-2; see also Table A-10 in the Appendix for individual frequencies in the four subcorpora). They pattern much more homogeneously than for strong words.

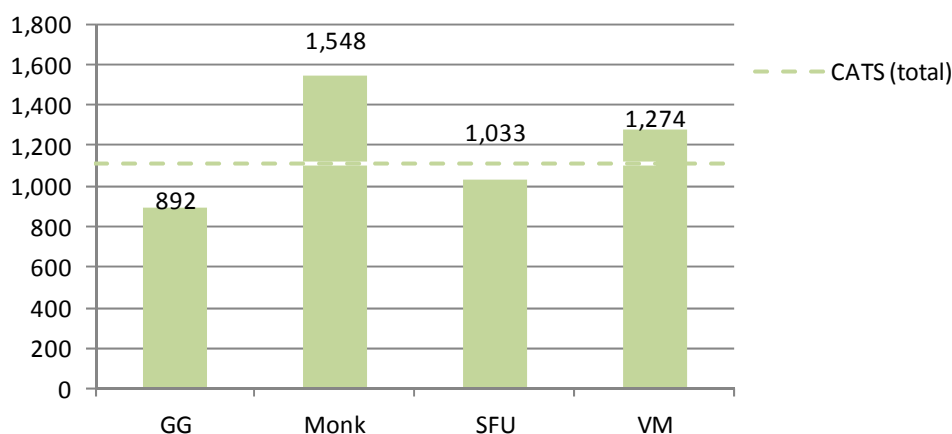


Figure 7-2: Mild expletives in CATS subcorpora: *oh God*, *oh my God*, *oh my gosh*, *gosh*, *oh man*, *oh boy*, *what the hell('s)*, *geez/jeez* (pmw)

All the shows differ statistically significantly from NOC, though GG is again the show with the lowest overall frequency. *Monk* scores the highest overall frequency and shows a particular preference for *oh my God* (n= 35; 918 pmw). Other than that, no clear tendencies or patterns within the shows can be discerned.

From a pedagogical perspective, we can conclude that SFU is indeed more apt for older students (>16), who can deal with the strong words in a mature way. I would be more hesitant to recommend SFU for classroom activities with younger learners – here, teachers would have to manually select parts of the corpus which are appropriate. A teacher interested in open corpus-based activities, in which students freely browse through the corpus, is well-advised to use only the other three subcorpora in CATS if he/she feels that his/her students should not be confronted with strong language in an educational context.

Apart from strong language, it is noteworthy that other forms of stigmatized informal language, namely non-standard morphological features, are also distributed quite differently across the four subcorpora. For instance, the non-standard form *ain't*, which corresponds to *am not*, *aren't*, *isn't*, *haven't*, and *hasn't*, does not occur at all in GG and *Monk*. In SFU, it appears twelve times (326 pmw), and in VM nine times (287 pmw). No further stigmatized grammatical features have been analyzed for this study, but these incidental findings contribute to the notion that SFU and VM generally contain more vernacular language features than the other two shows. VM may even be exceptional in the sense that some of the main characters represent different ethnicities (e.g. Mexican American and African American) and so the corresponding linguistic varieties are regularly represented, too. For the educational context, this means that VM may at times be more difficult to understand and that students are more likely to be exposed to forms which are at odds with the rules they have learned at school.

7.3.2 Polite speech act formulae (fixed expressions)

In line with Biber et al. (1999: 1093), I understand 'polite speech act formulae' as invariable expressions which are used to perform conventional speech acts, such as thanking, requesting, offering, complimenting, etc. Examples of them are the expressions *thank you*, *please*, and *sorry*. These are often elicited by another speech act, and they often elicit a new speech act themselves, which leads to sequences such as offering-thanking, thanking-minimizing, etc. In (20), a polite wish (*good luck*) is replied to with the expression *thank you*; in (21) Lorelai

responds to Rory's compliment with *thank you*. This insert is also used to react to an offer, either for refusing politely (22) or accepting an offer or a gift (23).

- (20) <WALT CAUFFEL:> Heard you're up for reinstatement. Good luck.
<MONK:> **Thank you**. I really should be going. [...] (Monk_4)
- (21) <Lorelai is standing in a parking space in the street in front of the school. Rory pulls up in her car.>
<RORY:> Nice score!
<LORELAI:> **Thank you**. Oh, and later, I'll, uh, point out the seven or so fellow Yalies who already hate you because your obnoxious mother wouldn't let them park in the only open spot left. (GG_2)
- (22) <PHOTOGRAPHER:> Hey, folks! <carnival photographer approaches> How about a photo?
<SHARONA:> No. No, **thank you**. (Monk_4)
- (23) <Monk hands Harry Ashcombe a book.>
<MONK:> When I lost Trudy, I - I read it every night.
<HARRY:> Ralph Waldo Emerson.
<MONK:> Yes, sir.
<HARRY:> **Thank you**, Adrian. And thank you for coming. It means the world to me. [...] (Monk_2)

Note that in the following analysis, only those instances of polite expressions were counted which had a clear insert function, i.e. as "stand-alone words which are characterized in general by their inability to enter into syntactic relations with other structures" (Biber et al. 1999: 1082). In extract (23), for example, there are two instances of *thank you*, but only the first one (in *Thank you, Adrian*) was considered for the frequency counts. The second *thank you*, which occurred in combination with a prepositional phrase (*thank you for coming*), was not counted. This procedure was followed in order to ensure that the same search strategy was used as in the reference data, viz. Biber et al. (1999: 1093f., 1098), so that the results can be compared.

The results of the frequency comparison are displayed in Table 7-4 (below). Five of the six investigated formulae are strikingly more frequent in CATS than in NOC ($p < 0.0001$); only the overall least frequent expression (*thank you very much*; $n = 9$ in CATS) does not differ significantly from natural AmE conversation. This finding ties in with the results by Mittmann (2006: 577), who noted the tendency for situation-bound routine formulae such as *please* and *thank you* to be overrepresented in her corpus of television series (49,601 words)

as well as Quaglio (2009: 100), who observed a substantial overrepresentation of the formula *thank you so much* in his *Friends* corpus.

Table 7-4: Polite speech act formulae (as inserts) in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^a

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^a 4,100,000 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>thank you</i>	134	837	1,640	400	55.10	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>thank you very much</i>	9	56	205	50	0.11	>0.05	n.s.
<i>thanks</i>	128	799	820	200	152.32	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>sorry</i>	67	418	205	50	151.68	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>excuse me</i>	90	562	205	50	243.39	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>please</i>	137	856	820	200	175.87	<0.0001	(+)***
TOTAL	565	3,529	3,895	950	616.24	<0.0001	(+)***

For the pedagogical context, this 'unnatural' overrepresentation may in fact be considered an advantage over corpora of natural spoken language. A corpus such as CATS may provide a wealth of material for a teacher who wants to teach such expressions in the context of their use. On average there are 20 of these expressions per episode, which equals approx. every other minute of screen time. There should thus be plenty of communicative exchanges which students can explore. Furthermore, the fact that corresponding video material is available and that the speakers and their backgrounds are more easily identifiable makes CATS a useful resource as regards these linguistic items, which belong to both the grammar and the pragmatics of the language and depend on verbal as well as non-verbal clues.

The overrepresentation of polite speech act formulae is common to all four subcorpora in CATS and thus seems to be a general phenomenon. Figure 7-3 provides a picture of the total frequencies of the six formulae analyzed in the subcorpora.

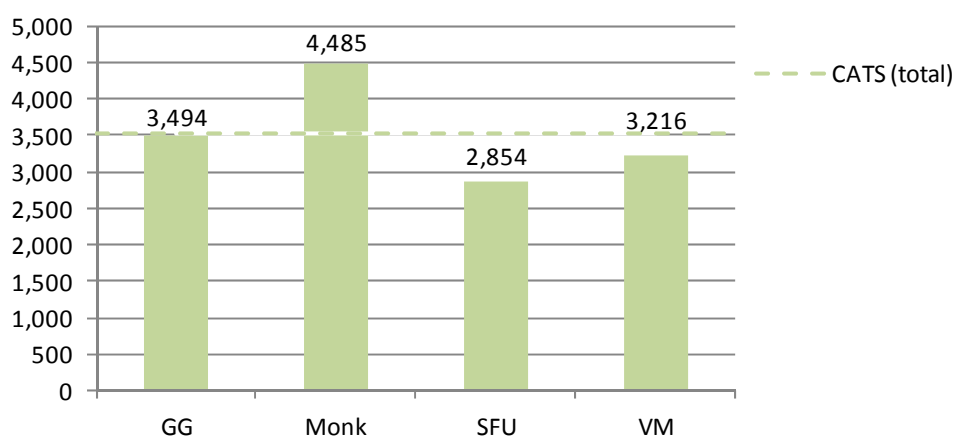


Figure 7-3: Polite speech act formulae in CATS subcorpora: *thank you*, *thank you very much*, *thanks*, *sorry*, *excuse me*, *please* as inserts only (pmw)

Although there is quite some variation across the four series (ranging from 2,854 pmw [SFU] to 4,485 pmw [*Monk*]), all of them display a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.0001$) from natural AmE conversation (see also Table A-11 in the Appendix for the frequency scores of the individual expressions in the four subcorpora). It is possible that *Monk* features more instances of polite speech act formulae because this series features more formal situations where polite behavior is required, such as meeting people in work-related settings, small talk, etc. This series may therefore open more slots for polite expressions to occur. It is also noteworthy that the two series with the highest frequency of polite speech act formulae are also the two series with the lowest frequency of strong words (see Ch. 7.3.1). In other words, *Monk* and *Gilmore Girls* again appear to be more 'family-friendly' than *Veronica Mars* and *Six Feet Under*, displaying what could be considered 'proper language' by language educators. The analysis of polite speech act formulae thus provided further clues that GG and *Monk* may be more apt for younger students than VM and SFU, not only because of their less controversial topics but also because of the level of language propriety which they display.

7.3.3 Greetings and farewells (fixed expressions)

This section focuses once more on inserts which are used in very specific communicative situations, viz. greetings and farewells. They include expressions such as *hello* and the less formal *hi* and *hey* and typically come in pairs (see examples (24)-(26)), since a greeting or a farewell is usually reciprocated by the interlocutor. The expressions are also often used in connection with a vocative such as a personal name (see examples (25)-(27)).

- (24) <Tess walks over to them.>
 <TESS:> **Hi**, there.
 <LUKE:> **Hello**. (GG_2)
- (25) <Lorelai and Rory walk in.>
 <LORELAI:> **Hi**, Taylor.
 <TAYLOR:> Well, **hello** there. Lorelai, Rory, what can I get for you? (GG_4)
- (26) <BRENDA:> <enters> Uh, I'm leaving.
 <NATE:> Uh, I'll walk you down.
 <BRENDA:> **Bye**, David.
 <DAVID:> **Bye**. (SFU_7)
- (27) <JAKE:> Duncan? Did you get everything out of -
 <He is surprised to see Veronica on the other side of the car.>

<JAKE:> <wary> **Hello**, Veronica.
 <VERONICA:> Mr. Kane. (VM_2)

In the frequency analysis of the present study, only those instances of greeting and farewell expressions were counted which occurred as inserts. This procedure excluded expressions such as "say hi/bye to somebody." Thus, in exchanges such as (28), the first two instances of *hi* were included in the frequency analysis, while "just say hello" (said by Rebecca) was excluded.

(28) <REBECCA:> **Hi**.
 <KEITH:> **Hi**.
 <They kiss briefly as Veronica looks on bemusedly.>
 <KEITH:> Uh, Veronica, Rebecca wanted to stop by and, uh...
 <REBECCA:> And - and just say hello. Outside of school. I'm sure this is a little weird for you, so... (VM_5)

Note that in order to ensure comparability with the reference data, I included all the instances of *hello* used as an insert even if it was not a typical greeting, but e.g. the expression used when picking up the telephone (29), which is usually used with rising intonation and transcribed in CATS with a question mark. *Hello* is sometimes also used in an ironic or humorous way. Since Biber et al. (1999), who provide the reference data, included these instances in their frequency count, I followed suit in my analysis.

(29) <Sharona answers the phone.>
 <SHARONA:> **Hello?** Oh. Hey, Captain. Yeah, he's right here. <puts her hand over the receiver and turns to Monk> Stottlemeyer. <resumes talking with Leland Stottlemeyer> Oh, well, actually, uh, we were just finishing up a pretty big case. (Monk_3)

The items analyzed in the following are some of the most frequently used greeting and farewell expressions: *Hi*, *hello*, *hey*, *bye*, and *bye(-)bye*. Note that Biber et al. (1999: 1097) classify *hey* as an insert which functions primarily as an attention seeker (rather than primarily as a greeting expression), but this is a matter of debate. Mittmann (2006: 577), for example, includes *hey* in her analysis of greeting expressions, as does Quaglio (2009: 114f.), who considers the "use of *hey* as a greeting a relatively recent innovation in American English conversation" (ibid.: 115). As the extracts (30)-(32) from CATS show, *hey* can be used with the same function as *hi* or *hello*. No effort has been made in this analysis to determine the

exact (quantitative) distribution of attention seeker function and greeting function in CATS, but the latter appears common enough to be included in this analysis, too.¹²⁶

- (30) <Emily opens the door.>
 <RORY:> **Hey**, Grandma.
 <EMILY:> **Hello**, Rory.
 <RORY:> Nice to see you.
 <EMILY:> It's nice to see you, too. Come on in. (GG_1)
- (31) <Leland Stottlemeyer meets Monk, Sharona and Benjy.>
 <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> **Hey**.
 <SHARONA:> **Hey**. You remember Benjy.
 <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> Yes. How you doing, Benjy? <shakes Benjy's hand> You're in Little League, right?
 <Benjy nods.> (Monk_4)
- (32) <Someone bangs on the door to Mars Investigations.>
 <REBECCA:> **Hi!**
 <VERONICA:> <closing the file> **Hello**.
 <Keith comes out of his office.>
 <KEITH:> <nervously> **Hey**...
 <REBECCA:> **Hi**. (VM_5)

The results of the frequency comparison of the five expressions are shown in Table 7-5. The greetings and farewells taken together are more than three times more frequent in CATS, with 4,540 instances pmw in CATS vs. 1,400 pmw in natural AmE conversation. From a different perspective, this equals around 26 instances per episode, so that there are indeed plenty of examples which a teacher could fall back upon to explore greetings and farewells in their respective contexts.

Table 7-5: Greetings and farewells (as inserts) in CATS compared to natural AmE conversation^a

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^a 4,100,000 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>hi</i>	128	799	1,640	400	46.98	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>hello</i>	113	706	820	200	115.55	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>hey</i>	452	2,823	2,460	600	640.65	<0.0001	(+)***
<i>bye</i>	27	169	410	100	5.96	<0.05	(+)*
<i>bye(-)bye</i>	7	44	410	100	6.25	<0.05	(-)*
TOTAL	727	4,540	5,740	1,400	663.75	<0.0001	(+)***

¹²⁶ Note that Biber et al.'s (1999) frequency counts, too, contain all the instances of *hey* used as an insert, including its use as a greeting expression.

The difference between CATS and NOC is unlikely to have come about by chance; it is statistically significant at $p < 0.0001$. Looking more closely at the individual inserts, we find that it is especially *hey* whose scores are extremely high (2,823 pmw in CATS vs. 600 pmw in AmE conv.), but also the informal greetings *hi* and *hello* are much more frequent than in NOC. These results for CATS confirm what previous studies have pointed out before. Mittmann (2006: 577) also observed a higher frequency of *hi*, *hello*, and *hey* in her TV series corpus compared to AmE conversation, and so did Quaglio (2009: 115), who attributes the high frequencies of *hi* and *hey* in his corpus of *Friends* dialogues to the production's "deliberate attempt to confer a high degree of informality to the communicative exchanges in the show" (ibid.).

The differences between CATS and NOC are not quite as striking as regards the farewell expressions *bye* and *bye(-)bye*. The latter in fact appears to be underrepresented in CATS, but this finding is based on very low absolute frequencies ($n = 7$ in CATS), so that a larger database would be needed to substantiate this finding. Moreover, it is possible that other farewell expressions are preferred in CATS. Since Biber et al. (1999) do not provide frequency counts for additional farewell expressions, I consulted Mittmann (2004: 252), who presents frequencies of a number of clusters representing greetings and farewells in AmE conversation.

Table 7-6: Farewell-related clusters in CATS compared to naturally occurring AmE conversation^e

	CATS (total) 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^e 4,884,960 words		LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
	n	pmw	n	pmw			
<i>see you (...)</i> (all occ., as farewell)	43	269	486	100	29.82	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
<i>see you later</i> (as farewell)	7	44	151	31	0.72	>0.05	n.s.
<i>good(-)bye, goodbye</i> (all instances)	19	119	116	24	28.89	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
TOTAL	69	431	753	154	50.75	<0.0001	(+)^{***}

The results in Table 7-6 present a slightly different picture from the findings for *bye* and *bye(-)bye*. The farewell expressions with *see you (...)*, which includes the simple *see you* as well as items such as *see you tomorrow*, *see you then*, *see you later*, *see you around*, etc. are overall much more common in CATS than in NOC, presenting a statistically significant difference at $p < 0.0001$. The expressions *good(-)bye*, also spelled *goodbye*, is also more frequent in CATS than in NOC ($p < 0.0001$). Consequently, it appears that farewell expressions, like greeting expressions, are on the whole more frequent in CATS than in NOC, though there are individual preferences for different expressions.

In general, the four TV series behave very similarly as regards the overall frequency of greetings and farewells (see Figure 7-4). All the shows display a statistically significant overuse ($p < 0.0001$) compared to NOC.

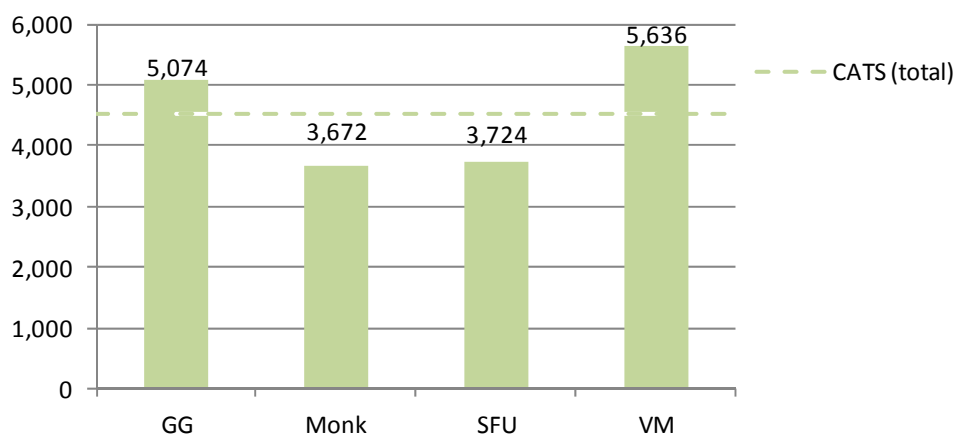


Figure 7-4: Greetings and farewells in CATS subcorpora (*hi, hello, hey, bye, bye(-)bye* as inserts only) (pmw)

Some tendencies may be discerned nonetheless: *Veronica Mars* and *Gilmore Girls* display the highest overall frequencies of these expressions, for which especially the high scores for *hi* and *hey* are responsible (see also Table A-12 in the Appendix for the frequency scores of the individual expressions in the four subcorpora). The more formal *hello* is more frequent in *Monk* and in SFU than in the other two series. This may reflect that there are more formal interactions in *Monk* and SFU than in GG and VM. *Hello* may be stylistically more appropriate than *hi* or *hey* in some contexts, such as in business encounters, which are certainly more frequent in *Monk* and SFU. However, these are only speculations. Since the frequency differences for *hello* across the four corpora are not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$), more detailed analyses would be required to follow up on this. The overall differences between the shows may also be explained by (scriptwriters' and directors') individual preferences in narrative technique. For example, certain shows may incline towards opening scenes *in medias res* rather than setting up the characters and the setting via an exposition, in which the characters would first greet (and possibly introduce) each other. In such cases, there would be fewer greeting expressions in the dialogues. Furthermore, especially television series featuring a larger number of changing characters in addition to the recurring characters may more often need to include scenes with greetings and introductions. These ideas, too, would require further qualitative investigation.

In the light of the findings for the four subcorpora in CATS and the findings of previous studies, there is strong evidence for FSTVL generally displaying a higher frequency of

greetings and farewells, especially the rather informal ones. The most likely explanation (cf. Quaglio 2009: 115, 148) is that the regular corpus sampling techniques, i.e. the data collection procedures, are responsible for the lower frequency in NOC, as the speakers in the corpora would not usually meet and greet other people to the same extent. One could wonder which of the two corpus types (FSTVL vs. NOC) thus represents more clearly what is 'really going on in real language.' This question is difficult to answer, but one could assume that they present two endpoints of a continuum. Television dialogue features a large number of scenes starting/ending with greetings/farewells, which frequently have the purpose of 'properly' setting a scene or ending a scene, certainly with TV viewers in mind who follow the story. Scenes with greetings and farewells may also contribute to a sense of realism because such situations (with the typically associated verbal expressions) are easily recognizable standard situations which TV viewers can relate to and identify with. In contrast, recorded conversations in linguistic corpora typically do not include numerous meetings of (new) people. Good ethical practice in corpus data collection usually does not allow surreptitious recordings without previous consent, and this means that any genuine greeting/introduction would have would have taken place prior to the recording.¹²⁷

For a language-educational context, the results imply that in the case of greeting and farewell expressions, corpora of FSTVL may even be better sources of material than natural corpora, as they feature a higher density of these communicative situations, which are relevant to the teaching of spoken English. It is probable that also other expressions (apart from those analyzed here) related to greeting and farewell situations are more frequent in CATS. The 'unnatural' representation, as it were, can in this case be considered an asset rather than a problem.

7.3.4 Discourse markers

Discourse markers receive particular attention in the present study, and they will be analyzed from a qualitative perspective, too. Discourse markers comprise items such as e.g. *well*, *you*

¹²⁷ Documentation on the exact recording procedure for the Longman Grammar Corpus/LSAC is hard to find. Mittmann (2004: 56) and Grimm (2008: 40f.), two authors who used this corpus for their studies, mention that the recordings used for the LSAC did *not* take place surreptitiously, but written consent was sought from the respondents and the interlocutors before every recording. This assumption is based on the fact that the speakers talked about the recording at the beginning of a recorded conversation. In contrast, for the BNC spoken demographic subcorpus (which served as a model for the LSAC compilation, cf. Biber et al. 1999: 28), it appears that a large number of the recorded speakers, predominantly the interlocutors of the respondents recruited for the data collection, indeed did not know that they were being recorded (see Burnard 2000; Mittmann 2004: 52f.), and it was only after the event that consent was sought. This procedure ensured that most respondents spoke as they would naturally do, without any disguise or adjustment resulting from a feeling of being observed. On the other hand, this method is, at least from a contemporary perspective, ethically rather questionable.

know, you see, I mean, and like. Their use has been somewhat stigmatized (cf. e.g. Andersson and Trudgill 1992: 93ff.; Brinton 1996: 6; Schiffrin 1987: 311), as they have traditionally been considered – mainly by non-linguists – as futile and meaningless expressions and an indication of e.g. "unclear thinking" (Crystal 1988: 47) or even "lack of confidence" (ibid.), although many speakers are probably not aware of the high frequency with which they use these items themselves (cf. Watts 1989).

Linguists, in turn, agree nowadays that discourse markers play a vital role in conversation, and any type of spoken interaction. Discourse markers have been the subject of a large number of comprehensive research studies in the past three decades, among them e.g. Aijmer (2002), Brinton (1996), Erman (1987), Lenk (1998), Müller (2005), Schiffrin (1987), and Schourup (1985). The titles of these works already hint at the fact that there are various competing labels for these items. Apart from 'discourse markers' (Schiffrin 1987), they have also been called 'discourse particles' (Aijmer 2002), 'pragmatic markers' (Brinton 1996), 'pragmatic expressions' (Erman 1987), and various other terms, although the items summarized under these labels do not always have identical, but rather overlapping reference. In general, there is no agreement on the exact items to be included in the category of 'discourse markers.' However, the items analyzed in the present study (*well, you know, I mean*) are quite prototypical members of this category. The following example (33), extracted from CATS, illustrates some discourse marker uses and also shows how frequent they are. Lorelai and her daughter Rory walk into the ice-cream shop owned by Taylor Doose, who also happens to be the Town Selectman of Stars Hollow and a notorious stickler for rules. Lorelai approaches him about the official letter which she received from him regarding her permit to do construction work on a historical building in the periphery of the town.

- (33) <Lorelai and Rory walk in.>
 <LORELAI:> Hi, Taylor.
 <TAYLOR:> **Well**, hello there. Lorelai, Rory, what can I get for you?
 <LORELAI:> Oh, **well**, gosh, look at all the choices, really hard to pick. I think I'll try a scoop of "Butter Brickle Crunch." Rory?
 <RORY:> I'll try the "Chocolate Chocolate Chocolate."
 <TAYLOR:> Coming right up.
 <LORELAI:> Listen, Taylor, while I have you here, uhm, I received this letter in the mail, and I'm having kind of a blond day, and I wonder if you could explain it to me.
 <TAYLOR:> **Well**, it says you have to get approval before you can start construction on the inn.
 <LORELAI:> That's what I thought it said. **Well**, I have to tell you, Taylor, I'm a little concerned because we have a construction crew coming Monday, **so...**
 <chuckles> yikes.

<TAYLOR:> **Well**, the <sighs> Dragonfly is a historical building, Lorelai.
 <LORELAI:> Yeah, but the whole town is a historical building, Taylor. **I mean**, George Washington ate, slept, or blew his nose all over the damn place.
 <TAYLOR:> He only blew his nose in the park. You've read the sign.
 <LORELAI:> Taylor, that inn needs love. It's falling down. Sookie and I have no intention of ruining its historical aspect. We'd just like some running water.
 <TAYLOR:> Running water was not always historical.
 <LORELAI:> You're not seriously telling me I can't put in running water?
 <RORY:> Oh my God, this is incredible! **I mean**, it's called "Chocolate Chocolate Chocolate," but it's seriously chocolate chocolate chocolaty! [...]
 (GG_4)

Discourse markers are known for their multifunctionality. It is difficult to assign a core function to all discourse markers, but Biber et al. (1999: 1086) describe two dominant functions as follows:

Discourse markers [...] are inserts which tend to occur at the beginning of a turn or utterance, and to combine two roles: (a) to signal a transition in the evolving progress of the conversation, and (b) to signal an interactive relationship between speaker, hearer, and message.

These two major functions overlap with what Müller (2005) calls 'textual' and 'interactional' functions.¹²⁸ While the functions of discourse markers are largely non-propositional (and outside the clause structure), their relevance for verbal interaction cannot be overestimated. Crystal (1988: 48) explains that they

are really far more complex and important than we usually allow. I tend to think of them as the oil which helps us perform the complex task of spontaneous speech production and interaction smoothly and efficiently.

Discourse markers are thus frequently used as a strategic device to overcome phases of production pressure in spontaneous conversation and thereby increase fluency (cf. Götz 2013; Hasselgren 2002). Furthermore, discourse markers often play an important role in delivering a message with the appropriate 'tone' and making sure that speaker and hearer are 'on the same page,' which contributes to smooth interaction. This is particularly crucial for learners. Flouting appropriateness norms can confuse or even offend an interlocutor more than the violation of grammatical norms, as they are more subtle and more personal (cf. Svartvik 1980). In a similar vein, Aijmer (2002: 3) states that "[i]f a non-native speaker uses discourse particles incorrectly or not uses [sic] them at all this may lead to misunderstandings."

¹²⁸ Müller's (2005) framework for classifying the multitudinous functions of discourse markers will also be the basis of the closer, functional analysis of the discourse markers examined in the present study. Müller's study is based on the Giessen Long Beach Chaplin Corpus (GLBCC). This corpus consists of 95,555 words of oral narratives and conversations between students who watched the silent movie *The Immigrant* (1917) starring Charlie Chaplin. A more detailed description of the GLBCC can be found in Ch. 1.5 in Müller (2005).

Discourse markers are therefore highly pedagogically relevant. They can help learners speak more fluently, naturally, and appropriately (Fung and Carter 2007; Götz 2013; Hasselgren 2002). In Ch. 3 I have already pointed out that they are frequently mentioned as important items of spoken grammar for the EFL syllabus. However, they traditionally do not receive much attention in EFL classrooms and are underrepresented in teaching materials (see e.g. Müller 2005: 250 as well as Mukherjee and Rohrbach 2006: 216 for the German context). Previous corpus studies on advanced German learner English have shown that German learners greatly underuse discourse markers, and they do not make full use of the many different functions that discourse markers offer (Götz 2013; Müller 2005). Learner corpus studies based on speakers with other L1s have come to similar conclusions, e.g. Romero-Trillo (2002) for Spanish learners and Hasselgren (2002) for Norwegian learners.

In the following, I will present the results of a frequency analysis of three of the most common discourse markers in English, viz. *well*, *you know*, and *I mean*. I performed a lexical search with *WordSmith Concord* and manually deleted formally equivalent items with non-discourse marker functions. To distinguish discourse marker and non-discourse marker uses, I followed the classification by Müller (2005) and Biber (1999: 1077). For example, I deleted items such as

- *well* as a verb, noun, adjective, adverb and also in fixed expressions such as *as well* and *as well as*;
- *you know* when followed by an obligatory complement, i.e. when *you know* is not syntactically optional (e.g. *You know what I did?*) and in the fixed expressions *you know what I mean* and *you know what,...*;
- *I mean* when followed by an obligatory complement, i.e. when *I mean* is not syntactically optional (e.g. *I mean it*).

In ambiguous cases where even an extended context did not allow for a clear classification, I consulted the corresponding audiovisual files. The following extracts from SFU illustrate the ambiguity that may be involved in the classification of discourse markers based on a written transcript.

- (34) <FATHER JACK:> How is your mother doing with the grieving, David?
 <DAVID:> Uh, she's fine. As far as I can tell. You know her, she likes to suffer in silence.
 <FATHER JACK:> Uh-huh. That seems to be a family trait. **You know** it's God's will for us to live our lives fully. Breathing in the joy around us, not just shouldering the pain. God wants you to be happy. (SFU_6)

- (35) <SCENE EIGHT: Brenda's House>
 <NATE inserts the key in the door and opens it.>
 <NATE:> It works!
 <BRENDA follows him inside. There is music playing in the background.>
 <BRENDA:> I must have left the stereo on again. So, you are not too freaked out?
 <NATE:> A little, maybe. It certainly makes David more interesting.
 <BRENDA:> No, **I mean** about me giving you a key to my apartment. (SFU_5)

In (34), it is not clear whether the clause *it's God's will for us to live our lives fully* is a subordinate zero-*that* clause functioning as the object in the main clause, introduced by *know*, or whether it is a main clause preceded by a discourse marker. The ambiguity emerges from the fact that there is no comma after *you know*. If there were a comma, one could be more certain that *you know* served as a discourse marker in this instance, as commas in an orthographic transcription typically indicate a pause and thus a different intonation contour of the items enclosed by them, which in turn would be an indication of discourse marker usage. No comma means either that a) there is no pause after *you know* or b) the transcription simply does not adequately represent the pause. However, phonological features such as forming "a separate tone unit" (as proposed by Erman 1992: 219 for *you know*) or not do not serve reliably for the classification as a discourse marker anyway (cf. Müller 2005: 5). Just because there is no pause after *you know* does not mean that it is not a discourse marker – discourse markers do not always appear as a separate tone/intonation unit (Du Bois et al. 1992: 103; Lenk 1998: 51). Transcribers would thus not always put a comma after *you know* when it is interpreted as a discourse marker (in transcriptions for which punctuation symbols are used). In fact, the audio files of example (34) demonstrated that *you know* is indeed used as a discourse marker, although there was no significant pause following *you know*. The intonation contours clearly indicated discourse marker use. In (35), consulting the audio files led to *I mean* not being classified as discourse marker. Brenda clears up a misunderstanding: Nate thought the "freak out" referred to his brother's coming out (as a homosexual), while Brenda referred to her giving him the key to her apartment. *I mean* appears to have the literal meaning here. Certainly, the distinction is often not clear-cut. Cases which were still considered ambiguous after consultation of the sound files were classified as non-discourse marker uses.

The main reference data for the comparative analysis comes from Biber et al. (1999: 1096). As in my previous analyses, I used their rough normalized counts and determined the corresponding raw frequencies on the basis of their corpus size. The most frequent discourse markers in their data are *well*, *you know*, and *I mean*. In contrast to the other analyses in this study so far, I will now also list the frequency counts which Biber et al. provide for British

English conversation. From a pedagogical point of view, it will be interesting to see whether CATS can be situated in proximity of these two standard reference varieties as regards the frequency with which certain pedagogically relevant items occur. As Biber et al. (1999: 1096) report, "many inserts are strikingly more common in one variety than the other," even though they fulfill the same functions. Finally, I will additionally list the frequency counts provided by Fung and Carter (2007). These are based on the pedagogic subcorpus of the CANCODE, which is a 460,055-word, spoken BrE corpus representing teacher-student and student-student interaction. This corpus should provide a further useful reference point. The results of the frequency analysis in CATS are presented in the following.¹²⁹

7.3.4.1 well

Well is a very frequent feature in natural spoken English, which fulfills numerous structural/textual and interpersonal/interactive functions (see e.g. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2003; Cuenca 2008; Jucker 1993; Müller 2004, 2005). As Biber et al. (1999: 1086) note, "[w]ell is a versatile discourse marker, but appears to have the general function of a 'deliberation signal', indicating the speaker's need to give (brief) thought or consideration to the point at issue [emphasis in original]." Many examples were already displayed in (33); another typical instance is displayed in (36), where Veronica responds to Logan's angry reproach and starts her response with *well*.

- (36) <LOGAN:> Do you know what your little joke cost me?
 <VERONICA:> **Well**, I'm pretty sure you won't be getting your bong back.
 (VM_1)

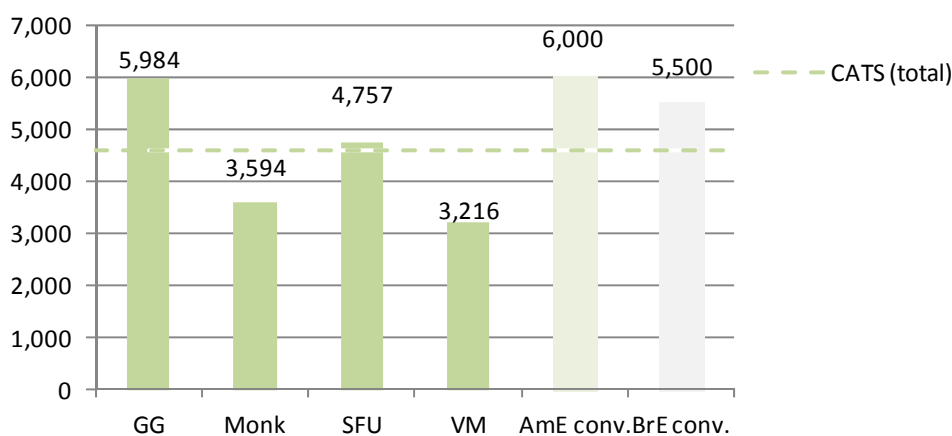
Cuenca (2008: 1373) notes that *well* seems to be one of the most frequently studied discourse markers. Müller (2005) found *well* to be the only discourse marker in her investigation for which no significant underuse could be found in the comparison of German learner and American native data. She also found that *well* was the most frequent discourse marker in three standard ELT textbooks on the German market at that time, which would be one explanation why *well* is the most frequently used discourse marker among the learners in her study.

¹²⁹ Less detailed analyses of *well* and *you know*, based on a preliminary version of CATS, are presented in Dose (2013) and Dose (2012), respectively.

Table 7-7: Discourse marker *well* in CATS compared to other corpora of spoken English^{a,c,h}

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
CATS (160,122 words)	735	4,590			
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	24,600	6,000	55.76	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
BrE conv.^c (3,929,500 words)	21,612	5,500	24.60	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
CANCODE ped. subcorpus^h (460,055 words)	1,637	3,558	31.79	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}

Table 7-7 displays the results of the frequency comparison between CATS and natural spoken English. There are fewer instances of *well* in CATS than in natural AmE and BrE conversation (with a ratio of approx. 3:4), but more than in the pedagogic subcorpus of the British CANCODE (with a ratio of approx. 4:3). For a teacher who wants to use CATS to explore the discourse marker *well*, there are still plenty of examples available. With a raw frequency of 735, there are on average 26 instances in each of the 28 episodes represented in CATS. A look at the distribution of *well* in the four subcorpora reveals, however, that there is quite some variation across the four TV shows (Figure 7-5; see also Table A-13 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values). GG features by far the highest frequency of *well* (n= 322; 5,984 pmw), which is, in fact, virtually identical to the frequency count reported for AmE conversation (no statistical difference, $p>0.05$) and averages 46 instances of *well* in every episode. VM, in turn, features only 101 instances altogether (3,216 pmw), which corresponds to around 14 instances per episode. This is obviously quite a stark difference from GG, although it must also be mentioned that the total word count of GG is much higher than VM's (53,806 vs. 31,406 words).

Figure 7-5: Discourse marker *well* in CATS subcorpora compared natural AmE and BrE conversation^{a,c} (pmw)

The high frequency of *well* in GG may be related to the dialogue structure in this show. GG is well known for its fast-paced dialogue, which is characterized by not only a higher articulation rate and more spoken words per episode, but also more frequent turn-taking than in other shows. Since *well* commonly occurs in turn-initial position (Biber et al. 1999: 1086; Aijmer 2011: 234f.), it comes as no surprise if GG displays a remarkably high frequency of *well*, as there are simply more slots for it to occur. VM, in contrast, is a special case in so far as it is the only show in this corpus to include some recurring stretches of non-dialogic speech, viz. voice-overs. These were intentionally not removed from the transcriptions during the compilation phase because they were deemed relevant from an educational perspective. Through the voice-overs, the protagonist Veronica establishes a relationship with the audience. In various instances, she actually addresses the audience as if the audience was an interlocutor:

- (37) <VERONICA VOICEOVER:> Quite a reputation I've got, huh? You wanna know how I lost my virginity? So do I.

These voice-overs were considered exceptionally conversational, rather than solely narrative, and for these reasons, they were not excluded from the transcripts. However, the results of this analysis may indicate that there are fewer slots for interactive items such as *well* from the start.¹³⁰ Further qualitative analyses would need to be done in order to substantiate these assumptions. The analyses of the next two discourse markers may also throw some more light on this issue.

Apart from the frequency of this discourse marker, a teacher may want to know which functions of *well* are represented in CATS. The following analysis will draw on Müller's (2005) categorical framework, which distinguishes six functions on the textual level, where *well* structures the text in some way, and six functions on the interactional level, involving the hearer/addressee in some way. While I do not assume that this list of functions can be transferred 1:1 to my data – the corpus designs are too different for that –, I do believe that it provides a very useful starting point. Also, the functions identified by Müller overlap in many ways with the various other functional categories to be found in the research literature. Table 7-8 summarizes Müller's categories.

¹³⁰ In Analysis (I) it turned out that the interactive items 'second person pronouns' as well as 'negation' were actually overused or at least used with a similar frequency in VM as in NOC. However, as has been pointed out in Ch. 6.5, the fact that two features are associated with the same discourse circumstance does not mean that their frequencies will necessarily display comparable trends in FSTVL – their formal and functional characteristics are often too distinct to allow sensible extrapolation.

Table 7-8: Functions of the discourse marker *well* (Müller 2005: 107)

Textual level	Interactional level
1. searching for the right phrase	7. indirect answer
2. rephrasing/correcting	8. direct answer
3. quotative <i>well</i>	9. response to self-raised expectations
4. move to the main story	10. contributing an opinion
5. introducing the next scene	11. continuing an opinion/answer
6. conclusive <i>well</i>	12. evaluating a previous statement

Some functions on the textual level help the speaker cope with the online pressure of spontaneous speech (1+2). Other uses of *well* function more to organize the discourse, e.g. indicate that a change in topic or focus is going to happen (4+5). On the interactional level, one typical function of *well* is to mark some degree of prevarication of a clear response (7). Another commonly acknowledged function of *well* on the interactional level (cf. Müller 2005: 131) is to mitigate a potential face-threat caused by an evaluation which somewhat disagrees with the interlocutor (12). A large variety of these twelve functions can also be found in CATS. Some of these will be illustrated in the following.

Extracts (38)-(40) illustrate textual functions, while extracts (41)-(43) exemplify some interactional functions. In extract (38), Nate seems to use the first instance of *well* at a moment when he is still planning his utterance. The use of the filler *uhm* right before *well* supports this assumption. The second use of *well* exemplifies how it is used to rephrase the utterance. Nate starts something ("And my sister...") and then notices that he needs to add some extra information, even if it means breaking off the originally planned utterance and starting something new.

- (38) <BRENDA:> [...] Manic depressive brother who always chooses the holidays to go off his medication. Oh, and an ancient Springer Spaniel who's completely blind, deaf and incontinent. What about you?
 <NATE:> Uh, actually, we're pretty normal. My mom's a control freak. My brother, uhm, **well**, he's a control freak, too. And my sister, **well**, I left home right before she was born, so I never really knew her that well, but she's kind of wild like I was. (SFU_1)

Extract (39) also shows how *well* can be used to rephrase or correct oneself. Troy notices right after he said "...and you should come" that the reference of *you* is ambiguous, or he actually changes his mind about who he wants to invite to the party and therefore corrects himself.

- (39) <Veronica and Wallace are sitting at their table and are in the middle of a conversation.>

[...]

<TROY:> How's that spare tire holding up?

<VERONICA:> Ah. There it is: the quid pro quo.

<TROY:> Hey, this great nation of ours was built on quid pro quo. I am having a party on Saturday and you should come. **Well**, both of you.

<WALLACE:> Cool. (VM_2)

- (40) <NATE:> So, I enjoyed talking to you about that whole shiatsu thing. I hope that pans out for you.
 <BRENDA:> You should let me work on you sometime.
 <NATE:> <writing on a small piece of paper> **Well**, here's my cell number. I'll be here until the - till the 29th. Here ya go. <looking around> Huh. My, uh, my dad is supposed to meet me here. (SFU_1)

The context of extract (40) is as follows: Nate just got off a plane and is now in the arrival hall of the airport, talking to a woman whom he met on the flight. He expects to be picked up by his father. Nate seems to use a 'conclusive *well*' to show that the conversation with Brenda is about to finish. An alternative interpretation, which assumes a more interactional function, would be that *well* is used to preface a response which agrees with the utterance of the previous speaker ('contributing an opinion'). Nate gives Brenda his phone number as she just suggested that she could demonstrate her shiatsu techniques to him. To get in touch, she would need his phone number. The two possible interpretations demonstrate the frequent multifunctionality of discourse markers (cf. Erman 1987: 121). Alternative classifications for the extracts above and below are thus possible by all means. However, the functions which I ascribe to *well* here appear to be the primary functions in the respective contexts. More clearly interactional uses are exemplified in the following.

- (41) <DAVID and an old man, MR. DOYLE, stand by an open casket, where a dead old woman, MRS. DOYLE, lies.>
 <MR. DOYLE:> You've done a nice job. She looks so peaceful.
 <DAVID:> **Well**, she is at peace now. (SFU_1)

In (41) David contributes an opinion which just adds to the preceding utterance, but does not contrast with it. In this case, *well* just introduces an utterance which agrees with the previous speaker's proposition. In (42) the speaker Capt. Stottlemeyer uses *well* to indicate that he wants to continue the thought which he has just expressed, i.e. that he feels uncomfortable with the operation. At the same time, *well* mitigates the threat posed by the disagreement between him and Lt. Kirk, as he insists on making the operation less dangerous.

- (42) <Leland Stottlemeyer drives a detective to a carnival. They are talking in the car.>
 <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> I don't like it. You oughta be wearing a wire.
 <LT. ADAM KIRK:> Oh, listen, Leland, we don't even know what he's got.
 <CAPT. STOTTLEMEYER:> **Well**, look, maybe I should hang and watch your back.
 <LT. ADAM KIRK:> Oh, come on. You worry too much. You always did. Leland, go home. Get some sleep. Past your bedtime. (Monk_4)

In (43) Nate speaks to an administrator of the hospital about the preferred type of funeral of a 29-year-old man called Victor, who recently died of cancer. As a Gulf War veteran, he turned out to be eligible for death benefits, but his brother Paul appears to oppose a funeral financially supported by the army. Nate states something which opposes the information just provided by the administrator. He prefaces his statement with the discourse marker *well*, which mitigates the possible face-threatening effect of the slight disagreement, or the provision of evidence which does not support the proposition of the previous utterance.

- (43) <NATE:> Ah, it's too bad nobody told his brother what he wanted.
 <VA AD:> I did. Oh, yeah. I gave Paul the forms. I found them later in the trash.
 <NATE:> **Well**, it's mostly somebody else's writing on the forms. It doesn't match Victor's signature at all.
 <VA AD:> I filled them out for him. He tried to do it himself but those boxes are pretty small, and he shook a lot. (SFU_7)

The preceding extracts from CATS have exemplified a number of different functions of the discourse marker *well*. No effort has been made to quantify the functions in any systematic way, as this would be beyond the scope of this study. However, my data suggest that FSTVL may display the same wide range of functions as naturally occurring language. In consequence, such extracts may be beneficial in classroom contexts to explore the discourse marker *well*.

7.3.4.2 you know

The discourse marker *you know* is another item which serves a variety of useful communicative functions and is therefore highly relevant for EFL learners. Just like *well*, it can be used to increase one's fluency (cf. Götz 2013; Hasselgren 2002), as e.g. it can be used to fill pauses when one is trying to think of what to say next without losing one's turn in the conversation. This is exemplified in (44). Rory meets Dean, her former boyfriend, and is

surprised to find out that he is getting married that weekend. *You know* helps Dean to get over the online-planning difficulties in this uncomfortable moment.

- (44) <DEAN:> I didn't know you'd be home this weekend.
 <RORY:> It was just a spur-of-the-moment thing.
 <DEAN:> Because if I had known, I would have, **you know**, invited you.
 (GG_4)

It also serves several interactional functions which are important for the relationship between speaker and listener. These will be discussed in more detail below. Müller (2005) has shown that American native speakers use this discourse marker five times as often as the advanced German learners in her corpus. Similar results have been produced by Götz's (2013) study on German advanced learner speech.¹³¹ Apart from these striking frequency differences, it has been found that learners do not take full advantage of the many useful textual/structural and interactional functions (Müller 2005: 190ff.). It is also noteworthy that the cluster *you know* appears to be the most frequent 2-word-cluster in spoken American English as well as spoken British English (see e.g. O'Keeffe et al. 2007: 65; Mittmann 2004; Shin and Nation 2008: 344). Most of these instances are indeed discourse markers (Mittmann 2004: 228 provides an estimate of 75% discourse markers based on the LSAC and the BNC spoken demographic subcorpus; Romero-Trillo 2002: 777 records over 90% based on the LLC), which goes to show that it is a pervasive phenomenon in the spoken language which deserves explicit attention in the classroom.

Table 7-9 provides the results of the comparison between CATS and corpora of naturally occurring speech.

Table 7-9: Discourse marker *you know* in CATS compared to other corpora of spoken English^{a,c,h}

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
CATS (160,122 words)	250	1,561			
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	18,450	4,500	400.18	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
BrE conv.^c (3,929,500 words)	7,859	2,000	16.07	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
CANCODE ped. subcorpus^h (460,055 words)	1,659	3,606	185.82	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

¹³¹ The study by Götz (2013) is based on LINDSEI-Ger, the German subcorpus of the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage. This 86,000-word spoken corpus consists of 50 interviews with advanced German learners in their third and fourth year of English studies at university. A more detailed description of the corpus design can be found in Brand and Kämmerer (2006).

The data for AmE and BrE conversation are again from Biber et al. (1999: 1096), while the data based on the CANCODE pedagogic subcorpus come again from Fung and Carter (2007: 426). It turns out that the discourse marker *you know* is much less frequent in CATS than in naturally occurring speech, no matter whether the basis of comparison is AmE conversation (for which the normalized frequency in CATS resembles that of the LSWE AmE spoken corpus with a ratio of approx. 1:3), BrE conversation (with a ratio of approx. 3:4), or BrE interaction between teachers and students (with a ratio of approx. 2:5).¹³² This may be due to a variety of reasons, such as that its function as 'filler' during phases of planning pressure are not genuinely needed as often as in NOC, and that its frequent use may be somewhat stigmatized in screenwriting (cf. Ch. 4.4.3.3.2). Furthermore, scriptwriters are probably not aware of the actual frequency of this item in natural speech, even if they did aim at representing language in a (quantitatively) realistic way.

You know is nevertheless a common phenomenon in CATS (n= 250), as it occurs in all the 28 episodes included, and on average there are nine instances per episode. In other words, there are still plenty of examples which could serve for illustration purposes. Incidentally, the cluster *you know* (including discourse marker and non-discourse marker uses) is also the most frequent 2-gram in CATS (n= 497), just as was found for naturally occurring speech (see above).

The 250 instances of the discourse marker *you know* are relatively evenly distributed across the four subcorpora (Figure 7-6; see also Table A-14 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values), and all four shows display statistically significant differences, i.e. underuses, from NOC (p<0.0001). However, the figure also draws attention to the fact that the discrepancy of all four subcorpora from the score for BrE conversation is strikingly smaller than from AmE conversation. In fact, the difference between the scores for *Monk* and SFU do not differ significantly (p>0.05) from BrE conversation. In general, it thus appears that regarding the frequency of *you know*, CATS is much closer to the British norm than to the American norm. This observation is relevant from a pedagogical perspective because it raises the issue of target norms. From the perspective of a language practitioner, one could argue that a specific language variety (in this case, FSTVL) is suitable for a teaching context (concerning its similarity to NOC) as long as it is similar to either one of the two major national varieties of English, namely American English and British English.

¹³² Some possible reasons for the striking difference between Biber et al.'s (1999) data and Fung and Carter's (2007) data for spoken BrE are addressed in Dose (2012: 112f.).

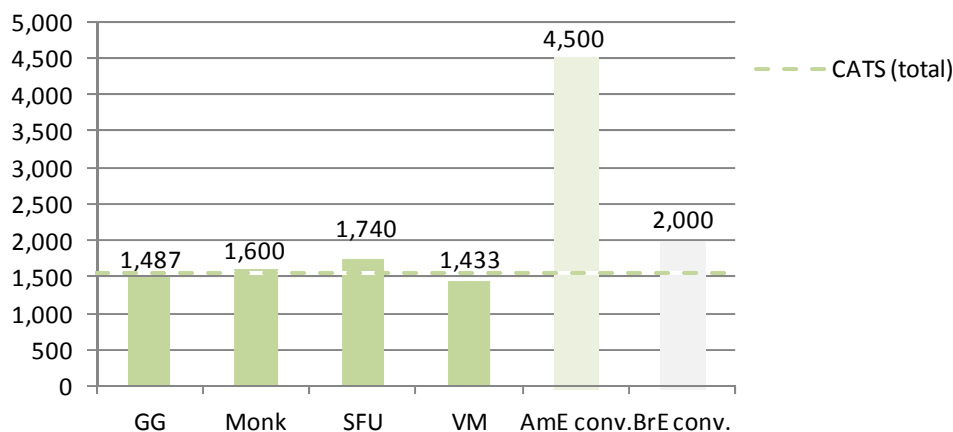


Figure 7-6: Discourse marker *you know* in CATS subcorpora compared natural AmE and BrE conversation^{a,c} (pmw)

Be that as it may, what is probably just as important for the individual EFL teacher is the question of whether the manifold functions and contexts which have been identified for *you know* are also present in CATS. In the following, I would like to illustrate and discuss them again on the basis of Müller's (2005) framework (see Table 7-10).

Table 7-10: Functions of the discourse marker *you know* (Müller 2005: 157)

Textual level	Interactional level
1. marking lexical or content search	6. "imagine the scene"
2. marking false start and repair	7. "see the implication"
3. marking approximation	8. reference to shared knowledge
4. introducing an explanation	9. appeal for understanding
5. quotative <i>you know</i>	10. appeal to acknowledge that the speaker is right

Similar to the discourse marker *well*, *you know* has a couple of functions on the textual level which help cope with the challenges of spontaneous speech production (1.+2.). The most frequent function in Müller's data is the textual/structural function of prefacing an explanation (4.), which could be a clarification, specification, or exemplification, among other things. The function as a quotative, for instance, appears to be completely unknown to German learners of English (Müller 2005: 191f.). The second most frequent function of *you know* is the function paraphrased as "imagine the scene," by which the speaker either requests that the addressee imagine the scene or simply assumes that the addressee *can* imagine the situation which is being described by the speaker. It is an interactional function, as it is about involving the hearer, though the speaker does not necessarily expect a verbal response from the addressee and so *you know* is not always used with an interrogative intonation contour (cf. Müller 2005: 171f.). The reference to shared knowledge (8.) appears to be the function which is most consonant with the literal meaning of *you know*; here, the addressee is often reminded of

something (cf. Müller 2005: 177ff.). The last two functions (9.+10.) demand more active cooperation by the addressee, as they appeal to the hearer. On the one hand (9.), the speaker may ask the hearer for cooperation when his/her utterance is in some respect deficient (in content or form), for example when he/she "gives up searching for an expression or does not know what to say about the topic at hand" (Müller 2005: 189). The speaker may also simply ask the hearer to understand his/her point-of-view. In the second type of appeal, the speaker is more certain of his/her proposition and rather expects the hearer to agree. Apart from these ten functions, Müller found a few less frequent functions (classified as "various"), which I will neglect, however, in the following discussion.

Indeed, numerous examples of the functions of *you know* as described in the literature can be found in CATS. Extracts (45) and (46) both illustrate the use of *you know* when it helps overcome planning pressure. In both instances, *you know* is also accompanied by performance phenomena such as the use of filled pauses and repeats.

- (45) <DR. KROGER:> My son wants your autograph.
 <MONK:> Really.
 <DR. KROGER:> Mhm. **You know**, you - you - you're his hero. He - he puts your picture up on the wall. (Monk_1)
- (46) <KEITH:> Hey, there you are. I wanted to ask you a favor. I know you got something planned for my birthday, but I was, **you know**, hoping that it would be, uh, fine if, **you know**, before we went to do whatever you got cooked up that we go to Rebecca's house and have her cook us dinner, because she's a great cook.
 <VERONICA:> <somberly, placing the file on his desk> I think you should look at that. (VM_5)

In (47), the first instance of *you know* appears to help stalling for planning time, while the second instance prefaces a repair, where the originally planned syntactic structure is abandoned and the speaker simply repeats the *if*-clause from the beginning of his turn.

- (47) <MONK:> Yeah. Are you, uh, are you going to be seeing Mr. Goodman later?
 <MIRANDA:> Jesse?
 <MONK:> Jesse.
 <MIRANDA:> Why do you ask?
 <MONK:> Well, if you see him, **you know**, uh, just - just - would you tell him to call me? Because I - I would just - I'd love to talk to him and, **you know**, if you see him. <smiles knowingly at her> (Monk_1)

The function of *you know* to indicate that the upcoming element is rather an approximation is exemplified in extract (48). At the same time, it may also serve to gain time in order to find the best-fitting lexical expression, namely "vintage-y."

- (48) <LORELAI:> So you were telling me about anaglypta wallpaper?
 <NATALIE:> Yes, it's a textured paper that we can paint or treat. We can even distress it if you wanna give it a more, **you know**, vintage-y look.
 <LORELAI:> Hm, that sounds interesting. (GG_5)

Extracts (49)-(51) illustrate the most frequent function of *you know*, namely that of introducing an explanation. In (49), Keith adds examples of items which are at the base of the food pyramid. In (50), Rory reacts to a question by Lorelai and clarifies what she means by the term "urine mints." In (51), Emily's husband's new business partner Jason first mentions a trip he has organized. Emily reacts with surprise and possibly confusion ("What?") and so Jason sees the need to specify what kind of trip he is talking about and why this is a good idea. When he uses *you know* for the second time, he explains what he means by "crazy fun," i.e. food, drinks, gambling, etc.

- (49) <Veronica downs a large spoonful of her sundae.>
 <KEITH:> Honey. Shouldn't we try something at the base of the food pyramid, **you know**, fruits and vegetables? (VM_6)
- (50) <RORY:> Trevor's fine. I'm moronic. I bring the conversation to a crashing halt every time I speak.
 <LORELAI:> Well, where is he now?
 <RORY:> In the bathroom, probably pondering my brilliant anecdote about urine mints.
 <LORELAI:> About what?
 <RORY:> **You know**, when people go to the bathroom and they don't wash their hands and they come out and they take a mint. (GG_5)
- (51) <EMILY:> It's the extra little things that set you apart in business, Jason.
 <JASON:> I couldn't agree more, and that is why I've organized a trip to Atlantic City.
 <EMILY:> What?
 <JASON:> **You know**, get everybody out, away from business, away from their spouses, away from stuffy cocktail-party music and floral arrangements. Have a little crazy fun - **you know**, good food, lots to drink, maybe a little gambling, a show, and trust me, nothing bonds two businessmen together more than one of them finding the other hung over with a hooker in their bed the next morning.
 <EMILY:> What?
 <JASON:> It's just a figure of speech, Emily. (GG_6)

Extracts (51) and (52) demonstrate the frequency with which *you know* may be used in just short stretches of conversation. They also show that even TV characters make use of the diverse functional potential of *you know*. In (52), *you know* is used twice, but each time with a different primary function.

- (52) <EMILY:> No, I did not get your flyer.
 <LORELAI:> Oh, well, I sent it, and to be, uhm, honest with you, I was a little hurt that you didn't call to congratulate me, but now that I know you didn't get it, I forgive you.
 <EMILY:> When did you send a flyer?
 <LORELAI:> Last week.
 <EMILY:> What did it say?
 <LORELAI:> Oh, **you know**... "come and get it".
 <EMILY:> You wrote "come and get it" on your business flyer?
 <LORELAI:> Well, no, it was your basic "Introducing the Independence Catering Company", uh, flyer. **You know**, it had our phone number, our address, and an amusing caricature of us. (GG_6)

The first time that *you know* is used, Lorelai is struggling for the correct words. Her mother just caught her off guard, and so she is lying to her when she claims that she sent her a flyer of her new business. When Emily asks what exactly the flyer said, Lorelai must 'improvise' and tries to gain time to come up with a plausible answer. Although *you know* is followed by a quotation, it is not a case of 'quotative *you know*.' The three dots after *you know* indicate a longish pause, and after checking the sound files it was clear that Lorelai is simply hesitating here. The second use of *you know* performs a different function: It introduces an explanation or specification of the type of flyer she supposedly sent.

Extract (53) is a clear case of 'quotative *you know*.' It is positioned between the quotative verb (*say*) and the quotation, as is typical of 'quotative *you know*.'

- (53) <SHARONA:> Did he say anything?
 <ANGIE:> Who?
 <SHARONA:> The mugger.
 <ANGIE:> Oh, jeez, that was twenty years ago. Uh, I think he said, **you know**, "Give me your money. Don't be a hero."
 <SHARONA:> He said that? "Don't be a hero"? (Monk_6)

All the previous extracts displayed instances of *you know* with primarily textual/structural functions. In the following, I will present examples of *you know* with interactional functions. In (54) and (55), the speakers refer to shared knowledge when they use *you know*. In (54), it may also have the additional function of asking the hearer to see the implication of what was

just mentioned. David considers the option of becoming a deacon at his church and discusses this with his partner. Since he is the co-owner of a funeral business, he imagines that church members are likely to turn to his business when in need of such services.

- (54) <DAVID:> It'll be good for business, too. Dad was a deacon there, and it's a big congregation. People die, **you know**, families don't know where to go, and the church sends them our way.
 <KEITH:> They know you're gay?
 <DAVID:> I think Father Jack has a pretty good idea. (SFU_5)
- (55) <EMILY:> You sound tired.
 <RICHARD:> It's been a very long day.
 <EMILY:> **You know**, some men retire.
 <RICHARD:> Yes, and some men tattoo their mother's names on their biceps.
 (GG_3)

In (55), when Emily comments that "some men retire," she has a provocative and sarcastic undertone. She wishes that her husband would finally retire and draws his attention to the obvious fact that retirement is an option to consider. It is clear that her husband knows this already, which is why he gives such a quick-witted response. In (56) and (57), the speakers use *you know* to signal that they hope for empathy or for understanding. In (56), Dean just celebrated his stag night and is very drunk when Luke picks him up and takes him home. Dean keeps on talking about his former girlfriend Rory, with whom, as it appears, he is still in love. With the first instance of *you know*, Dean seeks to emphasize that "she," i.e. Rory, is smart, and he might even refer to shared knowledge. With the second instance of *you know*, however, he appeals for Luke's understanding.

- (56) <The boys leave, singing the fight song. Luke takes Dean upstairs to his apartment.>
 <LUKE:> Here we are.
 <DEAN:> She's smart, man. **You know**, she's so smart.
 <LUKE:> I know, I know.
 <DEAN:> She could probably fix the world, **you know**? (GG_4)
- (57) <CLAIRE:> Oh, yeah, well, Gabe should learn that. <pause> I know you and my brother are, like, gay.
 <KEITH:> Okay.
 <CLAIRE:> What do you see in him?
 <KEITH:> He's just David, **you know**?
 <CLAIRE:> I know. <laughs> That's why I'm asking.
 <KEITH:> <laughs> He is smart. He's kind. He's funny. I know he can be a little uptight, but underneath that, he's such a little boy. Innocent. And I like that.

Most of the men I meet, well, they kind of just want me to be one thing.
(SFU_3)

In extract (57), Claire speaks to Keith, who is, as she just found out, her brother's boyfriend. She does not quite understand how someone could find David attractive and asks Keith what he thinks is special about David. Keith knows that his answer ("He's just David") is vague, and so the *you know* signals that he is aware of his somewhat deficient form of expression but hopes for Claire's cooperation, i.e. her understanding.

Extracts (58) and (59) both exemplify cases in which a speaker uses *you know* primarily to get the hearer to acknowledge that they are right.

- (58) <LOGAN:> Hey, did you hook up with Shelly last night?
<DUNCAN:> Uh, she's a talker. She's a talker, **you know**. Turns out she has conflicted feelings towards her new stepmom and the color scheme the woman's chosen for the family rec room -
<LOGAN:> I hate it when they talk.
<DUNCAN:> Yeah, I know it. (VM_3)
- (59) <MONK:> What about last week? Did you catch anything?
<DR. LANCASTER:> Pardon me?
<MONK:> You just got back from another fishing trip. You were in South America. Unless I'm wrong, which, **you know**, I'm not.
<DR. LANCASTER:> I was in Argentina, but how did you know all that?
(Monk_5)

In (58), Duncan describes why he did not "hook up" with the Shelly, and uses *you know* to emphasize that Shelly talks a lot. The falling intonation of *you know* indicates that Duncan does not expect a verbal response, but takes it as a given. In fact, this instance of *you know* could also be considered to have the primary function "See the implication." Logan must infer from Duncan's utterance that Shelly's talking prevented Duncan from getting closer to her. Extract (59), in contrast, is a clear case of a speaker making an appeal to acknowledge that he is right. Monk is absolutely certain that Dr. Lancaster, a suspicious doctor involved in a murder case, was in South America, and he does not give him a chance to state otherwise.

The extracts discussed above represent only a small selection. Many other extracts could have served equally well to illustrate that the functions with which *you know* is used in CATS reflect those which have been identified for natural speech to a great extent.

7.3.4.3 I mean

The discourse marker *I mean* is another discourse marker which serves highly relevant functions in spontaneous discourse. These are primarily textual/structural. Since the functions and contexts of *I mean* are neither treated in Müller's (2005) study of discourse markers nor in Biber et al.'s (1999) grammar, I will refer to a number of different sources in the following discussion.

According to Schiffrin (1987: 304), the discourse marker *I mean* "marks modifications of both propositional information and speaker intention." It is used when a speaker wants to correct him-/herself, explain, exemplify, specify, or elaborate something which has just been mentioned. Fox Tree and Schrock (2002: 741) also refer to Schiffrin (1987) when they claim that "*I mean*'s basic meaning may be to indicate upcoming adjustments, from the word level on up to the negotiation of meaning." In the same vein, Fuller (2003: 190) agrees that it "is used to mark expansion, modification or clarification in a speaker's contribution." Interestingly, these functions are also covered quite well in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, which is especially geared towards learners of English. Under the entry for the transitive verb *mean*, there is a special box for "spoken phrases," one of which is *I mean*:

11 I mean a) used when explaining or giving an example of something, or when pausing to think about what you are going to say next: *You're more of an expert than me. I mean, you've got all that experience.* | *It's just not right. I mean, it's unfair isn't it?* b) used to quickly correct something you have just said: *She plays the violin, I mean the viola, really well.* (Mayor 2009: 1084)

This dictionary thus explicitly points out its strategic role in phases of planning pressure, which is particularly helpful for EFL learners. However, *I mean* is an item which overall tends to get little attention in the classroom and in teaching materials, and like *you know*, it is a linguistic item that often attracts skepticism and negative evaluation on the part of the teacher (cf. e.g. Fox Tree and Schrock 2002: 729).

Table 7-11 (below) displays the results of the frequency comparison between CATS and corpora of naturally occurring speech. The data for AmE and BrE conversation are again from Biber et al. (1999: 1096), while the data based on the CANCODE pedagogic subcorpus come from Fung and Carter (2007: 426). *I mean* is much less frequent (n= 141; 881pmw) than the other two discourse markers, and it is dramatically underrepresented in CATS, as the differences from all three spoken corpora are statistically significant (p<0.0001). The normalized frequency in CATS resembles that of the LSWE AmE conv. corpus with a ratio of

only roughly 2:5. Again, CATS is closer to the score for BrE conversation (with a ratio of roughly 3:5), but still far from being similar to it.

Table 7-11: Discourse marker *I mean* in CATS compared to other corpora of spoken English^{a,c,h}

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
CATS (160,122 words)	141	881			
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	8,200	2,000	123.36	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
BrE conv.^c (3,929,500 words)	5,894	1,500	46.54	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
CANCODE ped. subcorpus^h (460,055 words)	922	2,004	100.50	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

This discourse marker simply does not have the same importance as in naturally occurring speech. This may again have to do with the fact that genuine need for self-correction and adjustment is much reduced in scripted TV dialogues, and that this feature "loses" in the cost-benefit-analyses of scriptwriters who have only limited screen time at their disposal and who may be doubtful of this discourse marker from the start, seeing it as an unnecessary verbal nuisance. Apart from that, screenwriters are probably not aware of the actual frequency of *I mean* in natural language use.

The underrepresentation of *I mean* in CATS also emerges from a comparison of cluster frequency lists. The cluster *I mean* (with discourse and non-discourse marker functions) is the fifth most frequent 2-gram in natural AmE conversation (Mittmann 2004: 368). For BrE conversation, Mittmann (ibid.) places it on fourth position of the rank-order frequency list (based on the BNC spoken demographic subcorpus), while O'Keeffe et al. (2007: 65) even record second place among the most frequent two-word sequences in the British English CANCODE. In CATS, this 2-gram only scores the 30th place (n= 159), and the majority of these instances (88.7%, n= 141) are in fact discourse marker uses.¹³³ This result contrasts with the result for the cluster *you know*, which occupies the same rank as in NOC. If we look at the frequency of this discourse marker in terms of instances per episode, we arrive at an average of roughly five instances per episode. This is not frequent compared to natural speech, but it is common in that it occurs in 27 of the 28 episodes in CATS. For learning and teaching scenarios, there are still sufficient instances across a variety of texts available for illustration and discussion.

¹³³ This supports the assumption that the underuse of the discourse marker *I mean* has contributed to the overall lower frequency of the verb *mean* (cf. Ch. 6.4.1).

When we look at the four subcorpora individually (Figure 7-7, see also Table A-15 in the Appendix for all raw frequencies and p-values), we can see that the distribution of *I mean* is fairly homogeneous, and so the normalized frequency calculated for CATS as a whole represents quite well what is happening in the individual components. This discourse marker is underused in all four TV shows, not only compared to AmE, but also to BrE conversation ($p < 0.0001$). Only SFU is slightly prominent as it displays an especially low frequency of *I mean* (598 pmw), while the other shows are in the 900s (pmw). This ties in with the fact that the verb *mean* was overall much less frequent in SFU than in the other corpora, too (see Ch. 6.4.1).

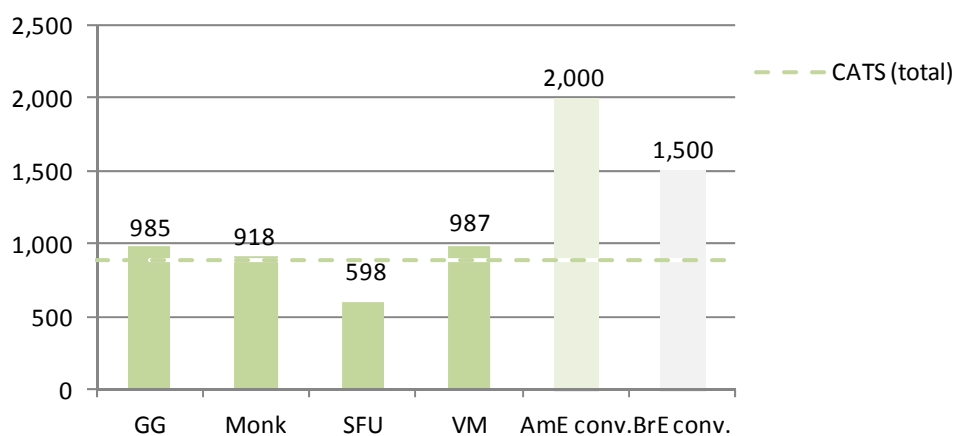


Figure 7-7: Discourse marker *I mean* in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring AmE and BrE conversation^{a,c} (pmw)

In terms of frequency, then, the discourse marker *I mean* is not represented as in NOC. Let us now see, however, whether the functions and contexts of *I mean* resemble that of naturally occurring speech.

A close inspection of the 141 concordance lines revealed that *I mean* is used with a wide range of functions in all four corpora. The basic function of acting as an indicator of upcoming modification or expansion is clearly present. In extract (60), *I mean* is obviously used for self-correction. The speaker talks about her recently deceased friend and corrects herself when she notices that she has just spoken of her in the present tense instead of the past tense.

- (60) <PORN STARLET:> But Viveca came through like, you know, like such the pro she is... **I mean**, was. <starts to cry> (SFU_5)

Extract (61) displays another function of *I mean*, namely that of gaining time when thinking about what to say next. Duncan and his father Jake speak about Duncan's candidacy as student council president and the current campaign, about which he is not very excited. He just delivered a cynical remark to his father, but then apologizes for it and tries to find the right words for his upcoming explanation. The discourse marker *I mean* buys him some time to do so and simultaneously 'announces,' as it were, this explanation.

- (61) <JAKE:> Oh, come on, Duncan. Look what you already accomplished and you weren't even trying. Imagine what you'd be capable of if ya - you just put your heart into it.
 <DUNCAN:> Cue inspirational music here.
 <JAKE:> I'm so tired of your cynicism.
 <DUNCAN:> Oh, Dad, I'm sorry, **I mean** I - I know you think that this election is some sort of stepping stone on my way to the White House -
 <JAKE:> Well I got news for ya. I'm not - I'm not concerned about this election, I just wanna see you engaged. Enthusiastic about something. (VM_6)

Indeed, most uses of *I mean* in CATS seem to involve some kind of additional explanation rather than solely self-correction or gaining time to think – be it a specification, clarification, or elaboration. This finding is thus in line with the idea that performance phenomena associated with planning difficulties are less frequent in CATS, as genuine self-correction rarely takes place and would predominantly be scripted for specific functions (e.g. characterization, dramatization).

In (62), Rory suddenly leaves the band rehearsal. She is upset because she just found out that her former boyfriend is getting married that weekend. She says that she is "a little surprised," but right away notices the imprecision of her statement, and so she uses *I mean* to preface the upcoming specifying explanation.

- (62) <RORY:> I'm sorry. Uhm, I'm going. I'll call you later. <gets her stuff and gets ready to leave.>
 <LANE:> Hey, are you mad?
 <RORY:> No, I'm not, I promise. I'm just - I'm just a little surprised. **I mean**, Dean's wedding...
 <LANE:> I know.
 <RORY:> But - it's okay. It just means that I have to be a little more careful about where I go this weekend, that's all. (GG_4)
- (63) <DR. KROGER:> Good. Good for you. You - you - you've been, what, doing - doing some consulting?
 <MONK:> Yeah, in Santa Clara. I have an old friend there who's a second lieutenant and... called me in. <chuckles>

<DR. KROGER:> Well, how'd that make you feel? I - **I mean**, you know, being called in?
 <MONK:> Feels great. Feels like old times. (Monk_1)

Extract (63) shows a scene with Monk and his psychiatrist, Dr. Kroger. Monk wants to convince Dr. Kroger that he is ready to go back to work full time and be reinstated as a detective. They talk about Monk's recent freelance consulting activities. When Dr. Kroger asks how "that" makes Monk feel, he realizes that the pronoun *that* was a bit too imprecise and his subsequent clarification is introduced by *I mean*. The additional use of the discourse marker *you know* here illustrates the fact that these two markers have parallel functions sometimes.

Extracts (64)-(66) also involve uses of *I mean* to introduce an explanation in order to clarify something. What is particular here is the speaker's realization that there is potential for misunderstanding a previously uttered statement. The meaning of *I mean* could also be paraphrased by "Don't get me wrong,...". The use of *I mean* serves to weaken the force of the previous utterance in some way, as if the speakers were 'backpedaling' to some extent on their previous proposition and introduce an idea that could be seen to contradict what they just said a moment earlier. Afterwards, however, the original idea is picked up again, introduced by the coordinator *but*. For example, in (64) Lorelai uses *I mean* before she clarifies that despite the unsmooth relationship which she just mentioned, she and her mother do not fight a war against each other.

(64) <LORELAI:> No, no, no, no, you did nothing. You've been great, really. Just, uhm, great ideas, great attitude. It's just that... you know my mother.
 <NATALIE:> Yes?
 <LORELAI:> That's it. You know my mother.
 <NATALIE:> Oh.
 <LORELAI:> And my mother and I don't exactly have the smoothest of relationships.
 <NATALIE:> Ah.
 <LORELAI:> Right. **I mean**, we're not warring or anything, but it's just that we're very different, and I feel kind of weird sharing things with her. (GG_5)

(65) <MARGARET:> Oh, Nate, where Brenda's concerned, there are no coincidences.
 <NATE:> You think she planned all this?
 <MARGARET:> Of course. She's a master manipulator. **I mean**, I love her dearly, but you really oughta know what you're getting into. Now, would you like another bourbon? (SFU_5)

(66) <WALTER:> And let me ask you a question, David. Do you think Clark is gay?

<DAVID:> Uh... I don't think so. He mentioned something about having a deceased wife.

<WALTER:> **I mean**, I don't care if he is. I just don't want him to push that agenda, you know? Marriage, that whole thing. [...] (SFU_7)

In (65), Margaret speaks rather derogatorily about her daughter Brenda, Nate's girlfriend, but then she qualifies her statement by adding that she loves her very much. This parenthetical explanation is again followed by a *but*, which continues the original idea, namely the fact that Brenda has a manipulative nature. Extract (66) shows a scene in which Walter, an elderly deacon of the same church where David was recently elected deacon too, and David speak about Father Clark, who may possibly transfer to St. Barth's and become associate priest. Walter asks David whether he thinks that Clark is homosexual. A moment later, he feels that this question needs some adjustment, i.e. further explanation. It appears that he does not want to come across as having a problem with the sexual orientation of the potential new priest, and so he adds *I mean* to introduce a corresponding clarification.

Extract (67) illustrates another use of *I mean* to preface further explanation. This time, it is used not to introduce a contrasting idea, but to elaborate a previous idea. Sharona complains to Monk about how little fun it is to play board games with him (e.g. he blurts out the solution before the game has even properly started). She then uses *I mean* to say more about her idea, as she addresses the fact that no one ever invites Monk over to play games etc.

- (67) <SHARONA:> That's it. That - that is the last time I ever play a game with you, Adrian. You are just no fun.
 <MONK:> Okay.
 <SHARONA:> **I mean**, don't you ever wonder why you never get invited anywhere?
 <MONK:> No. Not really. (Monk_3)

These few extracts have already demonstrated that CATS provides a variety of opportunities to illustrate and discuss the contexts and functions of *I mean*. While from a quantitative perspective, CATS can by no means be considered to be similar to naturally occurring speech, from a qualitative perspective, CATS appears to mirror natural language quite well in the sense that the same contexts and functions can be found in the fictional, scripted variety of language as in natural spoken language.

7.3.4.4 Summary and pedagogical implications

The following bar chart (Figure 7-8) provides an overview of the distribution of the three discourse markers in CATS and the other corpora of spoken English which have been used as reference corpora above (see also Table A-16 in the Appendix for all raw and normalized frequencies). The general distribution of the three discourse markers mirrors that of natural speech very well: The discourse marker *well* is the most frequent item in all the corpora, followed by *you know* and then *I mean*.

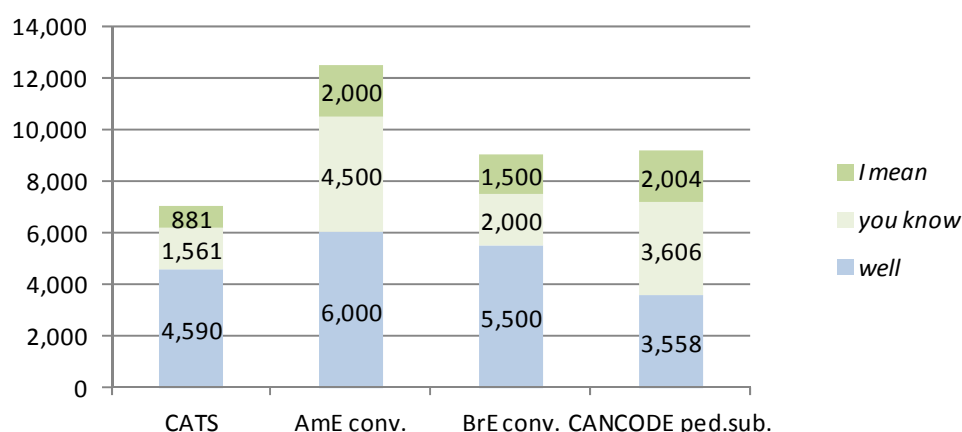


Figure 7-8: Discourse markers *well*, *you know*, and *I mean* in CATS compared to other corpora of spoken English^{a,c,h} (pmw)

Nevertheless, one central result of the frequency comparison is that there are overall far fewer discourse markers in CATS (together 7,032 pmw) than in natural speech, no matter whether it is compared to AmE conv. (12,500 pmw), BrE conv. (9,000 pmw), or teacher-student and student-student interaction as represented by the British CANCODE corpus (9,168 pmw). The chart shows very clearly that the frequency of all three discourse markers is much lower in CATS in all cases. The only exception here is *well*, which is more frequent in CATS than in the British CANCODE corpus. In fact, CATS is generally most similar to naturally occurring speech in the case of the discourse marker *well*: Expressed in percentages, the pmw-score of CATS equals 77% of the score of AmE conv., 83% of the score of BrE conv., and 129% of the score of the CANCODE data, while the percentages for the other two discourse markers are considerably lower.¹³⁴ The reasons for this are not quite clear. It has

¹³⁴ The pmw-score of CATS for *you know* equals 35% of the score of AmE conv., 78% of the score of BrE conv., and 43% of the score of the CANCODE data. The pmw-score of CATS for *I mean* equals 44% of the score of AmE conv., 59% of the score of BrE conv., and 44% of the score of the CANCODE data. Note that these percentages only serve to gain a rough picture of the results. They do not take into account the raw frequencies of the phenomena or the statistical significances of the frequency differences.

been mentioned above that discourse markers are to some extent subject to stigma, and that in screenwriting circles they frequently receive negative evaluation (cf. Ch. 4.4.3.3.2). It is probable that the negative attitudes are more prominent in the case of *you know* and *I mean*, so that scriptwriters intentionally use fewer of them.

Some additional noteworthy observations can be made concerning the two reference varieties, i.e. American English and British English. The total frequency of the three discourse markers taken together is very different in these two varieties. In fact, the difference between AmE conv. (12,500 pmw) and BrE conv. (9,000 pmw) is even larger than between BrE conv. and CATS (7,032 pmw). This great spectrum of variation between native varieties of English should be kept in mind when investigating the similarity of another variety (in this case, FSTVL) to natural spoken English and subsequently assessing its appropriateness for language teaching purposes. There is no one and only, true type of spoken English conversation. For a purely linguistic analysis which determines the degree of similarity between (American) FSTVL and NOC, AmE conversation is certainly the most appropriate reference point. However, from a language-pedagogical point of view, additional reference points should be taken into account. If we require a certain degree of naturalness (i.e. similarity to naturally occurring speech) of a specific variety to be considered as a language model/input, this variety should be allowed the same extent of deviance from natural speech as the individual native varieties differ from each other. After all, one could argue that it is not necessary to stick to one particular target model, as long as we are within the natural range of different frequencies which have been documented for major native varieties of English. In this context, the fact that the scores for discourse markers in CATS are generally more similar to BrE than to AmE conversation in each case should not be seen as problematic. Indeed, it is quite striking that BrE conversation is more similar to FSTVL (i.e. CATS) than to American English as regards the frequency of these three discourse markers. In future analyses it would be well worth looking at further national varieties (e.g. Australian English, New Zealand English) in order to see where exactly CATS is positioned concerning the frequency of discourse markers. Likewise, it would be interesting to see whether this closer similarity of CATS to BrE also extends to other features of spoken English.

From a qualitative point of view, it has been shown that the major contexts and functions of the three discourse markers are also found in CATS. In teaching and learning scenarios, CATS may thus serve well to illustrate and explore the various uses of *well*, *you know*, and *I mean*. Some ideas on how this could actually be done in the language classroom will be presented in the following. More concrete teaching applications and sample exercises are

discussed in Ch. 8, which reports on the pilot study with CATS undertaken at a German high school.

7.3.4.5 *Focus on you know: Some teaching ideas*

In this section, I will focus on the discourse marker *you know* by way of example. As has been mentioned above, this discourse marker appears to be highly underused by German learners and so it is a good idea to spend some teaching time to familiarize students with this item. Mukherjee (2009b: 218ff.) suggests two steps to teach this item. In the first stage, learners should be made aware of the contexts and functions of *you know*. The second stage is about practice, as *you know* should then be used and 'automatized' by the learners. CATS can be applied in both stages, though it is particularly the first stage where it can be fruitfully employed for data-driven learning (DDL) scenarios. A 'discovery approach' may be a suitable start: Here, the learners would first observe and hypothesize about the contexts and functions of *you know* themselves. In the process, they are constantly guided by the teacher.¹³⁵

The learners may examine appropriate excerpts from the CATS dialogues which feature instances of the discourse marker or they could study concordance lines in order to find out about *you know*. The former would need to be prepared by the teacher, while the latter could also be extracted by the learners themselves, if they have previously received a proper introduction to the corpus tools and techniques. By studying such data from CATS, the learners should be able to make a number of valuable observations regarding *you know*. For example, it can be used in sentence-initial, -medial, or -final position. It can have the literal, i.e. non-discourse marker functions, and discourse marker functions. The latter will be new to many students, and they may recognize their usefulness in spontaneous speech situations. They can use *you know* when they need time to think about what to say next and how to say it, to correct themselves, to show that what they have just said or what they are going to say in a moment is somewhat imprecise, or that they want to clarify or explain something in more detail, often as some sort of afterthought. In addition, *you know* can be used to check whether the person they are talking to is still following them, and to signal in a polite and unobtrusive way that they expect the interlocutor to understand and/or to agree. Certainly, the idea that one form can serve so many different functions is somewhat challenging. The teacher may help the students explore this issue and try to emphasize the helpfulness and relevance of this

¹³⁵ Richards et al. (1992: 112) provide a useful definition of 'discovery learning.' See also Ellis (2002: 164f.) on the use of discovery-based approaches in grammar teaching, and Thornbury (2006: 102; 2011) on the idea of a 'guided discovery approach.'

discourse marker rather than the – possibly confusing – complexity of the form-function mapping. If *you know* is introduced as a 'useful multi-purpose expression for smooth conversation' and a clear and accessible description can be found together, surely this should pique the students' interest.

After the learners are made aware of (some of) the natural contexts and functions of *you know*, they can continue by using and practicing it themselves. Mukherjee (2009b: 219ff.) distinguishes two levels on which this can be done, i.e. a strategic and a formal level. For the former, Mukherjee refers to the training of dialogue techniques as suggested by Kieweg and Kieweg (2000). In their dialogic speaking activities, students are required to practice communication strategies and apply discourse markers (and other spoken features) for various purposes in unprepared speech production, especially in order to overcome the planning pressure caused by the spontaneous situation. An approach on the formal level, in turn, involves teaching *you know* "as part of larger chunks and formulaic sequences" (Mukherjee 2009b: 220), e.g. *the thing is, you know...* or *you know, what I'm trying to say is...* or even in combination with other discourse markers, e.g. *well, you know...* If learners understand their purposes and memorize and automatize such chunks, they may greatly improve their fluency in spontaneous speech events (see also Götz 2013).

It is clear that the demands of everyday teaching and the pressure to cover the items explicitly required by the syllabus make it difficult for the teacher to focus in such detail on just this one discourse marker. Nevertheless, I think that students could profit greatly from getting to know a number of discourse markers in more detail than is usually presented in traditional EFL textbooks. A notable exception is the textbook *Touchstone* (McCarthy et al. 2005), which adopts an approach to teaching discourse markers which is similar to the one sketched out above. In *Touchstone 1*, the very beginners are introduced to the discourse marker *well* and *I mean* under the heading "conversation strategies" at a quite early stage, viz. in Units 4 and 5 (out of twelve units). For instance, the authors explain in an 'info box' that *I mean* can be used "to repeat your ideas or to say more about something" (McCarthy et al. 2005: 49) and that it is "one of the top 15 expressions" (ibid.) in conversation, a fact which communicates the relevance of this item. Examples are provided in a conversational extract with matching pictures, and all this is followed by a gap-filling-exercise as well as a freer exercise in pair work. This sequence corresponds largely to the classic PPP (presentation-practice-production) sequence for introducing new language items into the lesson, though the presentation part involves natural conversation data and noticing activities.

Such short units on discourse markers would also be a welcome addition to EFL textbooks and other materials on the German market. Corpora such as CATS may help the teacher design his/her own material and integrate customized units into his/her lesson. As mentioned in Ch. 3.4.3.4, Thornbury (2005: 47ff.) and Willis (2003: 203–210) provide a number of useful ideas on how to teach such spoken grammar items. A teacher could use conversation data from CATS (as transcripts and as video data) to raise the students' awareness. Apart from letting the students examine transcripts or concordances with the specific instruction to observe the use of e.g. *you know*, the teacher can also have them watch and listen to the dialogues and restore a transcript with blanks where discourse markers were originally used. Another idea would be to ask students to translate excerpts with discourse markers into their L1. All these activities should help learners to familiarize themselves with the uses of the respective discourse marker(s). The teachers may want to emphasize the relevance of the feature and help formulate a simple and accessible description. Even the practice phase could be supported by materials from CATS, for example in the shape of gap-filling exercises, re-writing the original dialogue, scripting and performing alternative (natural-sounding) dialogue, or simply reading/acting out selected excerpts from CATS which feature a number of discourse markers. Finally, production can be trained by means of e.g. role-playing and other types of dialogue activities such as outlined by Kieweg and Kieweg (2000).

7.4 Is the language in CATS appropriate for foreign language teaching? Conclusions and recommendations for classroom use

In Chapter 7.1, I broached the question of what is 'appropriate language' for teaching and learning purposes, and I stated that the answer to this depends very much on the specific teaching context, the learner group, and the current learning aim. In other words, it is impossible to give a generally valid judgment concerning the question formulated in the heading of this section. Nonetheless, a few conclusions can be drawn, and some recommendations for the application of CATS in learning and teaching contexts can be offered.

Overall, the language in CATS certainly meets the minimum requirements for spoken language input as regards the degree of linguistic authenticity. The majority of differences from NOC can be considered as helpful rather than harmful, e.g. because it provides input that is easier to digest for foreign language learners due to the lower frequency of hesitation

phenomena. As has been discussed in more detail in 7.2, the language in CATS can generally be considered 'appropriate' in terms of its degree of spokenness.

The analyses of 'pedagogically relevant features' in 7.3 have further contributed to the notion that CATS provides appropriate language input, though from a different perspective. The analysis of strong words has shown that – with the exception of *Six Feet Under* – the language is 'cleaned up' to some extent, which makes it pedagogically useful in classes for which explicit language input would be inappropriate. The higher frequency of greeting and farewell expressions and polite speech act formulae would also prove useful in classroom contexts. These findings indicate that CATS provides plenty of communicatively relevant scenarios. Finally, the lower frequency of discourse markers is somewhat of a drawback, though this is compensated, in a way, by the fact that the discourse markers in CATS appear to be used with the same range of functions as in NOC, and there are still plenty of examples available for illustration and discovery.

The analyses have also shown that the four series in CATS have different profiles, and so one particular TV series may be more appropriate for a specific learning group than others. In the following, I would like to point out what I conceive of as the major assets and major drawbacks of the individual series in CATS, i.e. the 'highlights' of each show, and my resulting recommendations for classroom use. These highlights mainly refer to the topics of these shows and the results of Analysis (II). All the shows are considered to have a sufficiently high degree of spokenness, which is why I will not discuss the question of linguistic authenticity in detail anymore. Note again that the envisaged target group of this project were advanced learners (with approx. five to six years of English learning experience) in grades 10-13 at high school, who would be approximately 15-19 years old.

Gilmore Girls has been an extremely popular and successful TV show in the USA as well as in European countries, which is per se one good reason for introducing it to the EFL classroom. It may be most appropriate for classes with a majority of girls, since girls will probably be more interested than boys in the mother-daughter relationship, which is central to the series. The topic of 'life at university' should appeal to both male and female high school students, though. *Gilmore Girls* is particularly suitable for younger learners in so far as one can be sure that the use of strong words is very limited and all topics will be explored and displayed in ways that are appropriate for young teenagers, too. One drawback of *Gilmore Girls*, however, may be the rapid delivery of lines in this show, which at times makes listening comprehension difficult (if the video files are to be used alongside CATS). Furthermore, the frequent references to pop culture, which sometimes even present a riddle to

native speakers (cf. e.g. Calvin 2008b: 9), will be an additional challenge to learners. This means that teachers will have to support the learners in suitable ways, and probably he/she will have to trace the meaning of some references him-/herself before using excerpts from *Gilmore Girls* or the entire corpus.

Monk has also been very successful outside the US (its country of production), so that many EFL learners may be familiar with it (even if in dubbed versions). This show is probably popular among male and female viewers alike. The analysis of the present study has indicated that it features a particularly high frequency of spoken language features, and especially hesitation phenomena are well captured compared to the other series, even if many of these are strategically scripted to make the protagonist seem insecure. A teacher would have to point out here that hesitation is completely natural, but that some speakers display more disfluency features in their speech than others. Further, there is rather little use of strong language in *Monk* and it depicts many polite encounters between people in professional contexts. One possible drawback is the fact that this show does not feature a teenage protagonist or topics such as school or university life. There is much focus on the detective activities of Monk, which results in specific vocabulary which may present a challenge to students. At the same time, the show is characterized by a high degree of comedy of situation, which appeals to all kinds of audiences. In sum, this show appears particularly suitable for older high school students (17-19), both female and male.

The cinematographic skills of the award-winning director (Alan Ball) are clearly visible throughout the show *Six Feet Under*, which has become hugely popular, though more so in the US than in Europe. It sticks out among the four series as the most theatrical of all (with each episode written in five acts). It features a variety of controversial topics (e.g. death, homosexuality, drugs, mental illness, sexual intimacy), which are explored at an unconventionally deep level and reveal human emotion in a way that is probably exceptional in contemporary television programs. The rather serious issues are paired with many humorous moments of relief, often black humor. It is unquestionably an artistically high-quality production which strikes first viewers as especially 'film-like.' All this makes *Six Feet Under* a series which can well be explored for various purposes beyond the purely linguistic ones. In terms of language, it is characterized by a particularly high frequency of spoken language features, but also by a high frequency of expletive terms and taboo expressions, which (in combination with the taboo topics) make its suitability for corpus-based work with younger students (say, 15-16 years) rather doubtful. Teachers of younger students will have to

select appropriate scenes to make sure that the students are not confronted with content and language which they may not be able to deal with in a mature, adult way.

Veronica Mars has not been as successful in Europe as the other three series, so that it is probable that this show is entirely unfamiliar to the students. If a teacher uses CATS not only for teaching specific language items, but also for content-based work and to create stimulating speaking prompts, it may even be considered an advantage that all the characters are 'new' and only few, if any, students may predict the storyline. This would depend on the specific learning aims and the teaching methods. With regard to the topics in VM, it is worth noting that it features a large variety of issues which should be highly relevant to students of the targeted group. Among them, within the school context, are the notions of peer group pressure, bullying, and being an outsider. Further, it explores current issues such as drug-facilitated sexual assault. Among the larger issues that play a role throughout the series are social class differences, ethnic diversity and racism, as well as sexism. In terms of language, a few particularities should be mentioned which were not analyzed in the present study: VM features a relatively large amount of colloquial speech and informal vocabulary, such as contemporary youth slang. There is also some representation of ethnic variation, e.g. by Veronica's best friend Wallace, who is African American, as well as their classmate Weevil and his friends, who have a Mexican-American background. This linguistic variation can be especially interesting to students, but also challenging. *Veronica Mars* appears to be most suitable for older students (17-19 years), both female and male, if students explore the corpus themselves in relatively uncontrolled settings. If the teacher preselects the material, VM can certainly be used with younger students (15-16 years) as well.

The preceding discussion about the highlights of the individual series are not intended to imply that CATS cannot be used in its entirety. Of course, teachers may opt to use the entire corpus for data-driven learning scenarios. However, for students aged 15-16 (and below) and in, say, 'conservative' contexts, I would recommend that *Six Feet Under* (and possibly *Veronica Mars*) be used only in teacher-selected materials, so that the teacher can control the language and the topics to which the students are exposed. The other two shows (*Gilmore Girls* and *Monk*) can be used in more unrestricted contexts (i.e. advanced learners, ages 15+), as I judge the topics and the language appropriate even for corpus-based activities in which the students freely browse through the (sub-)corpus.

In the light of the considerations above, it probably makes more sense to ask, "Can the language in CATS be appropriate for the language classroom?" rather than "Is the language in CATS appropriate?". The preceding analyses have indicated that it most certainly can, even if

certain restrictions apply to the individual shows, which all have their own 'profile.' In the next chapter, I shall explore concrete ways of applying CATS in an educational context.

— PART III —

8 Applications: CATS in the EFL classroom

8.1 CATS as input, CATS as tool: Integrating CATS into EFL teaching

The previous two chapters were concerned with the linguistic authenticity and the overall linguistic suitability of the language in CATS, i.e. they focused on the characteristics of the language input which is to be used for teaching and learning English. In this chapter, I move away from language-related questions and the issue of input: This chapter will be concerned with the suitability of CATS as a tool for the teaching of spoken grammar. So, while the previous chapters have shown that the language in CATS has indeed great potential for EFL teaching, the next sections will ask if and how CATS could be fruitfully incorporated into a classroom context. This question was approached by means of a small feasibility study at a German high school, for which a number of DDL (and other) activities on the basis of CATS were designed and tested.

8.2 Aims of the feasibility study in the context of this research project

The main question to which the feasibility study was supposed to provide an (provisional) answer is the following:

- *Is it possible to integrate CATS into a regular EFL class at a German high school?*

More precisely, I wanted to explore the following points:

- *How exactly could CATS be used to teach spoken grammar? What concrete activities with CATS can serve to familiarize students with the differences between spoken and written English?*
- *How could CATS be integrated with other learning aims, e.g. the improvement of speaking skills and listening comprehension?*

Going on from there, the intention was to identify the benefits of CATS as a teaching tool, but also point out some possible drawbacks and challenges and thus the aspects which would need adjustment to make CATS a realistic option for classroom usage. So one further question can be formulated as follows:

- *Which conditions need to be met in order to make CATS a suitable tool? What needs to be improved to maximize its usability?*

It was deemed important that this classroom project take advantage of the special characteristics of CATS, i.e. those features which distinguish it from conventional linguistic corpora which are used for DDL scenarios in language teaching. Activities with CATS – for

teaching spoken grammar, but not exclusively – should therefore be designed to take advantage of

- the *corresponding audiovisual material* (i.e. the DVDs), which could furthermore support listening and viewing comprehension and serve as a speaking/discussion prompt;
- the *coherent and relevant contents*, which can furthermore offer a window into the foreign culture and provide a variety of prompts for (content-based) discussion; and
- the *contextualized language use*, given that CATS provides much context information on speakers and accompanying non-verbal actions, so that students can observe conversation in a holistic way (including the use of audiovisual material).

Note that this small feasibility study is largely explorative in nature. A much larger classroom study would have been necessary to investigate the formulated research questions in depth, but this was beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, this school project was expected to generate some valuable insights and some starting points for future research.

8.3 Preparation of the feasibility study

8.3.1 Preliminaries: The setting of the study

8.3.1.1 The school, the timing, the teacher

The study took place at a German high school in Karlsruhe.¹³⁶ A few months prior to the implementation of the unit, I visited the school in order to discuss organizational issues with the principal of the school and the teacher of the class, get to know the local conditions, and meet and observe the class of advanced English learners who were going to participate in the study. The principal of the school gave permission for this research project under the condition that the focus of the unit would be on improving the students' spoken communication skills. For the design of the unit it was of paramount importance that it was first and foremost the students who profited from this project, not only the researcher.

The actual unit took place in the regular time slots of the English lessons of a 12th grade class. It stretched over three consecutive weeks, with two 90-min. lessons in the first two weeks (on different weekdays) and one 90-min. lesson in the third week. The English teacher of this class was a young, female, and very motivated instructor who had four years of

¹³⁶ *Lessing-Gymnasium Karlsruhe.*

teaching experience at the time of the study. Her native language was German, but her English language competence could be described as 'near-native.' She had spent one year in the USA, had received extensive training in corpus linguistics during her university education, and was open to innovative teaching methods. She had taught this particular group for almost two years, so that she knew the students well.

8.3.1.2 *The class*

The class was a 12th grade who took English as a compulsory subject. It consisted of 20 students, aged 18 and older, including seven females and thirteen males. When this project took place, the students were about to finish their secondary education: They had already taken their written examinations (i.e. high school exit examinations, *G. Abitur*) in English six weeks before the project, and the oral examinations were to take place a month after the project. It is also important to note that the oral grades for the semester were to be finalized by the end of the month in which the project took place, so that the project phase was the last chance for them to improve their grades by participating actively in class.

The '**academic profile**' of the class was described by their teacher as follows: Overall, the class was "rather lazy," frequently would not complete homework assignments and overall – with only a few exceptions – showed rather "low motivation" and "little ambition." The teacher had noticed over the years that they were generally better at speaking than at writing, and that they particularly enjoyed discussing current affairs and issues relating to politics and society. The majority of the students had learned English for eight to nine years. The CEFR levels were estimated by the teacher as between A2 (one student) and B2/C1 (two students), while the majority was estimated as B1.¹³⁷ These estimates were also confirmed by my observation during the preparatory meeting and during the actual implementation phase. There was thus a very wide range of proficiency levels in the group, a fact which had important repercussions for the design of the unit.

The '**social profile**' of the group was also of importance, as these circumstances influenced the project to a great extent. The teacher had recorded frequent absences in the Friday lesson (11:25-12:55), so that it was to be expected that the students would attend irregularly during the project phase as well. She had regularly noted tension and verbal conflicts between the participants of the class and had sometimes experienced impolite or provocative behavior towards herself. The teacher noticed that the talented and keen students

¹³⁷ Note that these levels are quite low by German standards, or rather, for the envisaged standards, as students should officially reach a CEFR level of B2/C1 when they graduate from this type of high school (*Gymnasium*).

in the class were kept from reaching their full potential, as they were afraid of bullying and ridicule from other students. Outside the classroom context (i.e. without the classroom dynamics), the individual students were pleasant and cooperative. Despite this, the classroom situation had to be assessed as rather challenging.

According to the teacher, **previous teaching** in this class clearly focused on written skills (e.g. text analysis) simply because the students needed to be prepared for the written examinations as required by the curriculum. While her teaching included many opportunities for the students to speak, oral work mostly took place for purposes such as discussing texts or current affairs. Thus, the students had not received any systematic training of interactive speaking skills or conversation due to lack of time, and the features of spoken and written English had never been an explicit teaching item before. Audiovisual material was occasionally used for teaching, though it was exploited almost exclusively in terms of content, not language. Since many students had a rather short attention span, the class was used to a five-minute break during each 90-minute lesson.

Before the project phase, the class had worked through a unit on plays and poems by W. Shakespeare, a topic which is conventionally taught to 12th grade students in their final phase at the school. That unit was now curtailed and replaced by this project on spoken English.

8.3.2 Aims of the unit

CATS was originally designed as a tool for teaching spoken grammar. However, the 'real' EFL classroom in German high schools is restricted by a number of external factors (first and foremost, the curriculum), so that it is improbable that a teacher could ever really spend five 90-minute lessons in a row exclusively on spoken grammar. Apart from that, it has been suggested that spoken grammar should be taught regularly in 'small dosages' rather than devoting long consecutive sessions exclusively to spoken grammar: Timmis (2010: 79), for example, encourages "'light touch' activities which depart from the traditional exercises" and he points out that "with spoken grammar, frequent light showers are better than occasional heavy thunderstorms." The unit which is presented here therefore includes a variety of other topics, too, and 'spoken grammar' is simply one of them. While the whole unit remains to some extent an artificial set-up, this procedure appeared to offer the most parallels or links to 'natural' teaching scenarios. After all, the question is whether CATS is a suitable tool for regular teaching, and for this, the conditions should be as realistic as possible. What is important is that spoken grammar was not embedded as part of teaching grammar here, but as

part of teaching speaking (and, to a lesser extent, listening), so that the overall aim consists in helping the students develop their spoken communication skills, as desired by the school's principal. Furthermore, the teacher of the class emphasized that all lessons should include content-based work, preferably as a point of departure for language-related discussion.

The following table summarizes the major aims of the unit, ordered according to the envisaged progression. It also lists some of the desired learning outcomes, though it was by no means expected that all students would achieve these.

Table 8-1: Aims and desired learning outcomes of the unit with CATS

<i>Aims of the unit</i>	
I. PRIMARY AIMS	
1. Raise awareness of some basic differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation)	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know that speech and writing have similarities and differences • know reasons for these differences • recognize that speech is not 'incorrect' or 'deficient' • be aware of a number of features, e.g. incomplete utterances, ellipsis, hesitation (e.g. filled pauses, repeats, repairs), contractions, vagueness, discourse markers, backchannels, tag questions, informal language
2. Introduce the purposes, the typical structure, and the contents of an informal conversation/small talk	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know that conversations typically consist of a 'starting,' 'holding,' and 'ending' • know some typical fixed expressions (e.g. <i>Nice to meet you</i>) • know some typical conversation topics (e.g. 'weather,' 'sports,' 'food')
3. Introduce a selection of features which help communicate and interact fluently in conversation	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know a variety of features useful for smooth conversation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ e.g. typical speech acts (greeting, thanking, apologizing: fixed expressions) ○ e.g. for buying time: fixed expressions, discourse markers ○ e.g. for active listening: backchannels/response tokens such as <i>yeah, right, uh-huh, mhm, I see, OK</i> ○ e.g. for involving/recognizing the listener and structuring a conversation: fixed expressions, discourse markers
4. Provide students with opportunities to practice a selection of conversational features (i.e. support 'appropriation,' Thornbury 2005)	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • be able to use a variety of communicatively relevant spoken language features (see 2.+3.) in controlled settings
5. Provide students with opportunities to develop their spontaneous speaking skills (i.e. support 'autonomy,' Thornbury 2005)	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • be able to apply a variety of communicatively relevant spoken language features (see 2.+3.) in an unprepared situation
II. SECONDARY AIMS	
1. Provide students with opportunities to develop listening and viewing comprehension	
2. Foster the students' ability to describe and analyze characters and plot in fictional TV drama	
3. Motivate students to engage with English film and TV in their free time and recognize the potential of authentic audiovisual material for learning English	

Aims 1-3 are targeted mostly at imparting knowledge and creating awareness about the topic of 'spoken and written English.' The focus on 'small talk' was chosen because this was deemed

very relevant to the learners, especially considering that all of them were about to graduate from high school and might soon find themselves in situations – professional and/or private – in which they would have to converse casually. Aims 1-3 pave the way for aims 4-5, which are concerned with the development of productive skills. Aims 4 and 5 are, in fact, hard to separate and they are the aims which were most difficult to reach given the limited time frame of the project.

Note that the present feasibility study was not intended to systematically test and assess the learning outcomes. Although it is, of course, important that students learn something, the focus here was on exploring the usability and functionality of CATS as a tool.

8.3.3 Organizational and methodological decisions

8.3.3.1 *Students' previous experience with TV series and resulting choice of (sub-)corpus*

Before the unit took place, a short questionnaire survey was conducted in the class in order to find out how much experience the students had in watching films and TV in the original version, whether they had watched TV series in school settings before, and whether they were familiar with the particular series in the corpus. This was important information as it influenced the decision over whether the entire CATS or only a select subcorpus was going to be used, and which kind of exercises could be designed.

It turned out that the majority of the students had at least some experience with TV series in their original versions in their private lives. Some tendencies can be summarized as follows: Three students tended to watch their favorite English TV series more often in English than in German, five students watched their favorite series equally frequently in English and German, and ten students watched their favorite series more often in German. Only two students indicated that they always watched their favorite TV series exclusively in German and never in English. In general, it seemed to depend to a great extent on the specific TV series whether it was watched in English or German: Some students indicated 'always English' for one series, but 'always German' for others.¹³⁸ The source for the series that were watched in English was most often the Internet. The students were also asked to grade themselves according to how well they thought they understood the series when they watched it in English, ranging from 1= 'perfectly' to 6= 'not at all.' The average (i.e. median) was "2," i.e. the students who did watch series in English were quite satisfied with their level of

¹³⁸ Note that the original questionnaire was in German, as it was thought that the students would be inclined to provide more details.

understanding. Interestingly, one student commented that "TV series are easier to understand than films."

If TV series were used at all during an English lesson, it was more for "fun" and "entertainment" rather than for learning purposes. As regards the series in CATS, it turned out that none of the surveyed students (n= 20) had ever seen *Veronica Mars*, 17 had never seen *Six Feet Under*, and 14 had never seen *Gilmore Girls*. *Monk* was more well-known: Three students reported that they watched it 'frequently' and eleven students had watched it 'a few times,' while only five students had never watched it at all. The teacher mentioned that a previous teacher of the class had occasionally shown *Monk* during class. Nevertheless, the series in CATS were clearly not among their favorite shows.¹³⁹

In the light of the results of this questionnaire, the profile of the learner group, and the given time frame, I decided not to use the entire corpus, but only one subcorpus of CATS. This would allow for more content-based work and there would be more time to familiarize the group with the characters of the show. After consultation with the teacher, it was decided that the *Six Feet Under* subcorpus would be used. The group was old and mature enough to deal with the controversial topics and the partly rough language, and since, according to their teacher, the students enjoyed discussing controversial and provocative issues, it seemed probable that *Six Feet Under* would arouse their interest.

8.3.3.2 *Teacher vs. researcher*

As the researcher, I personally planned each lesson and the necessary materials, but one major methodological question was who would teach the lessons of the unit – the usual teacher or I. Both options had advantages and disadvantages, e.g. concerning the data collection procedure which was supposed to take place during each lesson and the motivation of the students. It was decided that the teacher would be responsible for teaching and I would only occasionally assist, especially as regards the technical aspects of the lessons (e.g. PowerPoint presentations and DVD viewing via a laptop and projector). This way, I could continuously document the lesson as a participant observer, and the roles of the teacher and the researcher were more clearly delimited.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The most popular TV series in the class at the time of the study (May 2012) were all situation comedies: 14 students listed *How I Met Your Mother* (CBS, 2005-present), eleven students listed *Two and a Half Men* (CBS, 2003-present) and nine students named *The Big Bang Theory* (CBS, 2007-present) among their top five TV series.

¹⁴⁰ A third option would have been consistent team teaching, which is certainly very motivating for students and would have enabled more individual support of the learners. However, this idea was discarded as it would

Every lesson plan was discussed together in detail to make sure that the contents and methods were in line with the goals of this study, but also suitable for the learners and the general class context. Cooperative planning was facilitated by the fact that the teacher was very familiar with the notions of spoken grammar and DDL. After each lesson, the course and outcome of the lesson were discussed and evaluated jointly. To obtain further data (apart from the minutes which were taken during each lesson), I documented all the activities on the blackboard, collected student products (e.g. worksheets, homework assignments), and recorded a selection of student speaking activities.

8.3.3.3 *Choice of DDL activities*

One major decision on the DDL activities to be performed with CATS had to be made, namely whether they should involve so-called "direct consultation" or (only) "indirect consultation" (Chambers 2007: 4). The latter implies that corpus data are mediated by the teacher, as only the teacher accesses the corpus and then presents the students with corpus evidence (e.g. 'ready-made' concordance lines) and devises corresponding activities, while the former implies that students themselves retrieve evidence from the corpus. This is certainly more difficult and challenging, which is also why Gabrielatos (2005: 11) speaks of a "soft version" and of a "hard version" of the use of corpora in the classroom, the hard version being the one in which students access corpora themselves.

Since the students of the class had no prior experience in corpus consultation and the technical equipment of the school was limited, I decided to use a "soft" approach. In other words, the students were not expected to use corpus-linguistic tools themselves, but the teacher would provide all the necessary materials. Boulton (2010a, 2010b, 2012) has discussed and demonstrated the validity of "paper-based" (vs. "computer-based") approaches and points out that these can be very efficient, too, not least because they are much more practicable and because they are more 'doable' for beginners. Paper-based DDL also entails a higher degree of control on the part of the teacher, which seemed reasonable for the given group of students in this project.

While concordance-based activities are certainly the most traditional, core DDL activities, it has been pointed out that there are plenty of other options for data-driven learning

(cf. e.g. Gilquin and Granger 2010: 364; Mukherjee 2006: 14ff.).¹⁴¹ Among them are activities with word lists (e.g. Aston 2001) and key words analyses (e.g. Mahlberg 2009; Scott and Tribble 2006) as well as work with entire corpus samples (cf. Henry and Roseberry 2001; Rohrbach 2003).

For the purpose of the present study, the activities I considered most suitable were those which made use of larger parts of the corpus sample, i.e. entire dialogues or extracts from dialogues, especially for activities which aimed at getting the students to notice spoken features in conversation. Using longer stretches from CATS would allow a "*discourse-based approach* (ie 'whole-corpus reading')" (Braun 2005: 54; emphasis in original) to help the students observe language use in its larger situational and cultural contexts and help them view the corpus samples as more authentic and relevant. It is also more compatible with the demands of the syllabus and the aim of linking language-related work with content-based work (cf. also Ch. 3.5.4.3 and 3.5.4.4). Clearly, such an approach takes advantage of the fact that CATS offers coherence in the dialogues and much context information, which is something that is missing in traditional spoken corpora.

8.4 Implementation of the feasibility study: Description of the unit

In the following sections, I will provide a rough description of the unit, introducing and discussing each lesson individually. Each section starts with an overview of the respective lesson plan in tabular form, which summarizes the major topics and aims of the lesson, the concrete contents and activities as well as the main methods and materials used. Then some additional comments on the course of the lesson and the rationale for some of the procedures and activities will be made. The focus will be on the CATS-derived teaching materials, while I will report in less detail on those parts of the lessons which do not focus on spoken English or speaking skills and/or which do not include the use of CATS. After the presentation of the lesson plan, there is always a brief section on the teacher's and my observations regarding the outcome of the lesson and our evaluation. The teacher is abbreviated "T," the students are abbreviated "S," and my person as the researcher is abbreviated "R."

¹⁴¹ Note that Johns and Kings' (1991a) definition of DDL, which was quoted in Ch. 3.5.3.1, refers exclusively to concordance-based activities. However, many scholars today consider more types of activities as 'DDL,' too.

8.4.1 Lesson 18.4.1.1 *Overview of lesson plan*

Table 8-2: Overview of Lesson 1

Lesson 1	
<i>Topics</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching film and TV in original version • Dubbing film and TV • Characters and relationships in SFU 	
<i>Aims</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Raise awareness of the potential of English film and TV for EFL learners ➤ Familiarize with main characters and major themes in SFU ➤ Develop listening and viewing comprehension 	
<i>Contents of the lesson</i>	<i>Methods and materials</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Organizational issues</u>: Introduction of R, purpose of the research, topics of the unit, written consent • <u>Previous experience with English film and TV in original version</u>: <u>Question</u>: "How often do you watch English films/TV in English? Rank yourself on a scale ranging from always-sometimes-never. Be prepared to say what and where you watch, and if you watch with English or German subtitles." → Class divided into Group 1 and Group 2; S of Group 1 rank themselves (scale drawn on blackboard), S of Group 2 ask questions • <u>Pros and cons of different TV systems</u>: Dubbing vs. original version; <u>Question</u>: "Should the German system be changed so that there is only TV in original version with subtitles, as e.g. in Sweden or the Netherlands?" → 2 Groups; Group 1: "pro", Group 2: "con"; 2 min. individual work ("Find 5 reasons"), then 5 min. with groups of 3 ("Determine top 3") → S present results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consent forms; T and R presentation • Blackboard, chalk; "Living Statistics" for exchange of experience/ranking; S-S-dialogue (S ask S questions) • Flash cards and magnets for student presentations of results; Blackboard; "Think-Pair-Share"-variant as preparation for pro-con-discussion; S presentation
[BREAK]	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Introduction to <i>Six Feet Under</i> (SFU)</u>: The protagonists in SFU • <u>View scenes from SFU</u> (Ep. 5, Act I, Sc. 2-5, Sc. 7-8 [extracts]; c. 7 min. screen time); <u>Assignment (while-viewing)</u>: "Observe the characters who interact in these scenes. While you are watching, fill in the corresponding names in the family diagram." → Comparison of results • <u>Characters and relationships in SFU</u>; <u>View scenes from SFU a second time</u> (Ep. 5, Act I, Sc. 2-5, Sc. 7-8 [extracts]; c. 7 min. screen time); <u>Assignment (while-viewing)</u>: "Note down some traits of the characters and speculate about their relationships. Associate your answers with clues, i.e. say what makes you think so." → Comparison of results; completion of family tree 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • T presentation • DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers; <i>Worksheet 1</i>: "The Fisher Family"; Overhead transparency "The Fisher Family"; Individual work (while-viewing); T-S-dialogue (comparison) • DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers; <i>Language Help 1</i>: "Adjectives for characterization"; Overhead transparency; Individual work (while-viewing); Class discussion (comparison)

The first session needs little further comment. Apart from the aims listed in Table 8-2, this first lesson serves to get to know each other (R - S) and to spark interest in the unit. It is important that the first lesson is interesting and motivating to them. Half of the lesson is spent on the issues of watching films and TV in the original version, while the other half focuses on the characters and relationships in SFU. *Worksheet 1* displays a diagram which needs to be completed with the names of the family members and other characters. The lesson provides plenty of speaking prompts and draws on activities that are familiar to the S (e.g. pro-con-discussion, characterization). The screen time is about 7 minutes, so that 14 minutes are spent on watching the SFU scenes (first and second viewing). Note that the topic of spoken grammar does not feature at all in this first lesson, and that CATS is not used yet, either. However, it was considered important that the students be sufficiently familiar with the main characters and their relations *before* they move on to examine how these characters use language.

8.4.1.2 Outcome and evaluation

At the beginning of the session, I introduced myself again to the class and briefly outlined the topic of the teaching project, though I purposely remained somewhat vague about the exact research aims and methodology. However, the students knew that I was interested in the type of spoken English to be found in American TV series and the question of how natural the language is, and that I wanted to explore how such series can be used for foreign language learning. All of the 14 students present gave written consent to participate in the study (the others gave consent in the following session).

It is fair to say that the lesson went very well and it achieved the aims I had formulated. It took place exactly as planned (also in terms of timing) and the S were quite motivated. The T and R noted that the S had much to say about what they watched in English and why, and they brought forth a variety of reasonable arguments for and against dubbing television in Germany, among these the fact that Germans could "improve their English skills greatly." The S also dealt well with *Worksheet 1* (The Fisher family tree), which was quickly filled in. Indeed, the S appeared to have understood the viewed scenes quite well, as they also came up with many apt observations as regards the character constellations and relationships. They seemed to enjoy the selected scenes from SFU – both T and R observed that the S watched carefully and frequently smiled or laughed out loud while watching, even those two S who had claimed in the first activity to "hate TV series." The T also noted that the class was

overall quieter and more attentive than usual, that several S participated much more actively than usual, and that the S had considerable speaking time.

A few problematic issues were identified, too, however. The first issue concerns the contents and activities of the lesson. Two S seemed to have felt unchallenged by the assignments, so that they were absent-minded at times. If this unit was to be repeated, different or additional activities would need to be prepared for the more proficient students in the sense of an internal differentiation. Another point regards the logistics of the session: Setting up the classroom and the technical equipment (laptop, projector, speakers, extension cords, etc.) was quite time-consuming. The conclusions I draw are the following: If a regular integration of the DVD material of CATS is to become a realistic option, language classrooms need modern technical equipment which is permanently installed, so that using audiovisual material and computer technology is not a drain on time or an extra burden on the teacher, but easy to implement and beneficial to learning. Ideally, there would also be ready-made materials to be used by teachers, such as worksheets and an index of the relevant scenes, including brief descriptions and time stamps of the respective scenes.

8.4.2 Lesson 2

8.4.2.1 *Overview of lesson plan*

Table 8-3: Overview of Lesson 2

Lesson 2

Topics

- Characters and relationships in SFU
- Differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation)
- Features of conversation

Aims

- Raise awareness of some basic differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation) and the reasons for and functions of these
- Develop listening and viewing comprehension

Contents of the lesson

- Revision: SFU characters and relationships
- Re-evaluate characters and relationships in SFU:
View subsequent scenes from SFU (Ep. 5, Act I, Sc. 10-11, 13-16; ca. 11 min.);
Assignment (while-/post-viewing): "Describe the situations the characters are in. Mention any surprising/shocking elements."
→ Comparison

Methods and materials

- Visual stimulus (pictures of characters) via PowerPoint (ppt) presentation;
T-S-dialogue
 - DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers;
Individual work (notes);
T-S-dialogue (comparison)
-

-
- What speakers do in conversation:
Activity: Class is divided into 2 groups with 3-4 pairs each;
 Pairs of Group 1 discuss a controversial topic (choice of 4 topics; related to the SFU scenes) in German;
 Pairs of Group 2 get a secret assignment (→ observe the two conversationalists);
 2 min. discussion/observation
 → Disclosure of secret assignment
 → Comparison: Collect observed features of conversation
 - Reflection: 1. "Do you prefer speaking or writing in German?" 2. "And in English? Why? What is easier for you?"
 - **[BREAK]**
 - View scenes from SFU a second time (Ep. 5, Act I, Sc. 10-11, 13-16; c. 11 min.);
Activity (while-viewing): "Circle all the words and expressions that you think are typical of conversation and that would not appear in writing" (split class into 2 groups; 3 scenes for each group)
 → Comparison
 → Complete collection of features of conversation with English examples
 - Dubbing TV: Translate select excerpts from the viewed scenes (Ep. 5, Act I, parts of Sc. 11, 16) into natural, idiomatic German and identify problematic items.
 - Worksheet 2 (for Group 1): "Discussion topics";
Worksheet 3 (for Group 2): "Secret observers...";
 Blackboard (mind map);
 Group/partner work (activity);
 T-S-dialogue (comparison)
 - "Living Statistics" for reflection;
 Class discussion
 - DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers;
Worksheet 4: Transcripts of scenes (CATS);
 Transparency with transcripts (CATS);
 Blackboard (mind map);
 Individual work (while-viewing);
 T-S-dialogue (comparison)
 - Worksheet 5: "Dubbing TV dialogue" (CATS);
 Individual work
 - Homework: Finish *Worksheet 5*
-

The second lesson starts with the activation of prior knowledge. The main characters of SFU are revised with the help of some pictures. This was deemed necessary to get everybody 'on the same page,' especially considering that several S had not been present in Lesson 1. The focus of this session should clearly be on the differences between speech and writing, which should be illustrated, among other things, with the help of CATS. In line with Thornbury's (2005: 47ff.) and Willis' (2003: 203–210) suggestions for teaching spoken grammar, it was deemed important that the contents and contexts of the presented interactions be familiar to the S before they study the specifics of language use. Thornbury capitalizes on the importance of approaching the spoken text from a content-based perspective first: "[O]ne important principle should normally be observed: that learners need to have a basic understanding of the text before they embark on close study of its language features" (Thornbury 2005: 48). Also, it was decided that the S first need to be exposed to the interaction in the original channel(s), i.e. the spoken form, before they deal with the transcribed version of the dialogue. The scenes selected for this lesson take around 11 minutes' screen time and directly follow the scenes from the previous session, so that the S can follow the two main storylines: 1. Mother Ruth, who tries to improve the distant relationship to her teenage daughter Claire, e.g. by inviting her to watch a movie together and by taking her on a spontaneous trip to her cousin Hannah

and her teenage daughter Ginnie; 2. Nate, who is invited to dinner at his new girlfriend's parents' place, where he is surprised to learn that his girlfriend Brenda is, in fact, not going to join them.

After the contents of the interactions in SFU are made familiar to the S, the aim is first to raise the S's awareness of the differences between the spoken and the written language. For the activity that follows, the class is split into two groups (1 and 2), which each work in pairs. The pairs in Group 1 are asked to choose one of four controversial topics which they want to discuss (*Worksheet 2*; cf. Table A-17 in the Appendix), while the pairs in Group 2 are given a secret task (*Worksheet 3*; cf. Table 8-4).¹⁴² Note that the "comment" which is mentioned in the worksheet is a genre which, according to the T, the S should all be familiar with and corresponds largely to a brief argumentative essay, i.e. an essay in which the S elaborates on his/her opinion about a certain topic.

Table 8-4: Worksheet 3 ("Secret observers")

Secret observers...

The other students in the class were given the task to get together in pairs and have an informal conversation **in German** in which they try to convince the other person of their opinion.

YOUR TASK (*Don't tell the speakers what you're doing!*): Observe the speakers very closely.

1. Do they experience any kind of trouble while speaking?
2. Do you observe anything in their language that is different from writing, e.g. from a 'comment' for school?
Give some examples of features that would not be used in writing.
You may mention something about
 - their words and expressions
 - their sentences (short or long? complete or incomplete?)
 - missing items
 - other things...

The discussions take place in German and not in English because the S are supposed to experience 'live' that even native speakers use hesitation phenomena, such as incomplete utterances, filled pauses, false starts, etc., which does not make them incompetent speakers. The aim is to make the S aware that these features are completely natural in spontaneous conversation and that, of course, the planning and production pressure increases further when speaking a foreign language. All the features are collected on the blackboard by means of a mind map. The reflection activity that follows ("Do you prefer speaking or writing in

¹⁴² The worksheets presented here are not displayed in their original formatting. However, the *contents* of the materials are reproduced as they were used in the unit (or as excerpts from them, as indicated).

German/English?") is supposed to make the S think about the functions of speech and writing and the different challenges they face in the native and in the foreign language.

The next activity then shifts the focus back to English. This activity includes CATS material, viz. the transcripts of the same scenes which were watched and discussed earlier. The class is again split up into two groups which each focus on one storyline (three scenes each), for which they are asked to mark all the language features they consider typical of speech (vs. writing). Two excerpts from this four-page worksheet are displayed in Table 8-5, viz. the instructions and one scene, which features Nate and his girlfriend's parents. In the original worksheet, each line of the transcript is numbered so that the ensuing discussion is easier to manage and follow.

Table 8-5: Excerpts from Worksheet 4 (CATS transcript)

<i>Six Feet Under, Season 1, Episode 5, "An Open Book"</i>	
Act I, Scenes 10-11, 13-16	
Activity:	
1. Listen and read along. Don't worry about vocabulary yet. You may ask questions later!	
2. Focus particularly on your story line (I. Claire and Ruth: Scenes 10, 13, 16; or II. Nate at Brenda's parents' place: Scenes 11, 14, 15), circling all the words and expressions that you think are typical of conversation , i.e. items that would not be found in writing (e.g. a 'comment' in school) or in a prepared type of speech.	
[...]	
<SCENE 14: Chenoweth House, outside, by the pool>	
<MARGARET:> You know, it's been such a long time since Brenda's wanted us to meet any of the men in her life.	
<BERNARD:> What was that last one? Chiropractor?	
<MARGARET:> Oh, he was a Rolfer.	
<BERNARD:> He was an idiot.	
<NATE:> Well, to be perfectly honest, I'm not sure Brenda ever meant for us to meet. I don't think she really expected you guys to come home that day.	
<MARGARET:> Oh, Nate, where Brenda's concerned, there are no coincidences.	
<NATE:> You think she planned all this?	
<MARGARET:> Of course. She's a master manipulator. I mean, I love her dearly, but you really oughta know what you're getting into. Now, would you like another bourbon?	
<NATE:> Uh, no, thanks. <pauses> Can I ask you guys something?	
<BERNARD:> As long as it doesn't involve asking us for money.	
<NATE:> <chuckles> Uh, no, it doesn't. Does the name "Nathaniel" have any significance to you?	
<There is a long silence.>	
<MARGARET:> Well, sure. "Nathaniel and Isabel."	
[...]	

In the discussion of results, all the features mentioned by the S are added to the mind map of conversational features, which now includes German and English features ordered in different categories.

The last assignment consists in a dubbing activity, which builds on the results of the previous activities. The students are given two excerpts from the scenes viewed, of which

they are supposed to translate one of their choice into natural German. Again, this activity is supposed to make the students think about the meanings and functions of the manifold spoken features, for which there are rarely exact equivalents in other languages. This activity is planned to be started in class and finished as homework.

Table 8-6: Excerpts from Worksheet 5 ("Dubbing TV dialogue"; CATS transcripts)

<u>Dubbing TV dialogue</u>	
<p>Choose one of the following two sequences: A) Nate at Brenda's parents' place (starting with "Now,...") or B) Claire and Ruth at cousin Hannah's place</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Translate the sequence into natural, idiomatic German that sounds like the way native German speakers really speak in real life. (You do not have to translate the items in italics.) 2. Mark any expressions that you find particularly difficult to translate. Can you think of any additional difficulties/challenges involved in dubbing television dialogue? 	
English	German
<p>A) Nate at Brenda's parents' place</p> <p><MARGARET:> <i>A co-op? So there's a little hippie in there, huh? That makes sense, Brenda would find that attractive. She likes to think of herself as being wildly counter-cultural, but I think she's actually just jealous of the fact that Bern and I really were hippies. Briefly.</i> Now, can I offer you a drink?</p> <p><NATE:> Sure. Do you have any beer?</p> <p><MARGARET:> No. We have, uhm, vodka, scotch, bourbon...</p> <p><NATE:> <i><chuckles></i> Uh, I'll have a little bourbon.</p> <p><MARGARET:> Manly, but not elitist. Just her type.</p> <p><BERNARD:> Down, girl.</p> <p><i><BERNARD and MARGARET chuckle.></i></p> <p><NATE:> Uh, so where is Brenda?</p> <p><MARGARET:> Brenda? Oh, Brenda's not coming tonight.</p> <p><NATE:> Really?</p> <p><MARGARET:> Well, she felt, and I really have to agree with her, that we'd have a much better chance of getting to know each other if she weren't here. You know, she does tend to take center stage, so to speak.</p> <p><NATE:> Huh. I kind of wish somebody had thought to tell me about this.</p> <p><MARGARET:> Oh, I'm sorry. I assumed she did.</p>	
[...]	

8.4.2.2 Outcome and evaluation

The lesson went largely according to plan. The "Secret Observer" activity seemed to have been very amusing and motivating, particularly to the observers, who noted a surprisingly large number of features of conversation in German. These included the following items, which were captured by means of a mind map on the board:

- "hesitation words" (e.g. *äh; ähm; hm; puh*);
- "short questions" (e.g. *Was?*);
- "short sentences," "unfinished sentences" (e.g. *Naja, weiß net.*);
- "short expressions" [small words] (e.g. *doch; eh; mal; ja; haja*);
- "slang expressions" (e.g. *Nee nee, Alter*);
- "interruptions".

The items in quotation marks were mentioned by the S, while the items in square brackets were added by the teacher. Apparently, the S were surprised themselves about all the 'little things' they do while speaking. When they were asked (via the method "Living Statistics") whether they generally preferred speaking or writing in German, the majority answered "speaking," because this was seen as "easier and quicker" and because they "don't have to think much." The result was the reverse when the S were asked about English: Most students preferred writing, because it would give them "more time to think about the grammar rules." The few students who preferred speaking (rather than writing) in English mentioned that they were "too lazy to write," and that speaking can be "freer and less formal." At this point the T mentioned to the S that there are "quite a few features in English that can help learners of English to speak more fluently in conversation" and "make conversation easier," and that such features would be the topic of the next activity and in general the next lessons.

In the following, the S received *Worksheet 4* (see Table 8-5), i.e. the transcripts of the scenes they previously viewed. The S were very focused during this activity and found an astonishingly large number of features of conversation in the CATS transcripts. They found English examples of the phenomena already noted for German (e.g. hesitation words *uh, uhm*; short questions ..., *huh?*; smallwords *well, you know, I mean*; slang expressions *totally*) as well as further items, such as

- "short pieces stuck together, one after another" (e.g. *They're British. Quite dark. People die in them all the time.*);
- "missing words" [ellipsis] (e.g. *Again with the not knocking.*);
- "shortened words" (e.g. *'cause; 'em*);
- "two words mixed together" [contractions] (e.g. *wanna; oughta*);
- "swear words" (e.g. *Jesus!*); and
- "repetition of words" (*I - I've never even heard of them*).

All of these items were briefly discussed regarding their form and function and added to the mind map on the blackboard. For example, in the case of "missing words" and "shortened words," the T asked the S why they thought people do that. The S pointed out that "the speaking is quicker" and that sometimes "some expressions are just cooler." The T then added that in speaking, "we try to make things more efficient and try to save time" and that speakers can be "more informal" in conversation.

Finally, the dubbing activity (*Worksheet 5*, see Table 8-6) was well received by the S, too. The instructions seemed to be clear and all S started to work right away. In the beginning, there was some uncertainty over whether the S should use regional dialect features in the German version of the dialogue. The T responded that this was up to the S, and that the most important thing was that the dubbed dialogue would sound natural. None of the S could finish this assignment in class, so that the rest was given as homework, as planned.

Overall, the lesson was evaluated by the T and R as a success. Despite the slow start, the activities selected for this lesson engaged the S in focused work and lively discussion. The S themselves noticed a large variety of features of conversation, not only in their own speech, but also in the CATS-derived transcripts. These features belonged to different categories – some of them were genuine hesitation phenomena, some were effort-saving devices, some had to do with the interactiveness of conversation, and others again were typical of the informality of conversation. The aim of the lesson, i.e. to raise awareness of some major differences between speech and writing and to develop an understanding for the reasons of these differences, appeared to be reached for most of the students.

8.4.3 Lesson 3

8.4.3.1 *Overview of lesson plan*

Table 8-7: Overview of Lesson 3

Lesson 3

Topics

- Features of conversation
- Dubbing: Natural translation of TV dialogue
- Small talk

Aims

- Raise awareness of some basic differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation) and the reasons for and functions of these
- Make S familiar with the purposes and contexts of small talk as well as its typical structure (starting - holding - ending)
- Develop listening and viewing comprehension

Contents of the lesson

- Revision: Features of conversation; discuss functions and origins
- Comparison of homework (dubbing);
S compare in groups of 3
- Reflection: "Which spoken features are most difficult to translate? What do they mean?" (e.g. *now, so, well, you know*)
- Groups present their favorite version and class votes for most natural translation
- View the scenes (silent viewing) while the 'winners' (S) perform

[BREAK]

- Introduction: How to react in uncomfortable situations;
Questions: "What do these three situations have in common?"; "What would you think/feel if this happened to you?"; "Rank the three (invented) situations in terms of their 'awkwardness'."
- View scenes from SFU (Ep. 5, Act II, Sc. 5-6, 8; c. 5 min.);
Assignment: "Describe the three scenes and speculate how the characters feel and what they think"; "Rank the situations in terms of their awkwardness";
Follow-up question: "What do the speakers do in these situations? How do they handle the uncomfortable moment?" (→ Usefulness of small talk skills to handle awkward situations)
- View scenes from SFU, partly a second time (Ep. 5, Act II, Sc. 5+8; Ep. 6, Act II, Sc. 1; c. 6 min.) along with the transcripts;
Assignment (while-viewing): "Try to identify different stages/parts in the conversation, i.e. the structure of the small talk"
→ Comparison
- Written homework assignment (graded): a) Written discussion of TV system (dubbing vs. original version) or b) "Script a natural-sounding dialogue" (choice of 3 topics).

Methods and materials

- *Worksheet 4*: Transcripts of scenes (CATS);
T-S-dialogue
- *Worksheet 5*: "Dubbing TV dialogue";
Group work (3 S)
- T-S-dialogue
- S presentations (all groups);
Class discussion
- DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers;
S presentation (1 group)
- ppt-slide: "3 situations";
Class discussion
- DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers;
Individual work (notes);
Class discussion (comparison);
T-S-dialogue (follow-up question)
- *Worksheet 6*: Transcripts of scenes (CATS);
Individual work (notes);
Class discussion (comparison)

The third session starts with a revision of the conversational features which were discussed in the previous session. With the help of the CATS transcripts, students are asked to remember any items which are typical of conversation, but not of writing. Then, a longer phase is reserved for a comparison of the dubbing homework. The S are supposed to compare their solutions in groups of three. A short reflection phase follows, in which the class discusses which features turn out particularly difficult to translate. Discourse markers such as *well* and *you know* are expected to be rather troublesome, as they do not have exact counterparts and cannot be translated literally. Afterwards, every group picks their 'best' version and reads this out to the class. Out of the five to six translations, the class votes for the most natural version. This version will then be performed with the video file running on 'silent,' so that the S, in fact, have a go at providing the German dubbing voice. The dubbing activity is designed to make the S think about the functions of many 'small' items that are naturally used in language.

It is also designed to make students realize that if such items were left out, the 'tone' of the message may become completely different, e.g. less friendly. The S will also realize that items such as *well* and *you know* can have diverse translations in different instances, as their functions may be different every time.

In the second half of the lesson, the focus shifts to small talk. The first activities are entirely content-based (i.e. 'dealing with awkward situations'), but they should arouse the S's interest and eventually lead to the idea that small talk skills are important in order to handle uncomfortable situations, no matter whether in private or professional contexts. The first three quite amusing scenarios to be discussed by the S are partly invented by the R (see Table A-18 in the Appendix); one of the scenarios is announced as having happened to the R. The scenarios could have happened to any of the S, so that everyone should be able to identify and thus contribute to the discussion. The three scenes of SFU to be viewed in the following also each include some awkward or uncomfortable moments: 1.) Nate and Brenda run into Nate's brother David and his friend Keith, who, as David discloses in this scene, is in fact his boyfriend; 2.) Ruth admits to her daughter Claire that she had an extra-marital affair with a hairdresser; and 3.) Nate is surprised by a half-naked man at his girlfriend Brenda's place, who turns out to be her brother. These three situations are also discussed and ranked by the S according to their perceived degree of awkwardness; moreover, the students should notice that the characters use certain stock phrases in the interactions.

In the following, the S receive the CATS transcripts of scenes 1.) and 3.) as well as an additional scene featuring David and his mother Ruth after church, when they meet Tracy, David's latest admirer, and Hiram, Ruth's former affair (*Worksheet 6*; extract see Table 8-8 below). All the scenes include meeting new people and thus they feature greetings, introductions, some talk about topics such as 'family' and 'hobbies' and finally a goodbye. The scenes are viewed for a second time and the S read along. The while-viewing assignment consists in identifying the different phases or stages of the three conversations. The text in italics is part of the scene, but not part of the conversation to focus on. In the original worksheet, each line of the transcripts is again numbered in order to facilitate the ensuing discussion. The S are expected to identify a greeting phase, a talking/holding phase, and a goodbye phase, each of which features particular expressions.

The homework for the next session is only aimed at those students who still need a grade for a written assignment before the end of the term. The two options (1. Discussion of TV system; 2. Scripting a natural dialogue) are linked to some of the previous activities and

should cater to the interests of all students (cf. Table A-19 in the Appendix). This assignment will not be discussed or compared in class, however.

Table 8-8: Excerpts from Worksheet 6 (CATS transcripts)

<p><i>Six Feet Under, Season 1</i> Episode 5, "An Open Book," Act II, Scenes 5, 8 Episode 6, "The Room," Act II, Scene 1</p>
<p>[...] <ACT TWO> [...] <SCENE 5: Restaurant, exterior> [...] <NATE and BRENDA step outside the restaurant.> <BRENDA:> Isn't that your brother? <The camera returns to DAVID and KEITH. NATE and BRENDA can be seen in the background.> <DAVID:> Okay, look, can we just have breakfast without me feeling like I'm George Will and you're Cokie Roberts with PMS? <KEITH:> You'd probably like George Will. <NATE and BRENDA approach them.> <NATE:> Dave? <DAVID:> Uh, hi. <NATE:> Hey. <DAVID:> Keith, you remember my brother Nate, don't you? <KEITH:> <shaking NATE's hand> Yeah, how's it going? <NATE:> Hey. This is Brenda, my uh, <hesitates> my girlfriend. <BRENDA:> I prefer the term "fuck puppet." <DAVID laughs nervously.> <NATE:> So, what are you guys doing here? You, uh, just played racquetball? <DAVID:> Uh, no. No, we just worked out. <NATE:> So you guys work out together? <DAVID:> Yeah. <pauses, then takes KEITH's hand and holds it> Yeah, we do. <NATE:> <absolutely shocked, almost stuttering> Oh, well, uh, that's great. <chuckles nervously> Uh, okay, great, uh... okay, you guys, have a great day. <NATE walks away. BRENDA continues to stand there, smiling.> <DAVID:> You too. <NATE reappears just for a second to take Brenda away, grabbing her by the hand.> <BRENDA:> Bye, David. <DAVID and KEITH laugh together. NATE and BRENDA are walking away from the restaurant.> <NATE:> Oh, my God, I think David is gay. <BRENDA:> I think David is lucky. Did you get a look at that guy? [...]</p>

8.4.3.2 Outcome and evaluation

The revision of the features of conversation went well, although the last session was five days ago. With the help of the CATS transcripts, the S remembered several of the discussed characteristics, e.g. "easier structure," "short sentences," "short words," "contractions like *gonna* and *wanna*," "slang," "*uh* and *uhm*," and "small expressions like *well* or *so*." The group work on the dubbed dialogue did not quite go according to plan because half of the S had not completed their homework, and of the 14 S present only ten had been present in the previous session, too. The S without homework were thus asked to start their translation in class, while

the others formed groups to compare their homework. The following class discussion of the most difficult items to translate showed that the whole assignment was very complex. Indeed, the suspected items (*so, well, you know*) caused the S trouble, but also various lexical items appeared difficult to translate. Overall, the S seemed to have been a bit overtaxed by the assignment, and the discussion of individual translations was rather strenuous and lengthy. It was difficult to compare the German realizations of specific items on the spot and without a written document which the other S and the T could take a look at. Nonetheless, some S came up with very appropriate translations, and in general, the S seemed to have had fun writing the translations, especially those who tried to integrate their own dialect features into the dialogue. While the result was in this case a somewhat exaggerated dialectal German version (which was also noticed and criticized by some classmates), the assignment seemed to have fulfilled its purpose, namely to sensitize the S to the particularities of speech and writing in both German and English. This assignment also led to a discussion about the meaning and purpose of certain features. For instance, one S maintained that "some items like *well* don't really mean anything," so that the class then tried to determine whether and how an utterance would be different if *well* was not used. The conclusion was that small words can very well make a large difference. The last part of the dubbing activity, which consisted in the S who "won" the dubbing contest doing the German voice-over along with the running scenes, turned out to be quite challenging, as expected. Despite this, the presenting S clearly tried their best and overall, the dubbing activity appeared to be entertaining and thus motivating to the class.

The beginning of the second phase, which focused on 'awkward situations,' went very well. As expected, most S enjoyed the discussion of the "3 situations" and they could also relate to the SFU characters who found themselves in uncomfortable situations in the scenes viewed. Some of the many observations by the S were that the characters try to "talk themselves out of these situations," "just continue talking," and "try to be polite."

The instructions for the final activity with the CATS transcripts ("Identify the different stages/phases/parts in the conversations") were apparently not clear to all S. Only a few S participated in the discussion which followed. After the instructions were rephrased and the S were given another example of what was meant by "stages of a conversation," they were able to find the relevant items. Possibly, the solution was also simply too obvious, since the same phases also hold true for other languages. This activity, however, revised some of the typical expressions used for certain speech acts (greeting, introducing oneself, saying goodbye) and made the students aware of the large amount of ready-made material which can be used in

conversation, as well as some strategies which are used when the conversation does not go as well as planned.

If this unit was to be repeated, it would be a good idea to adjust the dubbing activity more to the proficiency level of the students and also make sure that there is even more S-S interaction and less T-S interaction. The scene to be dubbed could also be shortened, so that the following discussion of the S's German versions would not be quite as time-consuming. Further, the S could compare their own versions with the official German version and critically discuss the degree of naturalness. As regards the second half of the lesson, it may be better to first work out together the prototypical structure of a small talk conversation with the help of a 'model small talk.' For example, the S could get snippets of a typical small talk scene (possibly from SFU), which they have to put into the correct order. The typical phases (i.e. starting - holding - ending) and the corresponding linguistic expressions can then be discussed together. Afterwards, one can have the S identify (in pairs/groups) these stages in additional SFU dialogues (e.g. the ones originally used for this project), which diverge a little from the typical pattern, as the SFU conversations do not all go quite as smoothly as desired.

Apart from these points to be improved in future lesson planning, the general evaluation of the lesson is positive. The S participated actively and appeared to enjoy the devised activities. The major aims of the unit also seemed to have been reached. One thing that became clear when preparing and evaluating this lesson is that a corpus such as CATS also has great potential when it comes to selecting appropriate scenes for the illustration of certain topics. The corpus may be searched for particular key words, e.g. greeting expressions, which will lead the material designer to all the scenes which involve greetings and possibly the following introductions etc. – no matter whether these scenes are used for discussing purely content- or also language-related questions. The video material which accompanies CATS may furthermore be exploited in manifold ways. DVDs of TV series usually feature different language tracks, so that the students' native language but also other foreign languages that the S may be familiar with could be used for individual activities. The translation of conversational features appears to be a fruitful activity which serves well for fostering language awareness.

8.4.4 Lesson 48.4.4.1 *Overview of lesson plan*

Table 8-9: Overview of Lesson 4

Lesson 4	
<i>Topics</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Features of conversation • Small talk 	
<i>Aims</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Make S familiar with the purposes and contexts of small talk as well as its typical structure (starting – holding – ending) and topics ➤ Revise/Introduce a selection of fixed expressions for realizing certain speech acts ➤ Revise/Introduce a selection of features which help communicate and interact fluently in conversation (e.g. for buying time and filling pauses) ➤ Revise/Introduce strategies for casual conversation ➤ Provide students with the opportunity to practice a selection of conversational features in a controlled setting ➤ Develop viewing comprehension 	
<i>Contents of the lesson</i>	<i>Methods and materials</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction: English in out-of-school contexts; Assignment: "Write down five situations for which you may have to use English after you graduate from high school." • Relevance of politeness and small talk in English: Outside views on Germans' (lack of) politeness → Outlook of this session: Topics, expressions, strategies for small talk • Suitable and unsuitable topics for small talk: Class rates 15 given topics; → Comparison • Useful expressions for different parts of small talk: (1. Greeting and asking about well-being; 2. Introducing oneself and introducing others; 3. Starting a topic and switching topics; 4. Active listening and giving feedback to the speaker; 5. Signaling the end is near and being 'social'; 6. Saying goodbye; 7. Buying time and filling pauses); Assignment: "Write down as many typical expressions as you can think of and be ready to present your results." (5 groups work on points 1.-3. and 5.-6.); presentation of results • Focus I: Buying time and filling pauses (No.7): <i>Well, uhm; The thing is...; It's just that...; ...you know what I mean?; I guess what I'm trying to say is...; Actually,...; Anyway,...</i> • Focus II: "My all-time favorite multi-purpose expression: <i>you know</i>"; Hypothesize about its functions and contexts; Question: "Why does the speaker use <i>you know</i>? What does it do/mean in that context?" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pictures as stimuli via ppt-slides, laptop, projector; Class discussion • Blog comments on (lack of) politeness in Germany and excerpt from article about Prof. House's research on the relevance of "small talk"; via ppt-slides • Worksheet 7: "Topics for small talk"; Individual work; T-S-dialogue • Worksheet 8: "Useful expressions for casual conversation (small talk)"; Worksheet 6: Transcripts of scenes (CATS); Language Help 2 (for less proficient S): "A-Z: Some expressions for casual conversation (small talk)"; Transparency snippets; Group work (5 groups, each 3-4 S); Group presentations and class discussion • ppt-slides: Invented examples; R-presentation • ppt-slides and Worksheet 9: Extracts from CATS featuring <i>you know</i>; S read aloud; R-S-dialogue
[BREAK]	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successful and unsuccessful conversations in private and professional situations; Convincing other people; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers; Class discussion

View scenes from SFU (Ep. 6, Act I, Sc. 5; Ep. 6, Act III, Sc. 2 [extract]; c. 3:30 min.): Silent viewing;

Question: "What are the scenes about? How do you think they'll continue – successful or unsuccessful?"

- Assignment: "In pairs, script the dialogue for one of the two scenes (1. Dave and Mr. Jones [business] or 2. Billy and Claire [private]). Make sure the conversation sounds as natural as possible and that the speakers take advantage of some typical strategies in conversation, as listed in the checklist"
- Select pairs perform their dialogues; other S give feedback according to the 6 items on the checklist
- *Worksheet 10* (Checklist): "Strategies for conversation/small talk: Guidelines"; Pair work
- Role play: Performance of scripted dialogues; Class discussion

The introduction to the lesson ('English in out-of-school contexts') serves to capture the S's interest and create a connection between the contents of this class and the students' private lives. The blog comments about the German people's lack of politeness (see Table A-20 in the Appendix) should furthermore stimulate a lively discussion. The extract from the article on Juliane House's research (see Table A-20 in the Appendix) then provides the transition to the topic of small talk and points to why it is relevant for communication in English. The fact that a university professor actually researches this topic will furthermore show the S the relevance of this topic. The rest of the lesson then focuses on three major issues: Appropriate topics for small talk, useful expressions for the different phases of small talk, and helpful strategies for smooth conversation.

Worksheet 7 (see Appendix) displays 15 diverse topics (e.g. 'the wine which is being served,' 'the death penalty') for which the S should judge whether they are appropriate for small talk or not. While the topics are certainly dependent on the situational context of the verbal encounter, there are some basic guidelines which help us avoid uncomfortable moments. The aim is to make the S aware that the appropriateness of the topic is highly culture-dependent and that if in doubt, it is best to avoid topics such as 'sex,' 'religion,' 'politics,' 'money,' and 'health.' In the next phase, the S compile a collection of useful expressions for small talk (see *Worksheet 8* in the Appendix). This activity ties in with the end of the previous session, where the different stages of a conversation were discussed. The S work in five groups, each group taking care of one of the seven parts (except No. 4 and 7, which are briefly introduced by the T and R; see below). They can use the previous CATS transcripts to find useful expressions and add any other fitting items which occur to them. All expressions are written on an overhead transparency snippet and later presented by one to two speakers. Less proficient students can be given the *Language Help 2* sheet (see Appendix), which includes a variety of expressions for use in small talk ordered from A-Z, so that the S

simply have to find those expressions which match their assigned phase. The results are discussed and complemented by the rest of the class.

As suggested by the T, the next phase consists in a brief R-presentation via PowerPoint (see Appendix), in which the R presents a few examples of expressions which help to buy time and fill pauses, such as *It's just that...* and *The thing is....*. This is the only phase in this unit in which the R in fact assumes the role of the teacher for a moment, and the T observes the process. The T suggested this procedure as the S probably considered the R as a 'visiting expert' and thus it would be a welcome change to the instructional routine and boost the attention of the S. Finally, the R also presents some excerpts from CATS in which the discourse marker *you know* is used, which is introduced as "My all time favorite multi-purpose expression." These excerpts are also given to the S on *Worksheet 9* (see Table 8-10 below), who read out the excerpts. The S are then asked to hypothesize about the contexts and functions of *you know*, such as outlined in more detail in Ch. 7.3.4.5. This phase takes place as an R-S-dialogue and it should not take too much time (max. 15 minutes), because this analytic, research-like activity may overtax some of the students. The T and R considered this activity somewhat of an experiment.

The aim of the next phase is to have the S apply the features collected thus far in a controlled activity, namely inventing their own, natural-sounding dialogue. The topic of the dialogue to be created is again inspired by some scenes from SFU; one of them in a professional, one of them in a private setting. In the first scene, David has a meeting with a customer and they talk about various options for the funeral. In the second scene, Claire is at her brother's girlfriend's (i.e. Brenda's) house, where she meets Brenda's brother Billy for the first time. Both scenes are watched 'silently,' and the S must guess what these conversations are about and whether they are "successful" interactions or not. The S also speculate how the scenes may continue. Afterwards, the S get together in pairs and choose one of the scenes viewed, for which they write a matching dialogue. Along with this assignment, they get some guidelines for conversational strategies, which are to be used as a checklist (see Table 8-11 below). The guidelines represent a summary of ideas which have been broached repeatedly in the course of the past sessions, so that they are only briefly discussed by the T. Columns 1-6 in the grid of the worksheet can be used for giving feedback on the dialogues of the other groups, of which five to six should present their solution to the class in the form of role play.

Table 8-10: Excerpt from Worksheet 9 (CATS transcripts featuring *you know*)

a)

<FEDERICO:> Nate! What's up? <shakes NATE's hand>

<NATE:> Hey, Rico.

<FEDERICO:> Oh, it's good to see you! Ooh, uh, really sorry about your dad, man. But, uh, **you know**, when your time is up, it's up, right? (SFU 1, Ep. 1)

b)

<RUTH:> I didn't even realize how lonely I was, or how long it had been since a man touched me like that.

<NATE:> Well, loneliness is a terrible thing.

<RUTH:> I'm still a woman, **you know**? (SFU 1, Ep. 1)

c)

<SCENE SEVEN: Furniture Store>

[...]

<DAVID:> <points to a ceiling fan> What about that one?

<KEITH:> Nah, that's a little Mayberry for me. Something simple and clean. **You know**, like the ones that hang in a deserted truck stop... when that handsome drifter blows into town. (SFU 1, Ep. 3)

d)

<DAVID:> Brenda, what do you do for a living?

<RUTH:> She gives massages.

<BRENDA:> Shiatsu.

<RUTH:> Now, what exactly is that?

<BRENDA:> It's a Japanese bodywork technique that involves pressure to points on acupuncture meridians.

<RUTH:> Well, how interesting! Acupuncture! That's the pins, right?

<BRENDA:> <irritated> Yes, the pins.

<NATE returns.>

<RUTH:> So you stick pins in people?

<BRENDA:> Uh, I use my thumbs, wrists, elbows, **you know**?

<RUTH:> <shocked> So you stick your thumbs in people? (SFU 1, Ep. 4)

e)

<A man from the pornographic film industry is speaking to DAVID. He is a man close to VIVECA's age. He used to be a porn star too.>

<PORN GUY:> She should look spectacular, **you know**? That's - that's the most important thing.

<DAVID:> We'll make sure that she looks her best.

<PORN GUY:> Sh- she was the real deal, **you know**? She was a star.

<DAVID:> And I can assure you we will give her a funeral that befits the star that she was and always will be. (SFU, Ep. 5)

f)

<SCENE NINETEEN: Kitchen, Hannah's House, a little later>

<HANNAH:> So how are you both doing? **You know**, with Nathaniel passing?

<RUTH:> Better every day.

<CLAIRE:> Yeah, **you know**, shit happens.<HANNAH:> **You know**, it's such an awful thing losing someone you love.

<GINNIE:> In terms of stress, it's right up there with moving and getting fired. (SFU, Ep. 5)

Table 8-11: Worksheet 10: Guidelines for conversation

Strategies for conversation/small talk: Guidelines						
	group 1	group 2	group 3	group 4	group 5	group 6
1. Choose suitable topics that don't upset anyone.						
2. Always be polite and friendly . Don't be too direct or abrupt. (e.g. <i>Actually,...</i> <i>Well,...</i> <i>kind of</i>)						
3. Keep the conversation going: Ask questions to show interest.						
4. Avoid one-word-answers : Add some more words. (e.g. <i>Yes, that's true. No, not really...</i>)						
5. Use feedback phrases to show you're listening. (e.g. <i>uh-huh, oh, really?, hm...</i>)						
6. Use expressions to gain time and avoid pauses. (e.g. <i>You know,...</i> , <i>The thing is...</i>)						

8.4.4.2 Outcome and evaluation

This fourth session was the session with the highest attendance (18 of 20 S). In the introductory phase, the S named a large range of situations in which they will need to use English, not only in their free time (e.g. "vacation," "online computer games," "watching movies"), but also in their future educational or professional lives (e.g. "university lectures," "communication with business partners"). The S also expressed doubt over whether their English communication skills would be sufficient. The blog comments were hotly debated. They were considered as somewhat exaggerated, and one S claimed that "impoliteness is not part of the German people, it is just part of the language;" another S mentioned that Germans are "just more direct than other people." It was pointed out that small talk has very useful purposes which German speakers may not be aware of, because they do not make use of it to the same extent. Some S mentioned that "this small talk stuff is so superficial" and "not honest," but others found that "at least it is more friendly." There was agreement, however, that it is a good idea to develop small talk skills because in the future they may be needed for a range of occasions, as especially in English or American contexts 'social talk' can have considerable influence on the 'success' of a meeting.

The activity on appropriate topics for small talk caused a lot of discussion, as expected. There was some discontent over the fact that there was no definite right and wrong. In hindsight, it may have been better to provide a specific situational context (e.g. 'a reception at your new workplace') for which the S should judge the appropriateness of different topics, as of course the degree of familiarity between the speakers, the formality of the situation, and also the age of the interlocutors influences the choice of topics. The subsequent collection of useful expressions for small talk went very well – the five groups came up with a large number of expressions for their assigned parts, and the rest of the class provided useful additions. The S also commented on the different levels of formality of the various expressions (e.g. "Hello, how do you do?" vs. "Hi, how's it going?") and asked the T numerous questions regarding the exact usage of some expressions, which attests the great interest they took in this activity.

The somewhat 'experimental' linguistic activity on the discourse marker *you know* went better than one could have hoped for. As PowerPoint as a medium and the R in the teacher role were novel, the attention of the S was indeed increased from the beginning. Only five to six S participated actively in the ensuing discussion of the contexts and uses of *you know*, but the rest of the class listened carefully and the observations of the contributing S were mostly very sharp and to the point. The S discovered that *you know* was used simply "when the speaker needed to say *something*" and also when "something is explained some more after something else was said." Also, it was noticed that it can be used because the speaker "wants the other one to understand him." These explanations by the S indeed coincide with some of the major functions described in the research literature. The S also noticed that *you know* can be used very frequently and in different positions in the sentence, such as illustrated by example f) (see Table 8-10). The R did not dwell on further individual functions, as the aim of this focus activity was considered as 'achieved.' In retrospect, fewer extracts from SFU featuring *you know* would have been sufficient, too.

The final activity (writing dialogues in pair work) produced mixed results. About half of the class was fully focused on their work, while the others had trouble concentrating. Despite the stimulus provided by the viewed SFU scenes, this activity required a substantial amount of creativity. This possibly asked too much of this particular group, while, as the T noted, a more proficient and assiduous group may have coped well and enjoyed it. Another option for this lesson would be to provide the less proficient or less motivated S with edited transcripts of the selected scenes, with gaps where the original dialogue features relevant language items. The S would then have to complete the missing items while viewing the scenes, and possibly write a

short, natural-sounding continuation of the dialogue. In the last phase of the lesson, only four pairs had completed their dialogues, of which only two could present them as role plays due to lack of time. These volunteers were, unsurprisingly, again the most proficient S of the class. After their performances, the others gave feedback regarding their adherence to the guidelines for conversation. The S received largely positive feedback; only few of the items on the checklist were not respected (e.g. expressions to gain time). If this lesson was to be repeated in a class with a similar profile, a different selection of scenes (for which dialogue needs to be written) might be considered, too. The two scenes could be shorter and they should both appear very smooth and 'successful' when viewed 'on silent,' so that the S could invent a dialogue representing 'perfect conversation/small talk.' However, it would still be useful to offer one 'private' and one 'professional' context in a future repetition of this lesson, so that the activity can cater to different student interests.

Overall, the implementation of this lesson was evaluated as successful by T and R, even if individual details would possibly need adjustment if this lesson was taught again in the future, at least when taught with a similar group. The aims formulated for this lesson were certainly ambitious, and they may not have been reached to the full extent. The same contents could have been spread over one and a half or two whole lessons, so that more time would be left for speaking opportunities. It would have been desirable to not only have the S apply the spoken features in writing by means of scripted dialogues (with subsequent prepared performance), but more in speaking, e.g. by means of spoken drills of select expressions, which would also represent a controlled setting. It should be noted that before the lesson, it was unclear to both T and R how many of the expressions for conversation were already familiar to and actively used by the S – after all, conversational English had rarely been a topic and had rarely been used with the T in previous teaching. The T only reported that she had not heard any of the students use the discourse marker *you know*, or any of the expressions for gaining time and filling pauses introduced in this unit. Be that as it may, this fourth session served well as preparation for the fifth and final session of this unit, in which the S would have more opportunities to practice their speaking skills and apply some of the spoken language features which had been introduced so far.

8.4.5 Lesson 58.4.5.1 *Overview of lesson plan*

Table 8-12: Overview of Lesson 5

Lesson 5	
<i>Topics</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Features of conversation • Focus: Involving the listener; Active listening/giving feedback • Speaking in spontaneous situations 	
<i>Aims</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Provide students with the opportunity to practice a selection of conversational features in a controlled setting ➤ Provide students with the opportunity to develop their spontaneous speaking skills 	
<i>Contents of the lesson</i>	<i>Methods and materials</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction/Activation of prior knowledge: Small talk gone awry <i>Activity:</i> "Watch the scene and make notes: What is going well and what is going wrong here? What kind of problems can you identify?" (→ one speaker gives one-word answers, does not ask questions, is too direct, addresses inappropriate topic) • Revision: Features of natural conversation <i>Activity:</i> S fill the gaps in an SFU dialogue (Nate and Brenda) with "expressions which are typical of natural conversation" (→ many solutions possible; several features have similar functions) • Focus: Active Listening; Class is split up into 2 groups (A+B); <i>Assignment group A:</i> "Tell your partner in German or English what you are going to do after your oral exams and/or after leaving school. Tell him/her about your doubts and questions. Speak with as few breaks as possible for 1 min." <i>Secret Assignment group B:</i> "Your partner is going to tell you about his/her plans after exams or after leaving school. Do not show much reaction to what s/he is saying. Keep gestures and facial expression to a minimum. Look serious and focused." • Reflection: Question for group A (speakers): "How did you feel? What was the problem?" • Revision: Features for Active Listening (e.g. <i>uh-huh, yeah, Really?</i>); Features for involving the listener (e.g. <i>..., you know?, ..., you know what I mean?, ..., isn't it?</i>) • Practice (controlled): 2 volunteers (S) may try active listening in role play; Scenario 1: "A student (S) is in the office of a university professor (R), who recommends some literature for S's upcoming presentation in class but then digresses from the topic"; Scenario 2: "A friend (R) tells you (S) a hilarious story about what happened to her on the train the other day." <i>Instruction:</i> "Show that you are listening and that you are interested in the information/story. Try to use the typical features for active listening." • Practice (controlled/free): Simulation of a business encounter which causes planning and production pressure and calls for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short scene invented and performed by T+R; Individual work by S; then class discussion • <i>Worksheet 11:</i> "Fill in the gaps" (Extract from SFU Ep.1, Act IV, Sc. 4; Nate and Brenda); Individual work, presentation in pairs • Pair work; each pair consisting of 1 S of group A (speakers) + 1 S of group B (listeners with secret task) • Class discussion • <i>Language Help 3:</i> 2 poster cards with lists of features (1. Active listening; 2. Involving the listener); T presentation • <i>Language Help 3:</i> 2 poster cards with lists of features (1. Active listening; 2. Involving the listener); Role play R-S • 10 "funny" items which are probably unfamiliar to S; bag;

improvisation;

Instruction: "Imagine you are a sales/marketing team (2 S) responsible of a particular product and you have a meeting with a potential customer (rest of class). You have 2 min. to present your product to the customers and convince them of the usefulness of the product."

Guidelines for sales/marketing team: "Keep talking, be friendly, react to the customers. Try to involve the listeners and use expressions for buying time and filling pauses."

Guidelines for customers: "Show that you are interested, listen actively, use feedback expressions and ask questions."

→ team of 2 S pull one "funny" item out of a bag and have 30 sec. to agree on what they think the item is before they step in front of the group and advertise it to the customers.

Language Help 3: 2 poster cards with lists of features (1. Active listening; 2. Involving the listener);

Language Help 4: Poster card with list of features (Buying time and filling pauses);

Role play; each round c. 1:30 min; 2 S speak with rest of class (S-S dialogue)

• Closing words: Summary and thanks to the S (+ feedback)

• T-R-S-dialogue

The lesson starts with a short role play performed by the T and R, while the S observe "what is going on here." The S are only told that the T plays a German student during her semester abroad in the USA, who meets an American student (R) at a fellow student's party. The S should notice that the small talk between these two characters is rather unsuccessful, as the German student gives one-word answers, does not ask any questions, is extremely direct and in the end addresses a matter which is too delicate for the given context.

The S are then asked to recall the contents of the previous sessions, which dealt with general particularities of language in speech vs. writing, and with the typical topics, expressions, and strategies for small talk. To "jog their memory," they do a gap-filling exercise: *Worksheet 11* displays a conversation between Nate and Brenda (i.e. a transcript extracted from CATS) a few days after they had met for the first time. The dialogue has various gaps, which the S have to fill with features that are typical of natural conversation (see Table 8-13).

Table 8-13: Worksheet 11 (CATS transcript)

***Six Feet Under* Season 1, Episode 1, Act IV, Scene 4 ("Pilot")**

Please fill in the gaps with suitable expressions which are typical of natural conversation.
There is always more than one possible solution!

<SCENE FOUR: Cemetery, yet another section>

<BRENDA approaches NATE.>

<BRENDA:> _____.

<They look at each other silently. Cut to later.>

<BRENDA:> _____, after four days with my family, I'm ready for shock therapy. Just waiting to see if my HMO covers it.

<NATE:> _____. <chuckles>

<BRENDA:> _____ ?

<NATE:> _____, it's great. Great, _____? My father's dead, my mom's a whore, my brother wants to kill me, and my sister's smoking crack. Think I win. <chuckles> Four days ago, I was a relatively happy guy. Now, it's like I don't even know who that guy was. <sighs> I'm a fucking mess, if you wanna know the truth. But I think you're already aware of that.

<BRENDA:> _____, here's my number, if you ever want to, I don't know, go out on a real date. _____, where you buy me dinner before I put out.

<NATE:> <laughs> _____...

<BRENDA:> Maybe I'm one of those women that meets a man who seems emotionally conflicted, no relationship skills, and I figure, _____, that's for me.

<NATE:> _____, I don't even live here, _____? I live in Seattle.

<BRENDA:> _____, that just makes you more attractive.

<NATE:> _____?

<BRENDA:> _____.

<NATE:> _____, I also happen to be a serial rapist. Got ten nurses buried under my house.

<BRENDA:> _____...

After every S works individually, several solutions are presented (in pairs) to the class. It is important to make sure that the S understand that there are different solutions possible and it is not necessary to find the original wording.

In the next phase of the lesson, the focus shifts to the topic of 'active listening.' This part of conversation has not received much focused attention yet in the previous sessions. The secret assignment which is given to half of the group (i.e. to barely show any reaction when the partner tells an emotional story) is supposed to lead to the realization that it is important to actively show that one is listening and that one is interested in what the conversation partner is saying, so as not to appear rude or indifferent. It should also be pointed out to the S that 'active listening' is often difficult for foreign learners of the language, because they are often so focused on the language that they have an extremely serious expression and forget to give feedback, which can make the conversation partner insecure or otherwise uncomfortable.

Afterwards, the T briefly revises some features which support the interaction and the cooperation between the conversationalists (visualized with the help of some poster cards, cf. *Language Help 3* in the Appendix). On the one hand, there are a number of expressions that one may use to "show that you are listening and that you are interested" and on the other hand, there are a variety of expressions "to involve the listener." The items for active listening are then to be practiced in the next exercise.

In this activity, two volunteering S may try to do active listening in a role play with the R, who serves as the 'language expert' here. The R and not the T functions as the expert because this procedure was considered to decrease inhibition and increase motivation in the S. An alternative would, of course, be to let two S converse with each other, so that more S get the opportunity to speak. However, it was decided to take the R as a conversation partner because

that would give the S the chance to speak to a relatively unfamiliar, near-native speaker, who could 'challenge' them more. The other S, in turn, can observe an expert speaker in action, who will use a lot of the features discussed in class. Also, this would give the R the chance to play a humorous character so that the activity is more enjoyable for the students. The poster cards (*Language Help 3*) are put up so that the S can glance at them to get some 'inspiration.'

The last and longest activity of the session (simulation of business encounter) is the most spontaneous speaking activity of the whole unit. The S are put into a situation in which they have to speak without much preparation, and apart from the *Language Help 3/4* poster cards, they are on their own and forced to improvise and deal with planning and production pressure on the spot. Planning pressure is increased by the fact that the S probably have no idea what exactly they are selling to the customers: The ten funny items are Japanese gimmicks which do not exist in Germany (e.g. a face-massage tool which looks like a pump; an air-neutralizer in the shape of a bear; sticky caps for the fingertips of people who have to leaf through piles of paper; ear-protectors for a visit to the hairdresser's) and items which are simply out of use or rare nowadays (e.g. a Jew's harp and a brush for cleaning LPs). These funny items per se should be motivating and enjoyable to the group. The presenting S are put in pairs here so that they will not feel entirely alone when they are 'on stage.' The S who are playing the customers in each round are encouraged to participate actively, too.

The session and the unit end with some closing words. The main contents of the five sessions are briefly summarized by the T and the R, and the S are thanked for their cooperation. After the closing of the session, the S are also encouraged to provide feedback to the R by means of a feedback sheet and/or face-to-face and they can ask questions regarding the research project.

8.4.5.2 Outcome and evaluation

Only eight S participated in the final session of the project.¹⁴³ The introductory role play was received well by the S, and they noted exactly those shortcomings that we tried to illustrate.

In the gap-filling exercise with the excerpt from CATS, the S applied a large range of conversational features and fixed expressions. Note that at this point, they did not have access to their materials, so that all of the following items were indeed retrieved from their memory:¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Half of the class could not attend this last session because of an excursion which, unfortunately, had not been announced to the T.

¹⁴⁴ The following list is based on an examination of their worksheets, which were collected after the session.

- Greetings and introductions: "Hi"; "Hi, how are you?"; "How are you?"; "Hey"; "Hey, nice to see you again"; "Good to see you"
- Discourse markers: "well"; "you know"; "well you know"; "so"; "you see"
- Response tokens / expressions for active listening: "Uh-huh"; "Huh"; "Hm"; "Mhm"; "Mh"; "Oh"; "Okay"; "Oh really"; "Really?"; "Wow"
- Further fixed expressions: "It's just that..."

With only few exceptions, these items were used in a grammatically correct and idiomatic way. It appeared that the teaching focus on the discourse marker *you know* in the previous session as well as the presentation of time-buying devices indeed 'yielded fruit.' For instance, the discourse marker *you know* was used by all of the eight S. In fact, three S used it three or even four times in this short exercise, and each one was used in an appropriate context. This outcome surprised particularly the T, who, as mentioned above, had never heard the S use this discourse marker before.¹⁴⁵ If this activity was repeated, some extra time could be allowed to watch the respective scene, as the S were interested in "what was really said."

The pair work on 'active listening' which followed produced the desired result: The S who told a story to their partner reported that it was unsatisfying and frustrating not to get any feedback and that it felt like "speaking with a wall." The volunteers for the next exercise then did a good job implementing the features for active listening. One S exaggerated the use a bit, so that it sometimes came across as somewhat artificial, but the demonstration of active listening was overall successful and the S were particularly amused by the character of the talkative professor. The *Language Help* poster cards seemed to have supported the 'performance,' as the S glanced at them occasionally during the role play.

The next and final activity of this lesson turned out to be the 'highlight' of the whole unit. The S appeared to have a lot of fun speculating about the uses of the unfamiliar items and the speakers displayed a high degree of spontaneity and creativity during this task. While some of the S glanced at the *Language Help* poster cards to get some ideas, others spoke entirely freely. The S who played the customers, however, were rather 'timid' in the beginning. In retrospect, the scenario was not ideal for practicing active listening, as active listening is predominantly performed in one-on-one situations or at least in smaller conversation groups, but not in speaker-audience situations. Since none of the S felt addressed as an individual, but rather as a group, it came less naturally to them to use items such as *uh-huh*, *hm*, *right*, etc. When the T noticed this, she joined the S as a customer and performed active listening, and she asked the 'business people' some questions, which the other S could take as an example.

¹⁴⁵ This, of course, may also have to do with the fact that the traditional English lessons do not usually provide the same opportunities (e.g. conversational settings) to use *you know* in the first place.

The customer groups warmed up noticeably after the first round so that in the second, third, and fourth group, there was more feedback, and considerably more questions were asked.

This activity was also recorded and partly transcribed (according to the same basic criteria as the dialogues in CATS). An extract of the first group's round is displayed in Table 8-14. "S1" and "S2" are the students who act as business people, "Sx" is an unspecified student from the customer audience and "Sn" simply represents 'several S.' Items in square brackets are my translations of the German words. The item that the business people are trying to sell as an "alcohol tester" is actually a Japanese face-massage tool. In utterance No. 14, it is obvious that S2 actively tries to use the features which have been introduced and discussed in class. Other than that, however, S1 and S2 mostly rely on filled pauses *uh* and *uhm* as well as repeats (e.g. in No. 1, 3, 22) when they are under planning and production pressure. Clearly, the students would benefit from more practice to automatize certain time-buying devices and other features which would make their spoken performance more smooth.

Table 8-14: Excerpt from transcript of student activity: Simulation of a business encounter

[...]	[...]	[...]
1	S1	[...] you have to - you have to - breathe in and then, there's when you open this part <shows part of the item>, there is a kind of a...
2	T	Really?
3	S1	...uh, of a - of a <i>Anzeige</i> ['display'] - I don't know what the word, uhm, and then you can - y- you can see how drunk you are really
4	Sx	<laughs>
5	S1	uh, and in - in France, uh, in - in - <unsure about word>
6	S2	<i>doch</i> ['yes']
7	S1	uh, it is - it is - you have to - uhm, you have to bring such a piece of alcohol tester, uh, in your car, and so it's very useful when you have one in your car
8	T	Seriously? Oh, ok, yeah, I've never heard of it.
9	S2	Yeah, that's it.
10	T	Can you tell us a little more about the situation in France?
11	S2	Uhm...
12	Sn	<laugh>
13	T	<unclear>
14	S2	You know, uhm, it's just that, well, uhm, uh, uhm...
15	Sn	<laugh>
16	T	<laughs> I don't quite <unclear> that <giggles>
17	S2	Yes, I - I think - two or three months or years ago, I don't know, uhm, there was a new, uh, <i>Gesetz</i> ?
18	Sx	law
19	T	law
20	S2	uh, a new law, uh, which says that you have to - bring it in your car, like we have to our, uh, medical care system in our cars
21	T	Mhm
22	Sx	Hm
23	S2	and it's because, uh, they want you - you - you can check yourself if you are too drunk to drive
23	Sx	Uh-huh, uh-huh
[...]	[...]	[...]

The lesson was overall evaluated as a success by both T and R. All of the S had considerable speaking time and they all practiced their spoken skills in controlled and free settings. One S actually told the class that he was recently at a job interview during which he had to do precisely what the class did in this simulation of a business encounter (in English, too). This furthermore communicated the relevance of this activity to the rest of the class and the importance of developing spontaneous speaking skills.

8.5 Evaluation of the feasibility study: Potential, problems, prospects

In the course of Ch. 8.4, I believe to have shown that it is indeed possible to integrate CATS into a regular EFL class. It is true that the teaching context was somewhat special due to the fact that the project was conducted the very last three weeks of teaching English to a high school class which was about to graduate, so that the five lessons were not quite as restricted by curricular requirements as in the middle of the school year. At the same time, teaching was subject to the same challenging factors as other, regular classes: Variable attendance rates, partly undisciplined and unmotivated students, great heterogeneity as regards language proficiency, etc.

It was clear from the start that CATS and 'spoken grammar' would only be one part of the whole unit. CATS as a tool was simply embedded among many other activities beyond the topic of 'spoken grammar' and 'spoken vs. written language.' Nevertheless, I presented a range of concrete – and successfully performed – activities that made use of CATS transcripts and the corresponding audiovisual material for teaching spoken grammar. The analytic, corpus-linguistic activities (e.g. noticing spoken features in the corpus transcripts) were always prefaced by content-based work and an exploration of the speakers and the settings of the dialogues, so that all DDL activities of this unit considered language in its concrete context. The coherent and relevant contents represented in CATS furthermore offered plenty of discussion points to be exploited as speaking prompts, and the corresponding audiovisual material was used in manifold ways so as to support the development of listening and viewing comprehension, including classic elements of 'film-based language learning' (cf. e.g. Thaler 2007).

This feasibility study did not endeavor to measure the concrete learning progress in the students, nor whether they liked the unit (for whatever reason). It was the T's observation, however, that the group as a whole was strikingly more motivated and active in class than was to be expected at this time of the school year. Moreover, the students' performance in class

(and an examination of the completed worksheets etc.) led us to conclude that the students also profited greatly from this unit, and that the aims formulated for the individual lessons were, by and large, achieved. This impression was supported during the informal feedback round after Lesson 5, which involved a voluntary feedback sheet. The S experienced the sessions as very varied and they enjoyed the focus on 'spoken English.' Some even expressed regret about the fact that it was not until their very last English lessons in high school that they received practical tips regarding features for speaking fluently. A couple of S pointed out that during the unit they learned something that they "could actually use some time." The S particularly appreciated the activities related to small talk and the concrete speaking exercises (especially in Lesson 5), as they considered these highly relevant for their future. The unit thus appears to have succeeded here in "mak[ing] explicit the link between the classroom and the real world" and achieve the desirable "real-world focus," to put it in Nunan's (1989: 130) words.

However, there were also a few aspects of the unit which some students criticized. Some said that they found it annoying after a while to always only watch extracts of SFU instead of watching complete episodes. A couple of S recommended that other TV series be used, e.g. popular sitcoms such as *How I Met Your Mother* or *The Big Bang Theory*, because these would be more motivating. Both points are understandable, though the choice of TV series was not negotiable in this project. Only the other three series in CATS could alternatively have been used, and sitcoms had been excluded from the start for the reasons outlined in Ch. 4.4.3.1 and 5.1.1.1. Only *Monk* would have been a viable alternative. One S furthermore bemoaned the fact that there were too many activities such as pair and group work, so that they "always had to do something," and one S explained that overall, the activities administered during the unit were generally "too easy." The latter point would certainly have to be considered in future lesson planning to make sure that all students feel challenged.

The teacher of the class evaluated the unit very positively. She confirmed that she would teach the same unit again (or parts of it) with the same lesson plans and the same materials. Only a few minor changes would be necessary, as already outlined above in the individual discussions/evaluations of the lessons, and of course some adaptations would have to be made depending on the profile of the respective class (age, proficiency, interests, etc.). What she considered especially useful was the fact that all the dialogues from CATS can 'come to life' through the DVDs. She found SFU very apt for the purposes, especially since many of the scenes are interesting and worthy of discussion, even when used in isolation, so that content-

and language-based work could be fruitfully combined. She would not use SFU with much younger students, however, simply because of the tabooed contents.

Despite the generally positive evaluation of the integration of CATS into EFL teaching as demonstrated in this unit, there are a few challenges to using CATS (in its current version) in the classroom. These deserve some comment, too. Any language teacher knows how time-consuming materials design can be. In this project, all the DDL activities were paper-based and fairly closed, i.e. specific dialogues were pre-selected and edited for classroom usage. If a corpus such as CATS is to be used in the future in regular classroom scenarios, plenty of ready-made material would have to be available to the teacher, so that the teacher can mix and match and possibly adapt existing materials to his/her needs. It is true that one can use corpus software to search for certain keywords (e.g. to find specific speech acts), but especially if the corpus contents are to be explored, a careful reading of the corpus texts is necessary. Ideally, one would need an index of 'thematically stimulating' or 'didactically relevant' topics, though this is, of course, very difficult to achieve since different topics are relevant for different groups. One idea would be to index major topics (e.g. 'teen drug use,' 'mother-daughter-conflict,' 'racism') and thus suggest suitable scenes with the corresponding time stamps. This leads me to the next point: For an improved usability, the CATS transcripts need to be directly aligned with the audiovisual files (see also Braun's 2010 recommendations for pedagogical corpora as multimedia tools). This would allow a teacher (and a researcher) to search expressions and then, via a few mouse clicks, see the corresponding scene. This is certainly something that will be explored in the future, though such an alignment is tied to a variety of other questions, a major one being copyright, which has not been addressed so far.

Technology is another problematic issue to be mentioned here. While an index of relevant scenes and an alignment of text and audiovisual files will greatly improve usability, there is still the problem of technical equipment in traditional language classrooms. Even if CATS (or a different FSTVL corpus) is used in the form of paper-based DDL, there is still the question of how to present the audiovisual material. Many schools have television sets with integrated DVD players, but this makes the selection of scenes more difficult than using a computer. A computer, in turn, requires a projector and speakers, which, together (as mentioned in 8.4.1.2) are a lot of equipment to carry and set up. For a teacher to consider CATS *with* the audiovisual files as a veritable additional value for his/her teaching rather than an additional expenditure and potential source of trouble, these technological and logistic circumstances need to be optimized.

The feasibility study presented here indicates that CATS can indeed be a very suitable tool for teaching and learning spoken grammar (and many other things), particularly when embedded in the larger context of 'teaching speaking.' Especially in light of the newly introduced 'communication exam' in German high schools (cf. Ch. 3.2.2.2, 3.4.3.1), a corpus such as CATS could be a welcome addition to the materials and tools available to EFL teachers for teaching spoken English. Future classroom studies exploring the use of CATS should also develop teaching units with the other subcorpora of CATS, and with CATS in its entirety. These must of course be tailored to the profiles of the respective classes. Furthermore, computer-based DDL activities need to be developed and tested. The classroom study presented in this chapter can only be seen as an initial step in exploring the suitability and usability of FSTVL corpora in language teaching.

9 Credits... Conclusion and outlook

9.1 Recapitulation

The main objective of the present study was to explore the suitability of a corpus of fictional scripted television language (FSTVL) for teaching spoken English grammar to EFL learners. Previous studies have suggested using spoken corpora to familiarize students with the characteristics of natural spoken English, but regular corpora of spoken English (principally designed for linguistic research) usually do not meet the needs of a language classroom. For this reason, the present study tried to assess whether the language of fictional television series could be a useful alternative to naturally occurring language in a pedagogical corpus. The main focus here was on the question of how authentic, i.e. how similar to NOC (naturally occurring conversation) FSTVL is and whether its degree of spokenness is sufficient to consider FSTVL appropriate input for EFL learners. However, the study also considered further aspects regarding the linguistic appropriateness and the usability of a FSTVL corpus in EFL settings in order to ascertain whether such a corpus can indeed be a suitable tool for teaching and learning.

The assessment of the suitability of a FSTVL corpus for teaching and learning spoken English was carried out in five phases. After a purely theoretical assessment of FSTVL, including a systematic survey of previous studies in this largely unexplored field and the development of a framework for capturing the differences between FSTVL and NOC (cf. Ch. 4), followed the compilation of a corpus of FSTVL called 'CATS:' A Corpus of American Television Series (cf. Ch. 5). This corpus was analyzed quantitatively regarding its similarity to NOC, i.e. its linguistic authenticity (Ch. 6) by means of a set of 'indicators of spoken style.' The results of this analysis were taken as a starting point for an evaluation of CATS's linguistic appropriateness from a more language-pedagogical perspective (Ch. 7), including an additional quantitative and qualitative analysis of a number of pedagogically relevant language features. Finally, by means of a small feasibility study carried out at a German high school, the present research project explored some concrete ways in which a corpus of FSTVL could be applied in classroom scenarios for teaching spoken English (Ch. 8).

In Ch. 1, I mentioned four major fields which are brought together in the present study (cf. Figure 1-2): A. Spoken English, B. Corpus Linguistics, C. Film and Television and D. Language Teaching. In the course of this study, I have raised a variety of important points and provided new insights relevant to these four fields and their intersections. These will be summarized in the following.

9.1.1 The study of spoken English

I hope to have shown that fictional scripted television language is a promising research object for scholars investigating the spoken language as it reflects well the complex relation between the notions of 'medium' and 'style' as well as their relative independence from each other. The present study has argued that 'spokenness' in language can be constructed to varying degrees, irrespective of whether this is done consciously or unconsciously. The complex dynamics between 'spokenness' and 'writtenness' have been visualized in a new model in Chapter 2 (Figure 2-2; "The dynamics between spokenness and writtenness").

9.1.2 Corpus linguistics

The present study has discussed the diverse and sometimes contradictory ways in which film and TV material has been used in linguistic corpora so far. Especially in the context of fictional scripted film and television language, I have pointed out the many different research practices (e.g. the use of scripts vs. transcripts vs. subtitles) which make cross-comparisons very difficult. For these reasons, I called for a more consistent terminology and more transparency in the presentation of the individual research methodology. In general, I argued for a more thorough and unified consideration of fictional (scripted) speech in corpus building and corpus analysis, as I consider FSTVL an important form of language which speakers are regularly exposed to and which therefore deserves a place in corpora just like other forms of fictional language which are considered 'cultural products,' such as plays or narrative literature.

The present study has furthermore developed a new data base for research on FSTVL. While CATS is probably considered quite small by today's standards, the high degree of accuracy of the transcriptions and the wealth of contextual information provided in the annotation make it a valuable linguistic research tool.

Finally, I have suggested a procedure for assessing the degree of linguistic authenticity using a corpus-based analysis of a set of 'indicators of spoken style.' This methodology may be used for future analyses of speech-related forms of language.

9.1.3 The theory of FSTVL

In this study, I offered a review of previous approaches to fictional scripted speech and I took stock of the (scarce) existing empirical research concerned with its linguistic characteristics.

Moreover, I developed a framework for conceptualizing the differences between FSTVL vs. NOC. Within this framework, I proposed a 'Taxonomy of factors influencing the degree of spokenness in FSTVL' (Ch. 4.4.5), which distinguishes A) general conditions, B) factors specific to the individual series and C) factors specific to the individual linguistic variables under investigation. This taxonomy can be of use to anyone analyzing FSTVL for hypothesizing about, interpreting, and evaluating their results.

9.1.4 The description of FSTVL – linguistic and language-pedagogical perspectives

The analysis of CATS has provided a range of insights about the nature of FSTVL and its relation to NOC. Among the main findings are the following: First of all, FSTVL is not generally 'less spoken-like' or 'more written-like.' It is true that e.g. certain performance phenomena are less frequent in FSTVL, but the majority of spoken language features analyzed in the present study, which previous corpus-based studies had identified as especially typical of NOC, are *equally frequent* or even *more* frequent in the scripted dialogues. My data thus suggest that in many ways, FSTVL is more spoken than 'the real thing,' as it were. In this context, I have pointed out that explanations for the frequency differences may not always be sought in the special circumstances of FSTVL, but also in the circumstances under which 'natural spoken conversation data' is sampled: For instance, greetings and farewells have been found to be much more frequent in FSTVL, but the lower frequency of these items in corpora of natural conversation may well be influenced by the circumstances of corpus sampling (the same applies to the use of strong language).

The present study was also able to corroborate what previous, small-scale studies (e.g. Bednarek 2011) have suggested, viz. that for some language features, the differences across individual TV series are so large that it is difficult to speak about 'general characteristics of FSTVL.' With the help of the taxonomy developed in Ch. 4, I have shown how factors such as the genre of the TV show (e.g. a detective series) as well as the individual characters (esp. the main protagonists) can influence the results of a frequency analysis of indicators of spoken style, even indicators which at first sight seem rather 'inconspicuous,' such as the pro-verb *do* and demonstrative pronouns.

Nevertheless, there are certain tendencies that could be discerned in CATS and that point to general characteristics of FSTVL in terms of its relationship to NOC (cf. Ch. 6.5, 6.6). In broad terms, my data suggest that certain language features are particularly likely to be represented in FSTVL at a comparable or higher frequency than in NOC, viz. features which

have many of the following characteristics: They are considered effort-saving devices; they do *not* prolong the production process; they are associated with drama and/or emotion; they are easy to perform (in an 'unspontaneous,' planned situation); they are *not* subject to negative attitudes; and they do *not* create a vagueness which may adversely affect intelligibility. Many of these characteristics are fulfilled by e.g. *that*-deletion, contractions, analytic negation, and private verbs, which indeed occur at similar or higher frequencies in CATS. In contrast, these categories suggest that the odds are stacked against frequent use of performance phenomena which e.g. prolong the utterances, are stigmatized among scriptwriters or in society in general, are difficult to perform, and may affect intelligibility when frequent.

Finally, a general conclusion I draw on the basis of my data is that FSTVL is certainly 'unnatural' in terms of its genesis (being fictional, scripted, for a TV audience, etc.), but it is in many ways quite natural in terms of its linguistic shape, i.e. the frequency and contexts of spoken language features. Spokenness in FSTVL is constructed in different ways from NOC, i.e. more consciously and with different emphases, but the degree of spokenness can ultimately be very close to or even higher than in NOC.

9.1.5 ELT methods and materials

The corpus-based analyses of CATS have allowed me to describe four television series in considerable detail. I used my findings to create brief 'profiles' of the shows regarding their suitability for language teaching purposes, drawing on criteria related to the particularities of their language as well as to their contents. My recommendations for classroom use may be of help to any teacher considering these series in their teaching, irrespective of whether they want to use a corpus of the dialogues of these series or whether they use them in other ways.

As the analyses in Ch. 6 and Ch. 7 and the feasibility study described in Ch. 8 have demonstrated, corpora such as CATS can provide appropriate linguistic input and have great potential as additional tools in English language teaching. CATS was developed in the first place because existing corpora were deemed insufficient for language teaching purposes. The following chart (Table 9-1) provides an overview of the design features of CATS, which distinguish it from regular linguistic corpora (of natural spoken English) and qualify it as a 'pedagogically relevant corpus' (Braun 2005).

Table 9-1: CATS as a 'pedagogically relevant corpus': Distinguishing features

Television as a data source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • popular medium • familiar to students • data easily accessible for corpus compilation (as first draft)
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • many everyday interactions in private, occupational, and educational contexts combined with rather extraordinary, entertaining elements • more relevant to students than contents of natural corpora • more coherent and homogeneous than contents of natural corpora (e.g. steady cast, complete storylines, consecutive episodes) → 'whole-corpus reading' conceivable, facilitation of authentication • exploration for other than linguistic purposes possible (content-based work)
Size	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 160,122 words • manageable in pedagogical settings • large enough for lexico-grammatical and pragmatic analyses
Transcription and annotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • uniform transcription • simple annotation • inclusion of much contextual information (e.g. character actions, scene descriptions)
Data format	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • collection of text files • access to audiovisual material <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ provides further linguistic information (e.g. intonation) ○ provides further contextual information (e.g. character actions, settings) ○ facilitates authentication of transcribed dialogues ○ enables combination with the training of other skills (listening comprehension, viewing comprehension, media analysis)
Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sufficient degree of spokenness; similar enough to natural language • more polished language (e.g. fewer hesitation phenomena) → more 'digestible' for language learners • more frequent use of polite formulae and standard speech acts • restricted use of taboo language (with a few exceptions)

I have argued that fictional television dialogue can be attractive alternative language input for EFL learners, characterized by a style which, in terms of naturalness, appears to be between the didacticised language of textbook dialogues and the overwhelming 'messiness' (Meunier 2002) of genuine language data. Further attraction lies in the fact that this type of language has not been specifically designed for language learning purposes, but for an audience of native speakers. This is where FSTVL derives a different kind of 'authenticity,' just like poems or narrative literature, which are usually considered 'authentic products' of the foreign culture.

Corpora such as CATS could therefore be a welcome addition to the pool of materials and tools that a teacher has at his/her disposal for teaching spoken English. Moreover, a corpus of FSTVL can offer contents and audiovisual data which can be exploited in manifold ways in the EFL classroom and thus they make the corpus easier to integrate into the regular curriculum.

Some concrete ways of integrating CATS into EFL teaching have been proposed in Ch. 8, in which I reported on the design and implementation of a unit taught with CATS. I have

shown how CATS can be applied for a variety of purposes and I have presented a number of teaching materials and activities which can be used to foster awareness of the differences between spoken and written English and to familiarize students with a large range of features which may help improve their spoken skills. In addition, I have designed and tested materials which exemplify how CATS and the corresponding audiovisual material can be combined and used for creating speaking and writing prompts as well as stimuli for content-based discussion.

9.2 Desiderata and prospects for further research

The results of the present research project have certainly provided a number of valuable new insights about FSTVL as well as its use and potential for English language teaching, but I can only claim to have contributed one small part to this complex, interdisciplinary field. Many things are left to be done, a few of which will be pointed out again in the following.

9.2.1 Corpus design

The first suggestions for future research concern the design of the corpus created for the present study. The range of application of CATS in this study was twofold: The corpus was created as a research tool, but also as a potential teaching tool. These two purposes have made different demands on the corpus which have not been easy to reconcile in every respect, such as the need to be coherent and homogeneous for pedagogical purposes, but also allow some generalizable conclusions regarding FSTVL. This first version of CATS could be considered as a blueprint, on the basis of which further versions could be designed.

Owing to the limited resources and the time constraints of this project, CATS in its current version is a relatively small corpus with 160,122 words. While this is certainly a very appropriate size for use in classroom settings, for linguistic analyses, a larger database would be desirable. It would be useful to enlarge the corpus by adding further consecutive episodes of the same four series, but also by expanding the range of different drama series. This would ensure that the idiosyncrasies of individual TV shows do not skew the overall results of the linguistic analysis (such as was the case for e.g. repeats in *Monk*) and it would put the empirical findings on an even more solid footing. However, a larger corpus may at some point become impractical for language teaching purposes.

In order to increase the usability and the language-pedagogical potential of CATS, a few enhancements in terms of its annotation and data format would be desirable. For instance, it

would be useful to add semantic and pragmatic annotation, so that e.g. certain topics or certain speech acts which are pedagogically relevant can be searched more easily. Here, it may be advisable to design two different versions of CATS; one version with minimal annotation, which is particularly apt for non-expert corpus users; and one version with more elaborate and sophisticated annotation, which is geared towards the needs and interests of more experienced researchers and material designers. Furthermore, CATS would be greatly enhanced if the audiovisual material on which the transcriptions are based were included in the 'corpus package' and directly linked with the corpus files. Such an alignment of transcripts and television material would be a most welcome addition for researchers and the participants in a language classroom alike, but it also raises some issues in terms of copyright.

Finally, further 'pedagogical enrichment' (Braun 2005: 55f.) in the form of supplementary materials (e.g. ready-made worksheets, further background information, comments on/explanations of specific expressions, index of thematically stimulating/didactically relevant topics) would greatly improve the usability of a corpus such as CATS if it is to be used for teaching and learning.

9.2.2 Corpus analysis

The present study included only ten indicators of spoken style in order to assess how similar CATS is to NOC. Future studies could expand the range of features to be analyzed and a) look at these more exhaustively (e.g. analyze more forms of repeats, additional verbs with *that*-deletion, additional forms of contractions, more types of private verbs) and b) add further indicators of spoken style. These could be further hesitation phenomena (e.g. incomplete utterances), further features with large positive weights on Biber's (1988) critical Dimension 1 (e.g. emphatics), and further features which are particularly interesting in the context of FSTVL (e.g. vagueness markers such as hedges and coordination tags, ellipsis).

In the analyses presented in this study, I have tried to provide tentative functional explanations for the individual results. A number of these would need additional follow-up study. In other words, future studies should dig deeper and include more qualitative analyses too, since such analyses would be able to offer a more comprehensive picture of the nature of FSTVL and the kind and degree of differences from NOC. This could include a consideration of the variable functions of the investigated variables (e.g. external and internal references of demonstrative pronouns). Also, it would be worthwhile to look more closely at the individual speakers using certain features. For example, in the case of the series *Monk*, higher

frequencies of hesitation phenomena may be particularly tied to particular characters in the show, viz. the protagonist Adrian Monk, but also his psychiatrist, Dr. Kroger. A closer analysis would allow us to arrive at a better assessment of the extent to which individual speaker styles affect the overall results.

Ideally, future analyses investigating the similarity of FSTVL to NOC can also make use of even richer sources of readily available reference data. Along the same lines, it is hoped that in the near future, additional large and freely accessible corpora of spoken American English will become available so that corpus-based analyses of spoken American English can proliferate.

Once the picture of FSTVL is more complete, it will not only be possible to exploit it more extensively for language-pedagogical purposes, but there will also be a more solid basis or justification, as it were, to use it as a surrogate for naturally occurring speech in studies (in all areas of linguistics) which are affected by a lack of accessible natural data.

9.2.3 CATS in action and classroom action research

The teaching unit presented in this study was designed to assess the feasibility of integrating CATS into EFL teaching. It aimed at pioneering the range of possible applications and at uncovering some strengths and weaknesses of the proposed teaching tool. In order to get a more comprehensive picture, many more materials and activities should be tried and tested in real classroom settings. Different classes should be considered (ranging from 10th to 13th grade) in different stages of the school year, and different focus topics and different subcorpora of CATS or the complete corpus should be explored as well, always customized to the respective setting. Such research should also include computer-based DDL activities, i.e. the core DDL activities, in order to find out whether the design features of CATS can cater to the students' (and teachers') needs.

However, no matter whether the activities are computer-based or paper-based, an important prerequisite is appropriate technical equipment in language classrooms.¹⁴⁶ If a corpus such as CATS is to be applied as a veritable pedagogically relevant corpus, it should preferably be used in combination with the corresponding audiovisual data, so that spoken

¹⁴⁶ It has frequently been noted that Germany's secondary school classrooms are still lagging behind other European countries when it comes to their IT equipment, even if great progress has been made in the last ten years. While most schools have computer labs, the availability of PCs in regular classrooms is still rather rare (e.g. Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2006; Bundesverband Informationswirtschaft 2007; Deutscher Bundestag/Enquete-Kommission "Internet und Digitale Gesellschaft" 2013; Initiative D21 2011; Sekretariat der Kultusministerkonferenz 2008).

language can be experienced in its original form, not only as the transcribed version. This would be greatly facilitated by the presence of permanently installed computers, projectors, and speakers. Computer-based DDL activities furthermore require easy access to computer labs, unless they are exclusively done as homework.

Last but not least, it would be worthwhile to systematically evaluate the efficiency of CATS as a teaching tool and its reception among students and teachers. This would require more rigorous research methods than the ones applied in the presented feasibility study, such as video recordings of the lessons, detailed questionnaires, structured focus interviews with the participants, etc. It is assumed that work with CATS is more motivating to students than work with regular spoken corpora, but this, of course, will need empirical proof, too.

9.2.4 Corpus-linguistic study of film and TV and its potential for foreign language teaching

It should be pointed out again that CATS should primarily be seen as a blueprint of a pedagogically relevant FSTVL corpus. It is hoped that similar projects follow suit so that the potential of FSTVL will be more fully exploited for foreign language teaching. Teachers of EFL are often skeptical about the uses of film and television for their teaching – not only in terms of language, but also in terms of content. The time-consuming task of choosing appropriate film and television material is therefore a hurdle to integrating it into their regular teaching practice. Irrespective of whether a teacher wants to use DDL activities in his/her classes or discuss language at all, corpus-linguistic methods and procedures such as the ones applied in the present study have a lot to offer to a teacher. What has been done with a selection of four series in this study could be done on a much larger scale: Corpus-linguistic methodology could be used to systematically assess a large range of film and television programs according to their linguistic authenticity, linguistic appropriateness, and key themes/contents. Such an assessment (in the sense of a 'profiling' or rating, such as the one performed in 7.5) would provide teachers with valuable clues to simplify the choice of appropriate film and TV material and offer helpful starting points and ideas for language- and content-based work.

9.3 **Concluding remarks**

As announced by the title of the present study – "Describing and Teaching Spoken English: An Educational-linguistic Study of Scripted Speech," I consider the approach taken in the

present study as fundamentally educational-linguistic, as defined by e.g. Spolsky (1978), Hornberger (2001), and Hult (2008) (see also Ch. 1.1.3).

In his seminal 1978 monograph, Bernard Spolsky maintains that one merit of educational-linguistic studies is that they "start with a specific problem and then look to linguistics and other relevant disciplines for their contribution to its solution" (Spolsky 1978: 2). This problem-oriented nature and the 'joining of forces' of different disciplines are also reflected in the present study. I took advantage of linguistic and language-pedagogical methods and ideas in order to tackle a problem rooted in education, viz. the lack of spoken competence of advanced German EFL learners and the scarcity of appropriate natural spoken models and suitable materials for teaching spoken English. The new linguistic FSTVL corpus which was compiled for this study was first assessed on a theoretical level and then analyzed by corpus-linguistic means regarding its linguistic authenticity and appropriateness. Subsequently, the corpus was put into practice in the context of a classroom action research project, which served as a 'reality check,' as it were, complemented the picture, and provided valuable feedback and stimuli for further research. The integration of theory and practice, which is highly characteristic of educational-linguistic approaches (cf. e.g. Hornberger 2001: 5; Hult 2008: 18), ensured that a more holistic assessment of the corpus's suitability for learning and teaching spoken English could be achieved. Certainly, this assessment is by no means complete yet, and much more research in this exciting area is left to be done.

In 2010, Spolsky asserted that

educational linguistics is a viable field, with a clear way of showing the relevance of linguistics and its many branches to education. Relevance rather than direct application, it has long been shown that educational linguistics is a problem-directed field, and not the enthusiastic search for areas to apply linguistic theories [...]. (Spolsky 2010: 24)

It is my sincere hope that the present educational-linguistic study has contributed a small part to the solution of the problem, and that linguists, TEFL researchers, as well as practicing EFL teachers can indeed find some relevance in this study for their work and, most importantly, for language education.

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Appendix

A1: Descriptions of TV series and lists of episodes included in CATS

Gilmore Girls: Description of TV series

(No detailed description available on official homepages:

<<http://thewb.warnerbros.com/shows/gilmore-girls>> [only accessible from within the US], last checked: 16/09/2012; <<http://www2.warnerbros.com/gilmoregirls/>>, last checked: 15/01/2013)

"Set in a storybook Connecticut town (Stars Hollows) populated with an eclectic mix of everyday folks and lovable lunatics, *GILMORE GIRLS* is a humorous multigenerational series about friendship, family and the ties that bind. [...] [T]he series revolves around thirtysomething Lorelai Gilmore and her college-age daughter, and best friend in the world, Rory. Lorelai has made her share of mistakes in life, but she has been doing her best to see that Rory doesn't follow in her footsteps. That may be easier said than done, considering that the two share the same interests, the same intellect, the same coffee addiction and the same eyes.

From the beginning, this unique mother-daughter team has been growing up together. Lorelai was just Rory's age when she became pregnant and made the tough decision to raise her baby alone. This defiant move, along with Lorelai's fiercely independent nature, caused a rift between her and her extremely proper, patrician, old-money parents, Emily and Richard. However, Lorelai was forced to reconcile with them when she found herself in desperate need of money for Rory's tuition.

Continuing to add to the unmistakable style of Stars Hollows is a colorful roster of town characters, including Lorelai's best friend and business partner Sookie St. James, Miss Patty, the local dance teacher and social commentator, Michel Gerard, the haughty concierge of the Dragon Fly Inn, and Kirk, the town's jack-of-all trades and master of none. Rory's two best friends are her intense classmate Paris Geller and childhood pal Lane Kim [...]"

(quoted in Bednarek 2008: 97, who adopted this text from

<<http://www.cwtv.com/shows/gilmore-girls/about>> [link no longer exists])

Gilmore Girls, Season 4 (The WB, 2003-2004): Episodes used in CATS (1-7 out of 22)

"Boola boola! Rory starts her first year at Yale. Moola moola! Lorelai finally opens the Dragonfly Inn, although it takes her last dime (and a loan from Luke). The Gilmore girls return for another scintillating, snappy-patter year of... *Gilmore Girls*. Welcome, Gilmore groupies, to the fourth season of the series acclaimed for its agile balance of life and laughter. Oh yes, and love. Lorelai has a romantic fling with her father's new, younger partner, but ends the year with the guy every fan has known was right for her all along. For Rory, Cupid seems to be on sabbatical – then Dean *and* Jess re-enter her life. Sookie gets a Davey, Lane gets a life, Kirk gets a girlfriend(!) and you get a 22-episode vacation in Stars Hollow, plus DVD Extras and a mint on the pillow." (*Gilmore Girls* Season 4, official US American DVD cover text)

1. "Ballrooms and Biscotti"

Directed by: Amy Sherman-Palladino

Written by: Amy Sherman-Palladino

2. "The Lorelais' First Day at Yale"

Directed by: Chris Long

Written by: Daniel Palladino

3. "The Hobbit, the Sofa and Digger Stiles"

Directed by: Matthew Diamond

Written by: Amy Sherman-Palladino

4. "Chicken or Beef?"

Directed by: Chris Long

Written by: Jane Espenson

5. "The Fundamental Things Apply"

Directed by: Neema Barnette

Written by: John Stephens

6. "An Affair to Remember"

Directed by: Matthew Diamond

Written by: Amy Sherman-Palladino

7. "The Festival of Living Art"

Directed by: Chris Long

Written by: Daniel Palladino

Monk: Description of TV series

"OBSESSIVE. COMPULSIVE. DETECTIVE.

Adrian Monk (Tony Shalhoub) was once a rising star with the San Francisco Police Department, legendary for using unconventional means to solve the department's most baffling cases. But after the tragic (and still unsolved) murder of his wife Trudy, Monk developed an extreme case of obsessive-compulsive disorder. Now consumed by peculiar obsessions and wracked with hundreds of phobias (including but certainly not limited to germs, heights, and even milk), Monk has lost his badge and struggles with even the simplest everyday tasks.

Despite his many quirks, Monk is fortunate to have some supportive friends. With the help of his gifted therapist Dr. Kroger (Stanley Kamel), Monk has made some gradual progress in controlling his condition. Monk's first personal assistant, Sharona Fleming (Bitty Schram), was able to help him pick up the pieces of his life and get back to doing what he does best: solving crimes. Though Monk was devastated when she moved away, he soon found hope in the form of a spunky new assistant, Natalie Teeger (Traylor Howard), whose unique brand of tough love proved to be just what Monk needed. In Natalie, Monk has found more than just an assistant; she's a faithful friend, a savvy businesswoman, and, it turns out, a pretty good assistant detective to boot. Natalie and her teenage daughter Julie (Emmy Clarke) have welcomed Monk into their family. And though Natalie and Monk have grown close, she's never afraid to give her boss a loving kick in the pants when he needs it.

Now working as a private consultant, Monk continues to investigate cases in the most unconventional ways. Although Monk is no longer a member of the police force, his former boss Captain Leland Stottlemeyer (Ted Levine) still often calls upon him to provide unique insights into cases that have the cops stumped. Stottlemeyer himself is a highly decorated detective, but he knows he will never be as good as the illustrious Monk... and it drives him crazy. Still, he's a loyal friend to Monk, as is Lieutenant Randall Disher (Jason Gray-Stanford) the Captain's self-appointed go-to guy, a cop with enough eagerness to almost make up for his lack of brilliance as a detective.

Monk is a detective afraid of the dark, a gumshoe afraid of gum. He has no problem cracking a case - as long as it doesn't involve heights or germs, and is in close proximity to his apartment. Other than solving his wife's murder, Monk would like nothing more than to gain back his position on the San Francisco police force, but can he pull himself together and get back to solving crimes full time?"

(<<http://www.usanetwork.com/series/monk/theshow/overview/index.html>>; last checked: 11/09/2012)

Monk, Season 1 (USA Network, 2002): Episodes used in CATS (1-7 out of 12)

1. "Mr. Monk and the Candidate (Part I and II)"

(Episode 1 was originally broadcast as two separate episodes, but as one episode on the DVD)

Directed by: Dean Parisot

Written by: Andy Breckman

2. "Mr. Monk and the Psychic"

Directed by: Kevin Inch

Written by: John Romano

3. "Mr. Monk Meets Dale the Whale"

Directed by: Rob Thompson

Written by: Andy Breckman

4. "Mr. Monk Goes to the Carnival"

Directed by: Randall Zisk

Written by: Siobhan Byrne

5. "Mr. Monk goes to the Asylum"

Directed by: Nick Marck

Written by: David Breckman, Tom Scharpling

6. "Mr. Monk and the Billionaire Mugger"

Directed by: Stephen Cragg

Written by: Timothy J. Lea

7. "Mr. Monk and the Other Woman"

Directed by: Adam Arkin

Written by: David M. Stern

Six Feet Under: Description of TV series

(No detailed description available on official homepage: <<http://www.hbo.com/six-feet-under/>>; last checked: 15/01/2013)

"From Alan Ball, the Academy Award winning writer of *American Beauty* comes this darkly comic look at life and death from the perspective of the Fisher's, a dysfunctional family who run an independent funeral home in California.

When a bus kills Nathaniel Fisher, owner of Fisher & Son Funeral Home in Los Angeles, the tragedy casts a pall on the homecoming of his prodigal son Nate. Together with his mother Ruth, brother David and sister Claire, they must learn to deal with a death of their own, while figuring out how to go ahead with the business of the living. *Six Feet Under* is a darkly comic look at a grieving American family...that just happens to be in the grief management business." (*Six Feet Under* Season 1, official US American DVD cover text)

"[...] The Fishers are your typical dysfunctional family. Ruth (Frances Conroy) is the stern matriarch who has trouble expressing emotion and snaps at the slightest problem. Daughter Claire (Lauren Ambrose) is an underachiever who cultivates a moody, mysterious loner image in high school (she's indulging in illegal substances too). Brother David (Michael C. Hall) works in the family business, and is uptight beyond belief (he's indulging in a secret homosexual relationship too). Elder brother Nate (Peter Krause) is the black sheep, who, eschewing responsibility, fled to Seattle but got lured back. And Dad (Richard Jenkins) watches it all bemusedly. Did we mention Dad's dead? Oh, and that the Fisher family business is a funeral home? It might sound off-putting, but coming from the mind of Alan Ball, the man who strip-mined suburban life to find the mordant wit underneath in *American Beauty*, *Six Feet Under* is a trenchant, stylish spin on standard family dysfunction.[...]" (Mark Englehart, Amazon editorial reviewer of the "*Six Feet Under* Complete Series 2001-2005" box set, <http://www.amazon.com/Six-Feet-Under-Complete-Series/dp/B002N57KGM/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1358866117&sr=8-1&keywords=six+feet+under+complete>; last checked 22/01/2013)

Six Feet Under, Season 1 (HBO, 2001): Episodes used in CATS (1-7 out of 13)

1. "Pilot"

Directed by: Alan Ball

Written by: Alan Ball

2. "The Will"

Directed by: Miguel Arteta

Written by: Christian Williams

3. "The Foot"

Directed by: John Patterson

Written by: Bruce Eric Kaplan

4. "Familia"

Directed by: Lisa Cholodenko

Written by: Lawrence Andries

5. "An Open Book"

Directed by: Kathy Bates

Written by: Alan Ball

6. "The Room"

Directed by: Rodrigo Garcia

Written by: Christian Taylor

7. "Brotherhood"

Directed by: Jim McBride

Written by: Christian Williams

Veronica Mars: Description of TV series

"In the wealthy, seaside community of Neptune, the rich and powerful make the rules, they own the town and the high school, and desperately try to keep their dirty little secrets just that...secret. Unfortunately for them, there's Veronica Mars, a smart, fearless 17-year-old apprentice private investigator dedicated to solving the town's toughest mysteries.

Veronica (Kristen Bell) actually used to be one of the popular girls, walking the halls of Neptune High with the rest of the "beautiful people." But it all came crumbling down around her after her best friend Lilly was murdered and her then-Sheriff father Keith Mars (Enrico Colantoni) was removed from office for naming Lilly's billionaire father, Jake Kane, as the lead suspect. After Jake was exonerated, the scandal cost Keith his job, his home and wife, and Veronica was ostracized by her popular friends, including her boyfriend Duncan Kane (Teddy Dunn), Lilly's brother.

During the day, Veronica must negotiate high school like any average teenage girl. Along with fellow outcast, sophomore Wallace Fennel (Percy Daggs III), she bravely maneuvers her classes, wary of former in-crowd friends, like Duncan and his best friend Logan Echolls (Jason Dohring), and edgy outsiders, like Weevil (Francis Capra) and his P.C.H. Bike Club boys.

At night, Veronica helps with her father's struggling, new private investigator business, sneaking through back alleys and scoping out no-tell motels with a telescopic-lens camera and her math book in an attempt to uncover the California beach town's darkest secrets.

Pushed to the edge of this multicultural, venomous little Peyton Place, Veronica Mars relentlessly continues to search for evidence that will clear her father's name and get her back into the "in-crowd," but what she finds may tear the town of Neptune apart at the seams." (<http://www.cbs.com/primetime/veronica_mars/about.shtml>; last checked: 11/09/2012)

*Veronica Mars, Season 1 (UPN, 2004-2005): Episodes used in CATS (1-7 out of 22)***1. "Pilot"**

Directed by: Mark Piznarski

Written by: Rob Thomas

2. "Credit Where Credit's Due"

Directed by: Mark Piznarski

Written by: Rob Thomas

3. "Meet John Smith"

Directed by: Harry Winer

Written by: Jed Seidel

4. "The Wrath of Con"

Directed by: Michael Fields

Written by: Diane Ruggiero

5. "You Think You Know Somebody"

Directed by: Nick Gomez

Written by: Dayna Lynne North

6. "Return of the Kayne"

Directed by: Sarah Pia Anderson

Written by: Rob Thomas (story); Phil Klemmer (teleplay)

7. "The Girl Next Door"

Directed by: Nick Marck

Written by: Jed Seidel (story); Jed Seidel & Diane Ruggiero (teleplay)

A2: Verbs in CLAWS C7 tagset

VB0	<i>be</i> , base form (finite i.e. imperative, subjunctive)
VBDR	<i>were</i>
VBDZ	<i>was</i>
VBG	<i>being</i>
VBI	<i>be</i> , infinitive (<i>To be or not... It will be ..</i>)
VBM	<i>am</i>
VBN	<i>been</i>
VBR	<i>are</i>
VBZ	<i>is</i>
VD0	<i>do</i> , base form (finite)
VDD	<i>did</i>
VDG	<i>doing</i>
VDI	<i>do</i> , infinitive (<i>I may do... To do...</i>)
VDN	<i>done</i>
VDZ	<i>does</i>
VH0	<i>have</i> , base form (finite)
VHD	<i>had</i> (past tense)
VHG	<i>having</i>
VHI	<i>have</i> , infinitive
VHN	<i>had</i> (past participle)
VHZ	<i>has</i>
VM	modal auxiliary (<i>can, will, would</i> , etc.)
VMK	modal catenative (<i>ought, used</i>)
VV0	base form of lexical verb (e.g. <i>give, work</i>)
VVD	past tense of lexical verb (e.g. <i>gave, worked</i>)
VVG	<i>-ing</i> participle of lexical verb (e.g. <i>giving, working</i>)
VVGK	<i>-ing</i> participle catenative (<i>going</i> in <i>be going to</i>)
VVI	infinitive (e.g. <i>to give... It will work...</i>)
VVN	past participle of lexical verb (e.g. <i>given, worked</i>)
VVNK	past participle catenative (e.g. <i>bound</i> in <i>be bound to</i>)
VVZ	<i>-s</i> form of lexical verb (e.g. <i>gives, works</i>)

"NOTE: 'DITTO TAGS'

Any of the tags listed above may in theory be modified by the addition of a pair of numbers to it: eg. **DD21**, **DD22** This signifies that the tag occurs as part of a sequence of similar tags, representing a sequence of words which for grammatical purposes are treated as a single unit. For example the expression *in terms of* is treated as a single preposition, receiving the tags:

in_II31 terms_II32 of_II33

The first of the two digits indicates the number of words/tags in the sequence, and the second digit the position of each word within that sequence. [...]"

(<<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws7tags.html>>; last checked: 10/11/2012; italics added, S.D.)

A3: Analysis (I): Additional tables

Note that the normalized frequencies provided by Biber et al. (1999), i.e. based on the corpora with the codes a, b, c, and d, are approximations.

- Their frequency information "less than 12 pmw" was counted as 6 pmw (i.e. half) in the present study [in the analysis of repeats].
- Their frequency information "less than 25 pmw" was counted as 13 pmw (i.e. half of it, rounded) in the present study [in the analysis of second person pronouns].
- Raw frequencies have been re-calculated on the basis of the respective corpus size.

Table A-1: Filled pauses *uh* and *uhm* in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^e

		n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv.^e (4,884,960 words)	<i>uh</i>	25,620	5,245			
	<i>uhm</i>	17,279	3,537			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	<i>uh</i>	608	3,797	68.80	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
	<i>uhm</i>	193	1,205	323.33	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	<i>uh</i>	165	3,067	56.76	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
	<i>uhm</i>	61	1,134	118.87	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	<i>uh</i>	180	4,721	2.05	> 0.05	n.s.
	<i>uhm</i>	59	1,548	53.83	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	<i>uh</i>	177	4,812	1.34	> 0.05	n.s.
	<i>uhm</i>	31	843	108.74	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	<i>uh</i>	86	2,738	45.41	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
	<i>uhm</i>	42	1,337	56.20	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

Table A-2: Repeats of *I*, *the*, *and*, *it*, and *you* (incl. doubles, triples, and quadruples) in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^a

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	4,990	1,217			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	218	1,361	2.54	> 0.5	n.s.
GG (53,806 words)	40	743	11.41	<0.001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	112	2,938	65.34	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	37	1,006	1.42	> 0.5	n.s.
VM (31,406 words)	29	923	2.41	> 0.5	n.s.

Table A-3: *That*-deletion with *think* and *say* in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	<i>that</i> - deletion (n)	TOTAL <i>that</i> - clauses (n)	%	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv. ^c (3,929,500 words)	11,877	12,771	93.0%			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	646	694	93.1%	0.00	<0.05	n.s.
GG (53,806 words)	193	205	94.1%	0.03	<0.05	n.s.
Monk (38,124 words)	155	168	92.3%	0.01	<0.05	n.s.
SFU (36,786 words)	156	163	95.7%	0.13	<0.05	n.s.
VM (31,406 words)	142	158	89.9%	0.16	<0.05	n.s.

Note that the LL test was performed with the frequencies of *that*-deletion vs. the possible slots for deletion (i.e. all *that*-clauses).

Table A-4: 'Subject pronoun + verb' contractions ('*m*', '*re*', '*'s* [*be*]; '*ve*', '*'s* [*have*], '*d* [*have*]; '*ll*', '*d* [*would*]) in CATS subcorpora compared to natural AmE conversation^a

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv. ^a (4,100,000 words)	127,100	31,000			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	5,207	32,519	11.27	<0.001	(+) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	1,780	33,082	7.26	<0.01	(+) ^{**}
Monk (38,124 words)	1,221	32,027	1.26	>0.05	n.s.
SFU (36,786 words)	1,210	32,893	4.13	<0.05	(+) [*]
VM (31,406 words)	996	31,714	0.52	>0.05	n.s.

Table A-5: All forms of *do + it* (pro-verb *do*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv. ^c (3,929,500 words)	3,537	900			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	114	712	6.54	<0.05	(-) [*]
GG (53,806 words)	27	502	11.18	<0.001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	44	1,154	2.48	>0.05	n.s.
SFU (36,786 words)	24	652	2.75	>0.05	n.s.
VM (31,406 words)	19	605	3.41	>0.05	n.s.

Table A-6: Demonstrative pronouns (*this, that, these, those*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv. ^d (3,400,000 words)	45,900	13,500			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	2,303	14,383	8.63	<0.01	(+)**
GG (53,806 words)	721	13,400	0.04	>0.05	n.s.
Monk (38,124 words)	612	16,053	17.14	<0.001	(+)***
SFU (36,786 words)	538	14,625	3.32	>0.05	n.s.
VM (31,406 words)	432	13,755	0.15	>0.05	n.s.

Table A-7: Second person pronouns (*you, your, yours, yourself, yourselves*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv. ^d (3,400,000 words)	111,734	32,863			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	8,152	50,911	1,286.22	<0.0001	(+)***
GG (53,806 words)	2,545	47,300	294.71	<0.0001	(+)***
Monk (38,124 words)	1,964	51,516	339.09	<0.0001	(+)***
SFU (36,786 words)	1,943	52,819	371.02	<0.0001	(+)***
VM (31,406 words)	1,700	54,130	356.98	<0.0001	(+)***

Table A-8: Analytic negation (*not, *n't*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^d

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv. ^d (3,400,000 words)	66,300	19,500			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	3,183	19,879	1.11	<0.05	n.s.
GG (53,806 words)	1,066	19,812	0.26	<0.05	n.s.
Monk (38,124 words)	796	20,879	3.59	<0.05	n.s.
SFU (36,786 words)	753	20,470	1.73	<0.05	n.s.
VM (31,406 words)	568	18,086	3.27	<0.05	n.s.

Table A-9: Private verbs (all forms of *know*, *think*, *see*, *want*, *mean*) in CATS subcorpora compared to naturally occurring conversation^c

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
Natural conv. ^c (3,929,500 words)	78,983	20,100			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	3,551	22,177	31.30	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	1,111	20,648	0.79	>0.05	n.s.
Monk (38,124 words)	880	23,083	15.92	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	886	24,085	27.06	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	674	21,461	2.79	>0.05	n.s.

A4: Analysis (II): Additional tables

Table A-10: Mild expletives in CATS subcorpora

	GG 53,806 words		Monk 38,124 words		SFU 36,786 words		VM 31,406 words	
	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw
<i>oh(,) God!</i>	2	37	10	262	10	272	4	127
<i>oh(,) my God</i>	26	483	35	918	14	381	14	446
<i>oh(,) my gosh</i>	1	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>gosh [total]</i>	3	56	0	0	1	27	0	0
<i>oh(,) man</i>	3	56	1	26	6	163	4	127
<i>oh(,) boy</i>	5	93	3	79	0	0	1	32
<i>what the hell('s)...</i>	4	74	8	210	6	163	14	446
<i>geez, jeez</i>	4	74	2	52	1	27	3	96
TOTAL	48	892	59	1,548	38	1,033	40	1,274

Table A-11: Polite speech act formulae (as inserts) in CATS subcorpora

	GG 53,806 words		Monk 38,124 words		SFU 36,786 words		VM 31,406 words	
	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw
<i>thank you</i>	47	874	39	1,023	29	788	19	605
<i>thank you very much</i>	0	0	7	184	1	27	1	32
<i>thanks</i>	45	836	27	708	25	680	31	987
<i>sorry</i>	28	520	15	393	12	326	12	382
<i>excuse me</i>	25	465	42	1,102	13	353	10	318
<i>please</i>	43	799	41	1,075	25	680	28	892
TOTAL	188	3,494	171	4,485	105	2,854	101	3,216

Table A-12: Greetings and farewells (as inserts) in CATS subcorpora

	GG 53,806 words		Monk 38,124 words		SFU 36,786 words		VM 31,406 words	
	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw
<i>hi</i>	51	948	18	472	23	625	36	1,146
<i>hello</i>	36	669	32	839	29	788	16	509
<i>hey</i>	168	3,122	88	2,308	75	2,039	121	3,853
<i>bye</i>	14	260	2	52	8	217	3	96
<i>bye(-)bye</i>	4	74	0	0	2	54	1	32
TOTAL	273	5,074	140	3,672	137	3,724	177	5,636

Table A-13: Discourse marker *well* in CATS subcorpora compared to other corpora of spoken English (significance tests are based on AmE conv.^a)

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	24,600	6,000			
BrE conv.^c (3,929,500 words)	21,612	5,500			
CANCODE ped. subcorpus^h (460,055 words)	1,637	3,558			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	735	4,590	55.76	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	322	5,984	0.00	>0.05	n.s.
Monk (38,124 words)	137	3,594	42.69	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	175	4,757	10.12	<0.01	(-) ^{**}
VM (31,406 words)	101	3,216	48.59	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

Table A-14: Discourse marker *you know* in CATS subcorpora compared to other corpora of spoken English (significance tests are based on AmE conv.^a)

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	18,450	4,500			
BrE conv.^c (3,929,500 words)	7,859	2,000			
CANCODE ped. subcorpus^h (460,055 words)	1,659	3,606			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	250	1,561	400.18	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	80	1,487	145.66	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	61	1,600	94.30	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	64	1,740	80.88	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	45	1,433	89.16	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

Table A-15: Discourse marker *I mean* in CATS subcorpora compared to other corpora of spoken English (significance tests are based on AmE conv.^a)

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv.^a (4,100,000 words)	8,200	2,000			
BrE conv.^c (3,929,500 words)	5,894	1,500			
CANCODE ped. subcorpus^h (460,055 words)	922	2,004			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	141	881	123.36	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	53	985	33.79	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	35	918	27.79	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	22	598	49.70	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	31	987	19.72	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

Table A-16: Discourse markers *well*, *you know*, and *I mean* in CATS compared to other corpora of spoken English^{a,c,h}

	CATS 160,122 words		AmE conv. ^a 4,100,000 words		BrE conv. ^c 3,929,500 words		CANCODE ped. sub. ^h 460,055 words	
	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw	n	pmw
<i>well</i>	735	4,590	24,600	6,000	21,612	5,500	1,637	3,558
<i>you know</i>	250	1,561	18,450	4,500	7,859	2,000	1,659	3,606
<i>I mean</i>	141	881	8,200	2,000	5,894	1,500	922	2,004
TOTAL	1,126	7,032	51,250	12,500	35,365	9,000	4,218	9,168

A5: Applications: Materials

Note that the materials presented here are not displayed in their original formatting. However, the contents of the materials are reproduced as they were used in the unit (or as excerpts from them, as indicated).

Lesson 2

Table A-17: Worksheet 2 ("Discussion topics")

Choose **one** of the topics below (*the more you disagree, the better*). Have an informal conversation **in German** in which you try to convince the other person of your opinion.

1. You may receive a letter from school because of your bad grades or behavior. Would you **tell your parents in advance or hope and wait**?
2. You have been dating somebody for some months and get the chance to **meet his/her parents**. Are you **curious about them or do you try to avoid** the meeting?
3. You are about to finish high school and start college or job training. Is it better to stay in **Karlsruhe** or move to **a new city**?
4. You once did something that would worry your friend/partner and upset the relationship. Is it okay to **keep the secret or should you always be completely honest**?

Lesson 3

Table A-18: Three awkward situations (presented as ppt-slides)

3 situations

1. You are alone in the sauna of a spa hotel in the Black Forest, naked, sweating on your towel. Suddenly the door opens and your German teacher enters.
2. It is 6 a.m. You are walking through the ICE train. The train is packed. When you get to the window seat you have reserved, you find a big man in it, sleeping and snoring. An American newspaper is covering his head. All the other seats around you are already taken.
3. You are at your friend's place for the first time. You're in the living room, looking at family pictures. When you say "Oh my God, your mom looks just like Angela Merkel, only way fatter!" and turn around to your friend, you find his mother in the doorway, staring right at you.

Table A-19: Written assignment (graded)

Option 1

"The German system of dubbed television series and movies should be abolished in favor of original versions with subtitles (as e.g. in Scandinavia)." Discuss this statement in a text of about 250 words.

OR:

Option 2

Read the transcripts of the *Six Feet Under* dialogues again and pay close attention to the kind of expressions the characters use in the different parts of the conversations, e.g.:

- Greeting
- Introducing oneself/others
- Asking about well-being
- Talking about light topics
- Signaling that the end of the conversation is near
- Saying goodbye.

Then write a conversation (= dialogue) in English (200 words). Make sure you include the different parts of a

typical conversation. Also try to make your speakers sound as natural as possible by using the language features that are typical of spontaneous conversation. You may choose between the following topics:

Topic 1:

You're in town shopping, waiting in line at H&M. Suddenly you see your best friend kissing a girl/guy who you haven't even heard of. Write a "script" for the conversation that follows.

Topic 2:

Your firm has sent you to London to present a new product. Before the presentation, there is a reception for all the presenters (with drinks and snacks). You don't know anybody. Invent a dialogue between you and an employee of the London firm, who may be one of your business partners.

Topic 3:

Topic of your choice (Make up a new situation).

Lesson 4

Table A-20: Blog comments and article about small talk (presented as ppt-slides)

Blog comment 1:

"Germans are rude, period. They are self serving, superficial and have no idea what is going on around them. clueless little trolls who whine and bitch, [...]"

Source: <http://www.true-germany.com/common-prejudices/germans-are-rude-and-%E2%80%9Eoerberlehrerhaft%E2%80%9C> (May 10, 2007; blog comment by *the man*)

Blog comment 2:

"I think British people generally view Germans as abrupt and rude. We like to soften our requests so that they do not appear as commands. I think we tend to be abrupt only when we are really, really angry. [...]"

Source: <http://uk.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20110526051608AAwahcp> (May 24, 2011; blog comment by *Mill*)

Blog comment 3:

"Germans are impolite by American/English standards though. It's built into the language."

Source: <http://www.toytowngermany.com/lofi/index.php/t50873-750.html> (Oct 20, 2007; blog comment by *HerrDinksbumps*)

Excerpt from an article about Prof. House's research on small talk

"Professor Juliane House, of the University of Hamburg, has studied groups of people interacting in controlled situations, watching with academic rigour how they behave as human guinea-pigs. She found (or verified) that Germans really don't do small talk, those little phrases so familiar to the British about the weather or a person's general well-being, but which she describes as 'empty verbiage'. In academic language, this is 'phatic' conversation - it's not meant to convey hard information but to perform some social function, such as making people feel good. The German language doesn't even have an expression for 'small talk', she says."

Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13545386> (May 26, 2011)

Worksheet 7: Topics for small talk

Topics for small talk

Please color-code the following topics.

- *Green*: "Always a good one."
- *Orange*: "Hm, it depends..."
- *Red*: "Absolutely not! An absolute no-go!"



1. the latest 3D movie

2. the 2014 soccer world cup in Brazil

4. the appetizers at the party

3. the religious background of the person you're talking to

5. the stomach flu you have had for the past two weeks

6. the wine which is being served

9. your income at the new firm

7. the location where you are at the moment of speaking

8. the constant rain in the past few weeks

11. your current job

10. the latest one-on-one debates of the presidential candidates

12. the place where you live

15. the sexy outfit of the host of the event

13. the death penalty

14. your brothers and sisters

Worksheet 8: Useful expressions for casual conversation (small talk)

Expressions for casual conversation (small talk)

**1. Greeting & Asking about well-being** (e.g. question-answer)**2. Introducing oneself & Introducing others****3. Starting a topic & Switching topics****5. Signaling the end is near & Being 'social'****4. Active Listening & Giving feedback to the speaker**

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| - Uh-huh. | - Hm... |
| - Huh. | - Okay. |
| - Yeah. | - Oh. |
| - Ah. | - Wow! |
| - Really? | - No way! |
| - Oh man! | - |
| - | - |

7. BUYING TIME... and filling pauses**6. Saying goodbye**

Language Help 2

A-Z: Some expressions for casual conversation (small talk)

Actually,...

Alright, I gotta go now...

Anyway, it was really nice meeting you.

Anyway,...

Anyway... Great catching up with you.

By the way,...

Bye!

Give me a call some time, okay?

Good talking to you.

Hey Gina, this is Richard, Emily's brother. She's also at UNC Chapel Hill.

Hey, good to see you again.

Hey, how's it going? - Not too bad, not too bad.

Hey, I'm Daniel. - Nice to meet you. Rick.

Hey, let me give you my phone number; maybe we can get together some time.

Hey, let's have lunch sometime.

Hi, how are you? - Fine, thanks. And you?

How's it going?

Later!

Say hi to your brother from me, okay?

So,...

Speaking of...

Take care...

What's up? - Not much.

ppt-slides: "Buying time and filling pauses"

1. **Well, uhm...**
 - *Well, uhm, I guess what I'm trying to say is...well, that it isn't easy teaching a class that has written the Abitur already.*
2. **It's just that...**
 - *It's just that I really don't know what to do with this guy.*
3. **The thing is...**
 - *The thing is he seemed so nice in the beginning,...*
4. **..., you know what I mean?**
5. **I guess...what I'm trying to say is that...**
 - *I guess what I'm trying to say is that with these expressions you can fill an entire conversation...*
6. **Actually,...**
 - *Actually, I suppose that's a bit exaggerated...*
7. **Anyway,...**
 - *Anyway, just make sure to use a range of expressions...*

Lesson 5**Language Help 3 (Poster cards)****Active listening / feedback**

- Uh-huh.
- Huh.
- Yeah.
- Ah.
- Really?
- Oh man!
- Hm...
- Okay.
- Oh.
- Wow!
- No way!
- Totally...

Involving the listener

- You know,...
- ..., you know?
- ..., you know what I mean?
- ..., right?
- ..., isn't it? ..., hasn't it?

Language Help 4 (Poster card)**Gaining time & filling pauses**

- You know,...
- Well,... / Well, you know,...
- ..., you know what I mean?
- It's just that...
- As a matter of fact,...
- The thing is,...
- I mean,...
- I guess,...
- Anyway,...

A6: German summary

Describing and Teaching Spoken English: An Educational-linguistic Study of Scripted Speech

Kapitel 1

Hintergrund, Forschungsfrage, Forschungsdesign und Überblick

Ein vielfach beobachtetes Problem im Englischunterricht an deutschen Gymnasien ist, dass das Mündliche im Vergleich zum Schriftlichen stark vernachlässigt wird. Zwar hat gesprochene Sprache und Sprechfertigkeit auch offiziell (wie z.B. von curricularen Richtlinien wie dem *Gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmen für Sprachen* [GER] gefordert) durchaus an Bedeutung gewonnen, doch in der Praxis werden die konkreten formalen Charakteristika der gesprochenen Sprache und die Unterschiede zum Geschriebenen, besonders hinsichtlich grammatikalischer Aspekte, eher selten thematisiert (Kieweg 2000: 8; Mukherjee 2009: 205; Rühlemann 2008: 673). Es mangelt zudem an natürlichen Modellen für das gesprochene Englisch – der typische Input besteht aus den verschriftlichten Dialogen, die in Schulbüchern abgebildet sind (und natürliche gesprochene Sprache oft unzureichend widerspiegeln), begleitenden Hörspielen, sowie der Sprache der Lehrkraft. Eine Konsequenz besteht u.a. darin, dass selbst fortgeschrittene Lerner Schwierigkeiten haben, typisch mündlichen und typisch schriftlichen Sprachgebrauch zu unterscheiden. Darüber hinaus weisen sie oft starke Defizite auf, wenn es darum geht, sich idiomatisch in der gesprochenen Sprache auszudrücken und spontan und flüssig in Konversation zu interagieren (vgl. Götz 2013). Gerade auch die 'Kommunikationsprüfung', die in einigen Bundesländern Deutschlands eingeführt wurde und in der gymnasialen Oberstufe eine schriftliche Abiturleistung durch eine mündliche, dialogisch orientierte Leistung ersetzt, stellt Schulen und Lehrkräfte somit vor neue Herausforderungen.

Eine Möglichkeit, Schüler/innen mit den Eigenschaften von natürlich vorkommender Sprache und insbesondere gesprochener Grammatik vertraut zu machen, ist die Verwendung von linguistischen Korpora, die eine Vielzahl von authentischen kontextualisierten Sprachbeispielen bieten (z.B. Mauranen 2004a, 2004b; Zorzi 2001). Da diese jedoch in vielerlei Hinsicht nicht optimal für den Einsatz im schulischen Englischunterricht geeignet sind, raten einige Forscher dazu, Korpora zu verwenden, die speziell auf die Bedürfnisse von Lehrer/innen und Schüler/innen zugeschnitten sind, d.h. sogenannte 'didaktisch relevante Korpora' (*'pedagogically relevant corpora'*; z.B. Braun 2005, 2006, 2007). Bislang gibt es allerdings nur wenige solcher sprachdidaktisch motivierter Korpora. Diese basieren zudem vorwiegend auf gesprochenen Interviewdaten und sind somit nur begrenzt geeignet, um

Engischlernern die Eigenheiten von gesprochener Grammatik (*'spoken grammar'*; McCarthy und Carter 1995) näherzubringen, wie sie in spontaner Konversation zu finden sind.

Die vorliegende Arbeit macht es sich zum Ziel, zu untersuchen, inwieweit ein Korpus aus den Dialogen von amerikanischen Fernsehserien 'didaktisch relevant' und ein geeignetes Werkzeug zur Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik sein könnte. Der Schwerpunkt liegt hier auf der Frage, ob die in einem solchen Korpus repräsentierte Sprache (als eine Form von *'fictional scripted television language'* [FSTVL]) für den fremdsprachlichen Englischunterricht geeignet ist. Dabei geht es in der vorliegenden Studie insbesondere darum, zu ermitteln, ob die fiktionale, auf einem Skript beruhende Sprache von Fernsehserien dem Anspruch an sprachliche Natürlichkeit oder Authentizität genügt. Zentrale Forschungsfragen der Arbeit sind dementsprechend: Wie ähnlich ist FSTVL natürlich gesprochener Sprache? Wenn man annimmt, dass 'Mündlichkeit', hier verstanden als mündlicher Sprachstil (*'spokenness'*), gradueller Natur ist – wie hoch ist der Grad an Mündlichkeit (in Koch und Oesterreichers [1985] Terminologie: 'konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit') in FSTVL?

Zwar wird TV-Sprache häufig als zusätzlicher Input für Fremdsprachenlerner genannt, doch ist bislang noch nicht ausreichend erforscht, wo genau sprachliche Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten im Vergleich zu natürlicher Sprache zu finden sind. Sollte es so sein, dass sich FSTVL und natürliche Sprache in keinsten Weise ähneln, wäre ein Korpus aus diesem Sprachmaterial vermutlich nur ein begrenzt empfehlenswertes Unterrichtsinstrument. Daher ist es unabdingbar, die Natur von FSTVL genauer zu beleuchten und unser Verständnis von dieser Sprachform, die möglicherweise großes Potential für das Fremdsprachenlernen hat, zu vertiefen.

Das Forschungsdesign der vorliegenden Studie, um die Eignung eines FSTVL-Korpus für die Vermittlung von gesprochenem Englisch (Fokus: gesprochene Grammatik) zu untersuchen, kann in fünf Phasen untergliedert werden. Diese Schritte sind in der folgenden Graphik (Abbildung 1) dargestellt. Die vorliegende Arbeit ist folgendermaßen entsprechend dieser fünf Phasen gegliedert. In Kapitel 2 und 3 wird zunächst noch der Hintergrund dieser Studie genauer erläutert. In Kapitel 2 geht es um die gesprochene Sprache als Forschungsgegenstand und um die sprachlichen Merkmale, die bisherige korpuslinguistische Forschung als typisch für gesprochene Grammatik identifiziert hat. Kapitel 3 beleuchtet den Stellenwert von gesprochener Sprache im Englischunterricht und die konkreten sprachlichen Merkmale von gesprochener Grammatik, die idealerweise Eingang in den Englischunterricht finden sollten. In diesem Kapitel gehe ich auch detaillierter auf das Konzept der 'Authentizität'

ein, das für diese Arbeit von zentraler Bedeutung ist, sowie auf die Rolle von linguistischen Korpora für den Englischunterricht.

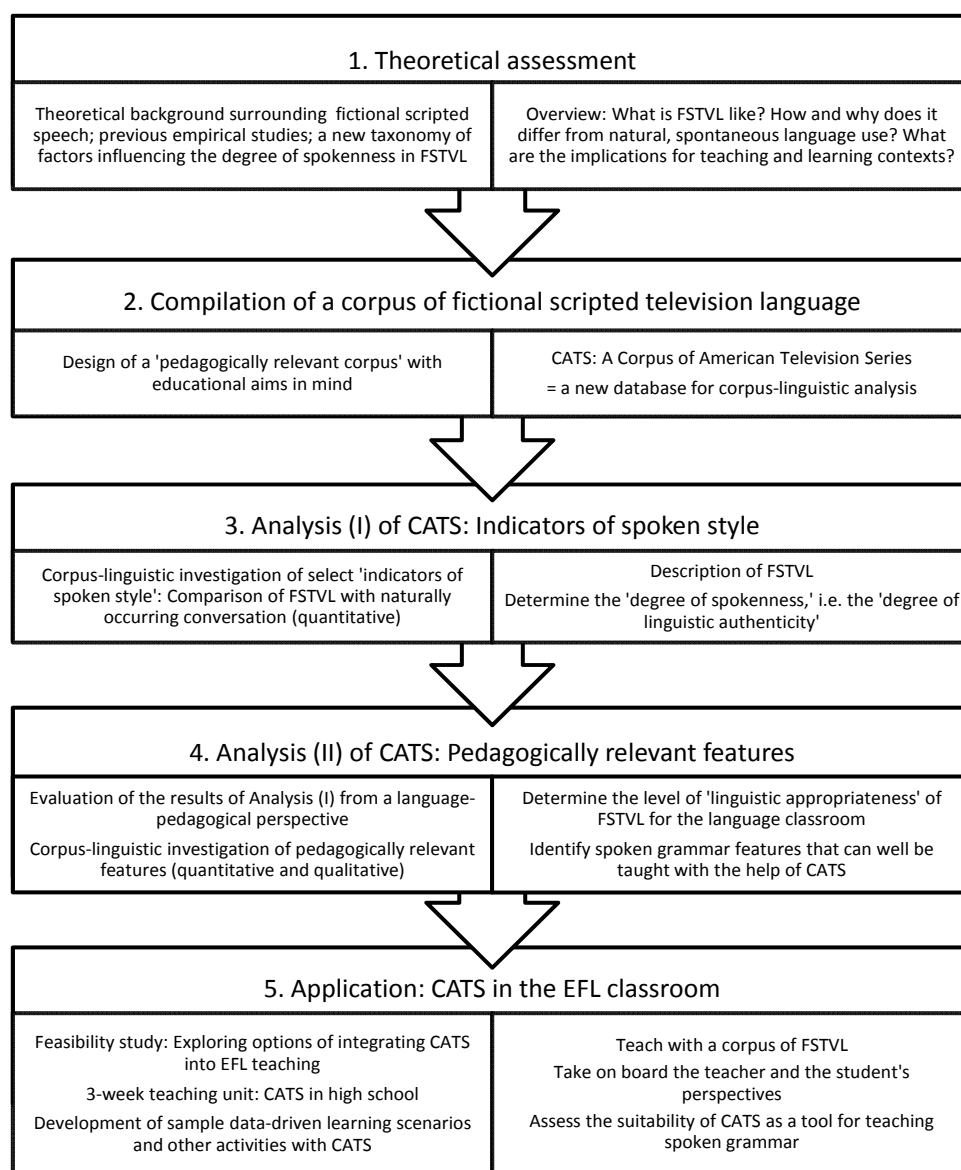


Abbildung 1: Forschungsdesign: Fünf Phasen zur Bewertung der Eignung eines FSTVL-Korpus für die Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik

In Kapitel 4 wird bisherige Forschung zum Thema FSTVL und dem Verhältnis zu natürlich vorkommender Sprache zusammengefasst und eine neue Taxonomie wird entwickelt, die die mannigfaltigen Faktoren, die sich auf den 'Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit' in FSTVL auswirken, zusammenbringt und systematisiert. Kapitel 5 beschreibt zentrale methodologische Schritte dieser Arbeit, wie die Kompilation des neuen FSTVL-Korpus 'CATS'. Die Analyse besteht aus zwei Teilen. Im ersten Teil (Analyse I, vgl. **Phase 3** in Abbildung 1), deren Resultate in Kapitel 6 dargelegt werden, geht es darum, CATS anhand

von ausgewählten 'Indikatoren für mündlichen Sprachstil' (*indicators of spoken style*) mit natürlich gesprochener Sprache (d.h. Konversation) zu vergleichen und *grosso modo* den 'Grad linguistischer Authentizität' zu bestimmen. In Kapitel 7 werden die Ergebnisse aus fremdsprachendidaktischer Perspektive evaluiert und es werden einige weitere quantitative und qualitative Analysen von sprachlichen Variablen durchgeführt, die aus didaktischer Sicht relevant sind (*pedagogically relevant features*', vgl. **Phase 4**). Im fünften und letzten Schritt dieser Studie, **Phase 5**, wird die Eignung von CATS für die Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik aus unterrichtspraktischer Sicht untersucht (Kapitel 8). In Kapitel 9 werden die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse dieser Studie zusammengefasst und es werden einige Desiderata für zukünftige Forschung aufgezeigt.

Kapitel 2

Gesprochene Sprache, gesprochenes Englisch und Grammatik

Innerhalb der Linguistik hat die gesprochene Sprache den Primat vor der geschriebenen Sprache (vgl. Lyons 1981: 11; Stubbs 1980: 23-28), doch dieser Standpunkt wird außerhalb von linguistischen Kreisen nicht unbedingt geteilt. Sprachliche Korrektheit wurde traditionell vorrangig an den Normen geschriebener Sprache festgemacht, so dass gesprochene Sprache häufig als 'unvollständig' und in mancherlei Hinsicht defizitär angesehen wurde (vgl. Carter 2003: 6; Crystal 2003: 291; Kreyer 2010: 151). Sicherlich bestehen einige grundlegende Unterschiede zwischen mündlicher und schriftlicher Sprache (vgl. Hughes 2002: 10f.), die hauptsächlich mit den jeweiligen Funktionen und Produktionsumständen zu tun haben, jedoch keinesfalls bedeuten, dass gesprochene Sprache als eine inkorrekte Version von geschriebener Sprache zu betrachten ist. Die traditionelle Orientierung an schriftlichen Normen lag nicht zuletzt darin begründet, dass gesprochene Sprache erst seit dem 20. Jahrhundert auch empirisch untersuchbar wurde. Die Entwicklung und zunehmende Praktikabilität von Aufnahmeinstrumenten machte es möglich, gesprochene Sprache festzuhalten und analysierbar zu machen, und so nahm auch das Interesse an der Erforschung gesprochener Sprache seit Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts stetig zu.

In der Diskussion um 'Mündlichkeit' und 'Schriftlichkeit' ist eine wichtige terminologische Unterscheidung zu treffen, um Ambiguität und Ungenauigkeit zu vermeiden. Diese Diskussion fasse ich in Kapitel 2.3 zusammen. Schon zahlreiche Sprachwissenschaftler/innen haben sich mit der Trennung von 'Medium' (E. *medium*), welches sich auf die Sprachsubstanz oder Transmissionsart (Schallwellen vs. gedruckte Schriftzeichen) bezieht, und 'Sprachstil' (E. *style*), d.h. der abstrakten sprachlichen Form, beschäftigt (z.B. Abercrombie 1967; Esser 1984; Halliday et al. 1964; Söll 1974). Diese

Trennung entspricht Koch und Oesterreichers (1985, 1994, 2011 [1990]) bekannten Differenzierung der 'medialen' und 'konzeptionellen Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit'. Für die vorliegende Arbeit ist von substantieller Bedeutung, dass die formal-sprachlichen Unterschiede zwischen medial gesprochener und geschriebener Sprache zum größten Teil rein gradueller, nicht kategorischer Art sind, d.h. medial schriftliche und mediale mündliche Texte können jeweils zu verschiedenen Graden konzeptionell schriftlich oder konzeptionell mündlich sein. Die genaue sprachliche Ausgestaltung wird maßgeblich von außersprachlichen, situationellen Umständen geprägt.

Abschnitt 2.4 widmet sich speziell der Grammatik des gesprochenen Englisch. Dabei liegt der Fokus auf der korpusbasierten Beschreibung gesprochener Grammatik, die einen nicht zu unterschätzenden Beitrag geleistet hat. Computergestützte Analysen von sehr großen gesprochenen Korpora wie z.B. dem gesprochenen Teil des BNC (*British National Corpus*) und des LSAC (*Longman Spoken American Corpus*) erlaubten es, konkrete Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen gesprochener und geschriebener Grammatik systematisch und auf einer soliden Datengrundlage zu beschreiben. Ein wichtiges Standardwerk, auf das im Verlaufe der vorliegenden Arbeit regelmäßig verwiesen wird, ist die *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* von Biber et al. (1999). Ein weiteres für diese Arbeit wichtiges Werk ist die von Biber (1988) veröffentlichte korpusbasierte Studie zu Sprachvariation in gesprochenen und geschriebenen Registern. Im Rahmen seiner Studie identifiziert Biber u.a. ein spezielles Set von lexiko-grammatikalischen Merkmalen (E. *features*), die besonders häufig gemeinsam in gesprochenen, d.h. medial mündlichen Texten auftreten (insbesondere in face-to-face Konversation und Telefongesprächen) und gleichzeitig deutlich weniger frequent in medial schriftlichen Texten sind. Dazu gehören z.B. *private verbs*, *that-deletion*, *contractions*, *present tense verbs* und *second person pronouns*. Diese Merkmale können in sprachwissenschaftlichen Studien genutzt werden, um als Indikatoren für den Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit (*degree of spokenness*, *degree of spoken style*) zu fungieren.

Am Ende von 2.4 gehe ich nochmals zusammenfassend auf mein Verständnis von gesprochener Grammatik und der Konstruktion von *spokenness* und *writtenness* ein. Wie bei Biber et al. (1999), Halliday (1974), Leech (2000) und Mauranen und Sinclair (2006) ist eine Grundannahme der vorliegenden Arbeit, dass geschriebene und gesprochene Grammatik nicht zwei grundverschiedene Systeme sind, sondern verschiedene Versionen des gleichen Systems. Gesprochene und geschriebene Sprache speisen sich beide aus einem Pool von sprachlichen Merkmalen (*pool of linguistic features*; vgl. Abbildung 2), von denen nur wenige ausschließlich im medial Gesprochenen (E. *speech*) oder ausschließlich im medial

Geschriebenen (E. *writing*) vorkommen – die meisten sprachlichen Merkmale kommen in beiden vor. Die verschiedenen Merkmale (F_1 - F_n) variieren in ihrem 'Mündlichkeits-Charakter' (*flavor of spokenness*), wie in Abbildung 2 im oberen Kasten durch die graduelle Schattierung von hell (*spokenness*) zu dunkel (*writtenness*) dargestellt ist.

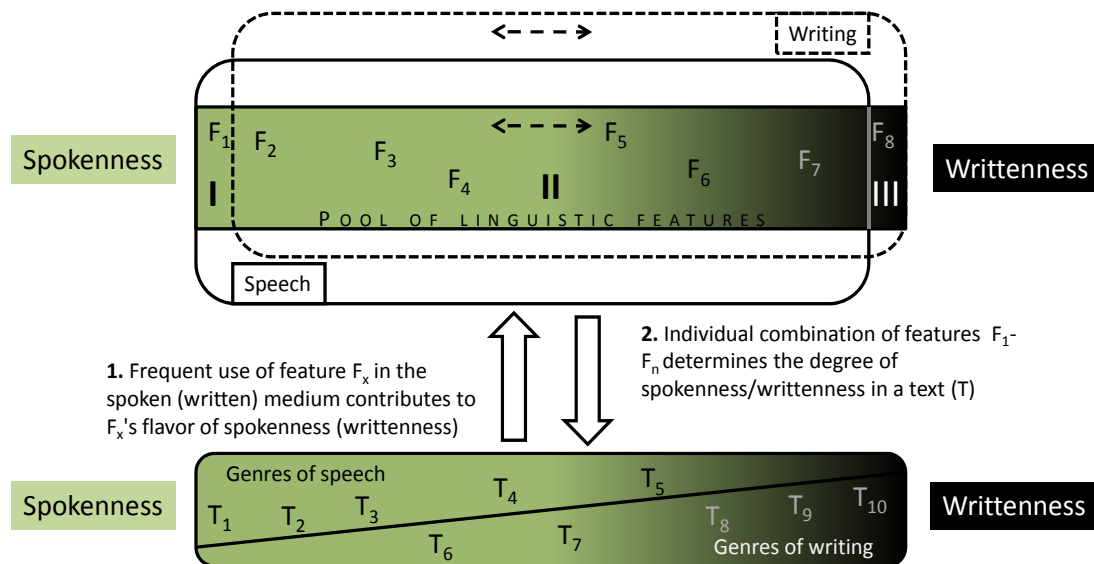


Abbildung 2: Die Beziehung von 'Spokenness' und 'Writtenness': Ein dynamisches Modell

Die individuelle Kombination von verschiedenen Merkmalen bestimmt den jeweiligen 'Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit' (*degree of spokenness*) in einem Text. Dieses Verständnis von *spokenness and writtenness in texts* erlaubt es somit auch, sich dem Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit eines bestimmten Textes mittels frequenzbasierter Analysen von speziellen Merkmalen anzunähern.

Zum Schluss des zweiten Kapitels werden eine Reihe an Merkmalen genannt, die in der Literatur auf Basis von groß angelegten Korpusanalysen als besonders typisch für gesprochene Grammatik bzw. die Grammatik von Konversation, der üblichsten Form gesprochener Sprache, klassifiziert wurden. Die Auflistung dieser Auswahl an sprachlichen Merkmalen geschieht in starker Anlehnung an Biber et al. (1999), Biber et al. (2002) und Leech (2000), die die vielfältigen Merkmale entsprechend der sozialen und situationellen Umstände von Konversation, mit denen sie hauptsächlich assoziiert sind, kategorisieren. Dazu gehört beispielsweise, dass Konversation in einem face-to-face Kontext und in Echtzeit stattfindet sowie, dass sie durch Interaktivität charakterisiert ist. Assoziierte sprachliche Merkmale sind demnach, dass in Konversation z.B. Personalpronomen und Ellipsen,

Häsitationsphänomene und Verbkontraktionen, sowie Diskursmarker und Negation deutlich häufiger auftreten als in schriftlichen Registern.

Kapitel 3 **Gesprochenes Englisch im Englischunterricht**

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich primär mit 'gesprochenem Englisch' in dem Sinne, dass sie die Vermittlung der konkreten sprachlichen (besonders grammatikalischen) Merkmale von gesprochenem Englisch vs. geschriebenem Englisch thematisiert, doch dies lässt sich sicherlich nicht von der Frage nach der Vermittlung bzw. Förderung von Sprechfertigkeit (E. *teaching speaking skills*) trennen. Wissen um die konkreten Merkmale von gesprochenem Englisch kann die Entwicklung von Sprechfertigkeit und allgemein Kommunikationsfertigkeit maßgeblich unterstützen.

Wichtige Aspekte gesprochener Grammatik finden sich mittlerweile in vielen curricularen Rahmenwerken wieder. Im GER (Council of Europe 2001) wird die Rolle von gesprochener Grammatik z.B. besonders deutlich in den Kategorien 'Mündliche Interaktion' (GER 4.4.3.1), 'Interaktionsstrategien' (GER 4.4.3.5; z.B. 'Sprecherwechsel'), und 'Funktionale Kompetenz' (GER 5.2.3.2; z.B. 'mündliche Flüssigkeit'). Auch bundeslandspezifische curriculare Rahmenwerke bzw. Lehrpläne messen der gesprochenen Sprache eine größere Relevanz bei, als das noch vor ein paar Jahrzehnten der Fall war (Mukherjee und Rohrbach 2006: 213; Taubenböck 2007: 5). Hier ist besonders die eingangs erwähnte 'Kommunikationsprüfung' für gymnasiale Abiturjahrgänge zu nennen, in der Schüler/innen ihre mündliche Interaktionskompetenz unter Beweis stellen müssen. Gemein ist den curricularen Rahmenwerken jedoch insgesamt, dass gesprochene Grammatik eher implizit bleibt und selten konkrete Merkmale genannt werden – auch wenn ebendiese notwendig sind, um die formulierten Kompetenzziele zu erreichen.

Die Frage, ob und welche sprachlichen Merkmale gesprochener Grammatik konkret unterrichtet werden sollten, ist nicht unumstritten. Diese Frage wird in Abschnitt 3.2.3.3 eingehend diskutiert. Sprachwissenschaftler, Sprachdidaktiker und Sprachlehrkräfte nehmen verschiedene, teilweise stark kontrastierende Perspektiven ein (vgl. z.B. Carter und McCarthy 1995; McCarthy und Carter 1994; Thornbury 2005; Timmis 2005, 2010 im Kontrast zu Bex 2008; Prodromou 1996, 1998). In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird *für* eine Berücksichtigung von gesprochener Grammatik im Englischunterricht argumentiert, wobei sicherlich nicht alle Phänomene, die aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Perspektive interessant und auffällig sein mögen, auch aus sprachdidaktischer Sicht unmittelbar relevant sind. So ist z.B. die große Häufigkeit von Personalpronomen in Konversation eine bemerkenswerte

sprachwissenschaftliche Beobachtung, doch wird dies wohl eher nicht explizit von der Lehrkraft vermittelt werden müssen. Relevanter sind diejenigen Phänomene, die Lernern helfen, spontan und angemessen in einer Konversation zu interagieren. Auch werden Lerner nicht für alle Phänomene produktive Fähigkeiten entwickeln müssen – mitunter ist es auch ausreichend, gewisse rezeptive Fähigkeiten zu entwickeln. Am Ende dieses Abschnittes biete ich einen Überblick über diejenigen grammatikalischen Phänomene von gesprochener Sprache, die besonders häufig zur Vermittlung empfohlen werden. Diese überlappen zu einem großen Teil mit Willis' (2003: 200-210) Vorschlägen in Bezug auf die Frage, was Englischlehrkräfte ihren Schüler/innen hinsichtlich gesprochener Grammatik vermitteln sollten, die folgendermaßen zusammengefasst werden können:

- Applying appropriate standards (e.g. recognize as a teacher that spoken and written language are different from each other, especially when correcting students)
- Highlighting differences between spoken and written language (e.g. hesitation phenomena, additive and repetitive nature)
- Demonstrating the interactive nature of spoken language (e.g. backchannels, adjacency pairs, discourse markers)
- Building up formulaic exchanges (e.g. for speech acts such as requests, apologizing)
- Establishing typical routines (e.g. asking for directions)
- Focusing on vague language (e.g. hedges)

(vgl. Willis 2003: 200-210)

In Abschnitt 3.3 wird ein Schlüsselkonzept dieser Arbeit behandelt: das Konzept der *Authentizität*. Authentizität wurde in der Sprachdidaktik schon über Jahrzehnte kontrovers diskutiert (vgl. z.B. die Diskussionen in Amor 2002; Badger and MacDonald 2010; Gilmore 2007; Tatsuki 2006; Taylor 1994). Diese Arbeit beschränkt sich jedoch fast ausschließlich auf eine spezifische Art von Authentizität, nämlich *sprachliche Authentizität*. Wenn Forscher/innen oder Sprachlehrkräfte die Integration gesprochener Grammatik im Englischunterricht befürworten, dann steckt dahinter meist die Überzeugung, dass Englischlerner 'authentisches' Englisch vermittelt bekommen sollen. Dazu gehört auch, die Normen von gesprochener Sprache stärker zu berücksichtigen, da eine ausschließliche oder hauptsächliche Vermittlung von schriftsprachlichen Normen, wie es in Schulkontexten häufig der Fall ist, nicht der Sprachwirklichkeit entspricht und die Lerner auch nicht adäquat auf mögliche Kommunikationssituationen in der 'wirklichen', außerschulischen Welt vorbereitet. Angewandte Korpuslinguisten empfehlen beispielsweise den Gebrauch von Sprachkorpora für den Unterricht, da Korpora eine Vielzahl von authentischen Sprachbeispielen bieten. *Sprachliche Authentizität* birgt jedoch auch eine Doppeldeutigkeit, da die Attribute *authentisch* oder *inauthentisch* auf zwei Arten verstanden werden können. Diese sind in Abbildung 3 dargestellt.

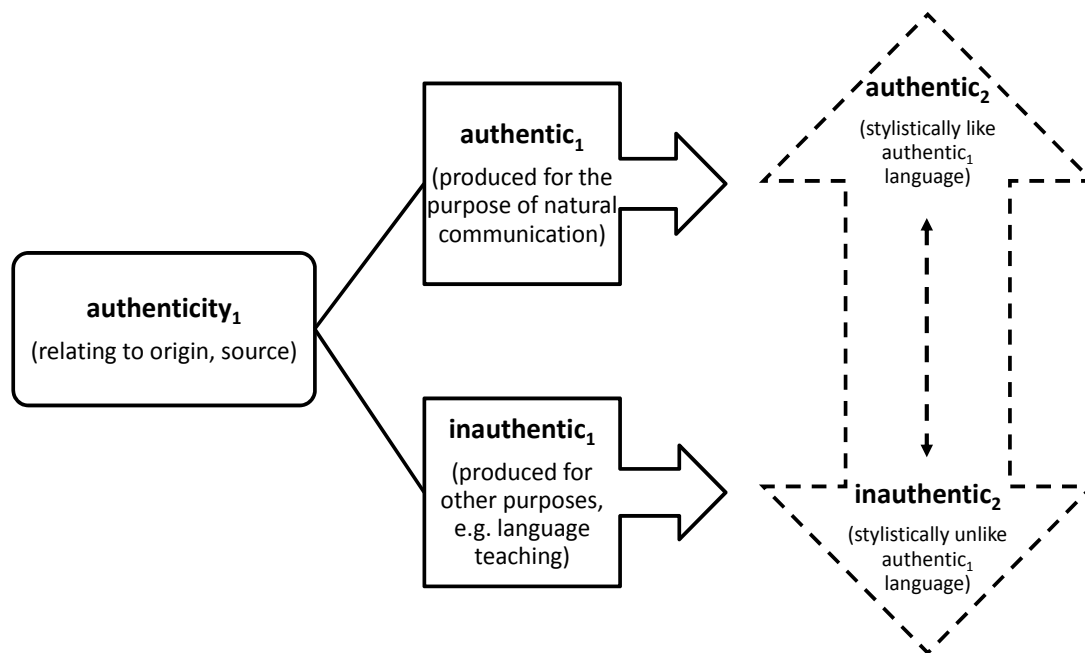


Abbildung 3: Die Ambiguität von sprachlicher *Authentizität*: Ursprung und Stil

Zum einen kann das Wort *authentisch* sich darauf beziehen, dass gewisse Sprachdaten natürlichen Ursprungs sind, d.h. dass sie für tatsächliche Kommunikationszwecke genutzt wurden (*authentic₁* in Abbildung 3). Zum anderen kann es sich aber auch auf formale Eigenschaften von gewissen Sprachdaten beziehen (*authentic₂* in Abbildung 3), d.h. den Stil, der natürlich vorkommender Sprache potentiell sehr stark ähnelt. Sprachdaten, die im engeren Sinne *inauthentic₁* sind, da sie z.B. für Unterrichtszwecke frei erfunden wurden, können dennoch *authentisch₂* im weiteren Sinne sein, wenn sie natürlich vorkommende Sprache 'erfolgreich' imitieren. Authentizität im weiteren Sinne ist folglich auch gradueller Natur, da konzipierte Texte natürlicher Sprache in unterschiedlichem Maße ähneln können, so dass sie z.B. als 'sehr authentisch' charakterisiert werden mögen. Im Kontext dieser Arbeit werden fortan die Bezeichnungen *echt*, *real*, *genuin* oder *natürlich vorkommend* (E. *naturally occurring*) benutzt, um auf den Ursprung von Sprachdaten zu verweisen, und die Begriffe *authentisch* oder *natürlich-wirkend* (E. *natural-sounding*), wenn auf den Stil von Sprachdaten Bezug genommen wird.

Die Verwendung von authentischen Sprachdaten im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist durchaus umstritten. Widdowson (1978, 1998, 2000, 2003) hat vielfach darauf hingewiesen, dass Authentizität (*authenticity*) von Echtheit (*genuineness*) zu trennen sei. Dabei entspricht Widdowsons *genuineness* dem Konzept der *authenticity₁* in Abbildung 3; doch Widdowsons Konzept von Authentizität ist im Gegensatz zu der Verwendung in der vorliegenden Arbeit keine Eigenschaft, die einem Text inhärent ist, sondern es beschreibt die Kontextualisiertheit

einer kommunikativen Situation. So argumentiert Widdowson (2000: 7) auch, dass echte Sprachdaten (*real/genuine language*), wie sie z.B. in Sprachkorpora zu finden sind, dem Fremdsprachenlernen nicht unbedingt zuträglich seien, da es den Lernenden, die mit diesen Daten konfrontiert werden, ohnehin nie gelingen werde, zu diesen Daten einen Bezug herzustellen und den ursprünglichen Kontext, in dem sie entstanden sind, zu rekonstruieren – ein Prozess, den er *authentication* nennt. Darüber hinaus stellt Widdowson (1998: 714f.) die These auf, dass für Lernzwecke erstellte Sprachbeispiele, die gezielt versuchen, natürlich vorkommende Sprache widerzuspiegeln (also in dem von mir verwendeten Sinne *authentisch* sind), mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit weniger effektiv sind.

Diesen Standpunkt teile ich *nicht*. Ich betrachte authentischen, d.h. natürlich wirkenden Sprachinput als zuträglich und nicht zwangsläufig weniger effektiv. Ich bin zudem der Ansicht, dass sowohl speziell für Unterrichtszwecke konzipierte als auch natürlich vorkommende Sprachbeispiele einen Platz im Sprachunterricht haben, da beide verschiedene, wichtige Funktionen erfüllen können. Wie auch z.B. Gabrielatos (2002) und Timmis (2005) erachte ich grundsätzlich den *Stil* des für Unterrichtszwecke genutzten Sprachmaterials dabei als entscheidender als den *Ursprung*, d.h. es ist wichtiger, dass das Sprachmaterial einen authentischen Stil aufweist, als dass es tatsächlich einer echten Kommunikationssituation entsprungen ist und nicht speziell für Lehrzwecke erfunden wurde.

In Abschnitt 3.4 gehe ich auf den aktuellen Status von gesprochener Sprache im fremdsprachlichen Englischunterricht und auf neuere Entwicklungen in diesem Bereich ein. Eine Beobachtung, die nicht nur in Bezug auf deutsche Unterrichtspraxis gemacht wurde, sondern auch in anderen Kontexten, ist, dass zwar in den letzten Jahrzehnten vermehrt die Förderung von 'medialer Mündlichkeit' in den Vordergrund gerückt ist, nicht jedoch im gleichen Maße die Vermittlung von 'konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit.' Gesprochene Grammatik wird demnach auch eher selten thematisiert, weder im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung von Sprechfertigkeiten noch bei der Vermittlung von Grammatik.

[L]earners are taught grammar items without a clear distinction being made between spoken and written grammar. Of course, there is a great deal of overlap, but there are certain structures that are much less frequent in speech than in writing [...] On the other hand, some features of spoken syntax (such as heads and tails, and ellipsis [...]) get little or no attention at all in many mainstream ELT courses. (Thornbury 2005: 34)

Die Vernachlässigung von gesprochener Grammatik liegt zum einen darin begründet, dass gesprochene Grammatik traditionell von vielen Lehrkräften mitunter nicht als 'unterrichtswürdig' angesehen wird. Ein weiteres Problem stellt die Tatsache dar, dass Lehrkräfte von vielen institutionellen Bedingungen eingeschränkt werden, wie z.B. der

Anzahl schriftlicher Prüfungen, auf die sie ihre Schüler/innen vorbereiten müssen und die ohnehin vollen Lehrpläne/Curricula. Außerdem stehen verhältnismäßig wenige fertig ausgearbeitete Unterrichtsmaterialien zur Verfügung, die sie bei der Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik unterstützen könnten. Zukünftig ist jedoch zu erwarten, dass *spoken grammar* in der Unterrichtspraxis doch einen größeren Stellenwert einnehmen wird. Zum einen werden Fremdsprachenlehrkräfte immer besser ausgebildet und authentisches gesprochenes Sprachmaterial ist besonders durch das Internet einfacher zu beschaffen als noch vor einigen Jahren. Zum anderen wird vermutlich auch die bereits erwähnte Kommunikationsprüfung langfristig dazu führen, dass Lehrkräfte und Lerner in Deutschland sich intensiver mit den Eigenheiten gesprochener Grammatik auseinandersetzen werden. Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob auch Schulbücher die gesprochene Sprache, wie sie natürlich verwendet wird, stärker integrieren werden. Abgesehen von den zur Verfügung stehenden Materialien für die Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik ist auch die Frage nach der Methodik von Interesse. Thornbury (2005: 47ff.) und Willis (2003: 203-210) empfehlen hier beispielsweise, gesprochene Grammatik nach Möglichkeit immer im Zusammenhang mit den originalen Sprach- oder Videodaten zu behandeln, und eine inhaltliche Diskussion der zu bearbeitenden Sprachdaten (typischerweise Transkripte von Dialogen) stets der metasprachlichen Diskussion vorangehen zu lassen. Aktivitäten zur Sensibilisierung für diesen Themenkomplex beinhalten besonders auch das Vergleichen von geschriebenen und gesprochenen Texten sowie von der Zielsprache und der Muttersprache.

Eine Möglichkeit, Lerner mit den Charakteristika von natürlich gesprochener Sprache vertraut zu machen, ist auch der Gebrauch von gesprochenen Korpora. Zwar sind die Ergebnisse von sprachwissenschaftlichen Analysen gesprochener Korpora bereits in wichtigen Referenzwerken etabliert, doch die direkte Korpus-Nutzung von Lehrkräften und Schüler/innen im Sinne eines '*data-driven learning*' (Johns 1991: 2) erfreut sich nicht gleichwertiger Beliebtheit. Angewandte Korpuslinguisten sehen großes Potential im *data-driven learning* (DDL), sowohl aufgrund der Inhalte von Korpora als auch der Methoden, mit denen sie verknüpft sind (vgl. z.B. Gut 2006: 69f.; Kreyer 2007: 17). Gleichzeitig wurden jedoch auch schon einige problematische Aspekte identifiziert, die einer Popularisierung von Korpusanwendungen in der Unterrichtspraxis noch entgegenstehen (vgl. z.B. Gilquin und Granger 2010: 366f.). Unter anderem ist ein Problem, dass Korpora, die für sprachwissenschaftliche Zwecke kompiliert wurden, den Bedürfnissen von typischen Unterrichtskontexten nicht gerecht werden. Daher fordern Forscher wie Braun (2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2009a, 2010), dass für den Einsatz im Unterricht spezielle Korpora erstellt

werden müssen, nämlich 'didaktisch relevante Korpora' (*'pedagogically relevant corpora'*). Diese unterscheiden sich von 'normalen' Korpora hinsichtlich ihrer Größe, ihres Datenformats, der Annotation, dazugehörigen didaktischen Zusatzmaterialien und vor allem hinsichtlich der Inhalte, die in ihnen repräsentiert sind. Die Inhalte müssen wesentlich kohärenter und für Lerner relevanter sein, als es in üblichen Korpora der Fall ist, so dass das Korpus auch einen inhaltlichen Zugang erlaubt und einen diskurs-basierten Ansatz möglich macht ("*discourse-based approach* [ie 'whole-corpus reading']", Braun 2005: 54, Betonung im Original). Somit wird auch die Anschlussfähigkeit an typische curriculare Vorgaben erhöht und die Korpusmethoden können an bereits bekannte Vorgehensweisen anknüpfen, wie z.B. Textarbeit und 'horizontales' Lesen, im Gegensatz für das in der Korpuslinguistik typische 'vertikale Lesen.'

Die vorliegende Studie setzt an genau dieser Stelle an. Die Idee besteht darin, ein Korpus zu erstellen, das didaktisch motiviert ist und gleichzeitig vielleicht etwas einfacher zu erstellen und für Schüler/innen motivierender ist. Im Gegensatz zu den (wenigen) bisherigen Projekten, die didaktisch relevante Korpora erstellten, soll hier als Sprachmaterial jedoch Konversation im Vordergrund stehen. Diese Studie wählt hier eine für die Korpuslinguistik eher unkonventionelle Datengrundlage, nämlich die Dialoge von amerikanischen TV-Serien, um ein Korpus zu erstellen, das im Sprachunterricht für die Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik genutzt werden kann. Eine solche Datengrundlage wirft sicherlich einige Fragen auf. Die Sprache in TV-Serien ist fiktional und vorbereitet, d.h. auf einem Skript basierend (*scripted*). Was hat diese Tatsache nun also für konkrete sprachliche Konsequenzen – wie ähnlich ist es natürlich vorkommender Sprache, wie authentisch ist es? Kann die Sprache in TV-Serien ein geeignetes Modell für das Fremdsprachenlernen sein?

Kapitel 4

Film- und Fernsehsprache: Fremdsprachendidaktische und sprachwissenschaftliche Perspektiven

Englischsprachige Film- und Fernsehprodukte werden gelegentlich als zusätzlicher sprachlicher Input empfohlen, der im Fremdsprachenunterricht genutzt werden kann, um bestimmte sprachliche Phänomene zu thematisieren. Besonders oft werden Empfehlungen für den Bereich der Pragmatik ausgesprochen (z.B. Fernández-Guerra 2008; Gilmore 2010; Martínez Fernández und Fernández Fontecha 2008; Tomlinson 2010), doch auch für gesprochene Grammatik wird Film- und Fernsehmaterial nahegelegt (z.B. Pérez Basanta und Rodríguez Martín 2007; Römer 2006; Rühlemann 2008; Timmis 2005). Eine wichtige

Bedingung ist hier jedoch, dass solches Sprachmaterial natürlich gesprochene Sprache angemessen widerspiegelt:

If it were to be shown that film language was representative of actual language use, a strong case could be made for its use in the classroom. If the opposite were true – that film language were shown not to be representative of actual language – the case would be far weaker; rather, this would constitute an argument against the use of film for such purposes. (Rose 2001: 310)

In den folgenden Erläuterungen beziehe ich mich vorrangig auf FSTVL als eine Art von *scripted speech*, d.h. Film- und Fernsehmaterial, das fiktional ist und auf einem Skript beruht (wie Fernsehserien und Spielfilme), nicht etwa gefilmte Interviews, Dokumentarfilme etc. In dieser Studie geht es um die im Film- und Fernsehmaterial enthaltenen fiktionalen Dialoge, wie sie tatsächlich von den entsprechenden Schauspielern realisiert werden. In Kapitel 4.2 klassifiziere ich daher verschiedene Arten von *scripted speech* (vgl. Abbildung 4), um den Untersuchungsgegenstand klar einzugrenzen, und ich grenze FSTVL von den Dialogen von Theaterstücken ab.

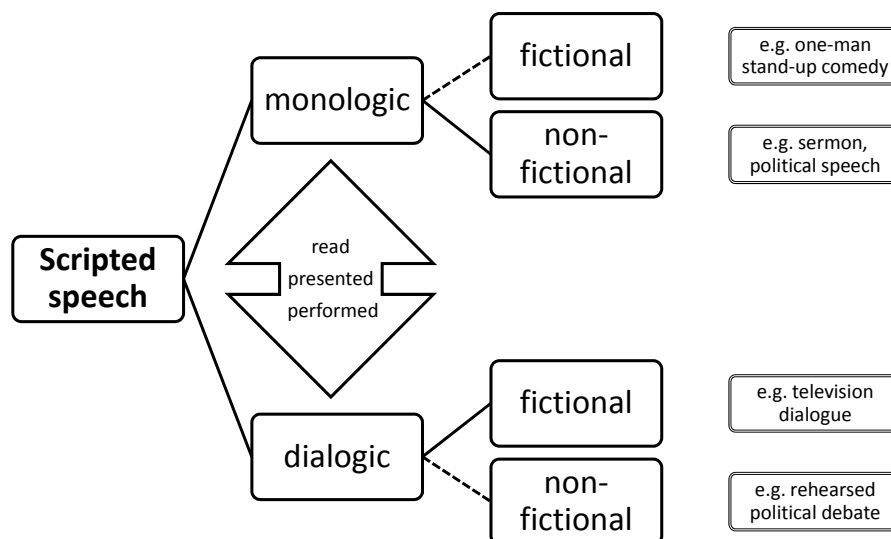


Abbildung 4: Verschiedene Kategorien von 'scripted speech'

Daraufhin biete ich zunächst einen Überblick über bisherige theoretische Überlegungen zu FSTVL und empirische Studien, die FSTVL mit natürlich vorkommender Konversation (*naturally occurring conversation* = NOC) vergleichen. In ersteren (z.B. Herbst 1994; Wray 2008) wird hervorgehoben, dass FSTVL eine Mischung aus *spoken and written language features* ist und die Unterschiede zu NOC grundsätzlich eher gradueller Natur sind. Die meisten Unterscheide bestehen darin, dass FSTVL durch eine geringere Häufigkeit von Performanzphänomenen gekennzeichnet ist (z.B. unfreiwillige Wortwiederholungen, abgebrochene Sätze, ungefüllte Pausen, gefüllte Pausen wie *uh*, *uhm*). Empirische Studien, besonders korpusbasierte Studien, gibt es bislang recht wenige. Das liegt u.a. auch daran, dass

wenige Korpora zur Verfügung stehen, die die Transkripte der von Schauspielern realisierten fiktionalen Dialoge beinhalten. Forscher, die FSTVL korpusbasiert mit NOC vergleichen, haben meist ihre eigenen Korpora entwickelt, so z.B. die bisher wohl größte FSTVL-Studie von Quaglio (2009) zur Sprache in der amerikanischen Sitcom *Friends*, aber auch die Arbeiten von Bednarek (2010, 2011), Forchini (2012), Mittmann (2006), Rodríguez Martín (2010a, 2010b) und Rodríguez Martín und Moreno Jaén (2009). Die Resultate der meisten dieser bisherigen Studien deuten darauf hin, dass FSTVL in Bezug auf pragmatische und lexiko-grammatikalische Aspekte NOC erstaunlich ähnlich ist. Die größten Unterschiede bestehen scheinbar darin, dass in FSTVL (wie erwartet) weniger Performanzphänomene vorzufinden sind, dass FSTVL weniger mit Vagheit verbundene Ausdrücke aufweist und ein geringeres Maß an Narrativität zeigt. Außerdem scheinen Ausdrücke, die mit Emotionalität und Informalität assoziiert sind, häufiger in FSTVL als in NOC aufzutreten. Dabei ist es allerdings auch so, dass es sehr starke Unterschiede zwischen verschiedenen TV-Serien bzw. Filmen geben kann, d.h. es kann kein einheitliches Bild von FSTVL gezeichnet werden, da unzählige Aspekte in die sprachliche Ausgestaltung von Film- und Fernsehdialogen herein spielen.

Die mannigfaltigen Faktoren, die einen Einfluss auf den Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit (*degree of spokenness*) und somit auf das Maß an sprachlicher Authentizität in FSTVL haben, sind bislang noch nicht umfassend zusammengetragen und systematisiert worden. Daher versuche ich in Kapitel 4.4, einen Rahmen für sprachliche Vergleiche von FSTVL und NOC zu erstellen. Zum einen beziehe ich mich auf die 'manipulierten' situationellen Umstände, die FSTVL von NOC unterscheiden (z.B. durch die zusätzlichen indirekten 'Ansprechpartner', die TV-Zuschauer). Dabei greife ich auf das Modell der Grammatik von NOC in Biber et al. (1999) zurück und überprüfe seine Anwendbarkeit auf FSTVL. Außerdem gehe ich auf die Ziele 'Realismus' und 'Natürlichkeit' in Film und TV ein und beschreibe, wie sich diese auf das Drehbuchschreiben und auch auf die Performanz der Schauspieler/innen auswirkt bzw. durch welche Faktoren diese eingeschränkt werden. Schließlich finden auch Faktoren wie 'Unterhaltungszwecke' und extern vom Film-/TV-Geschäft auferlegte Restriktionen wie zeitliche Begrenzungen etc. Berücksichtigung. Es wird betont, dass die verschiedenen Faktoren sich unterschiedlich auf die Häufigkeit von demselben sprachlichen Merkmal auswirken können und somit schwer vorhersehbar ist, wie sich individuelle Phänomene in ihrer Auftretenshäufigkeit von NOC unterscheiden.

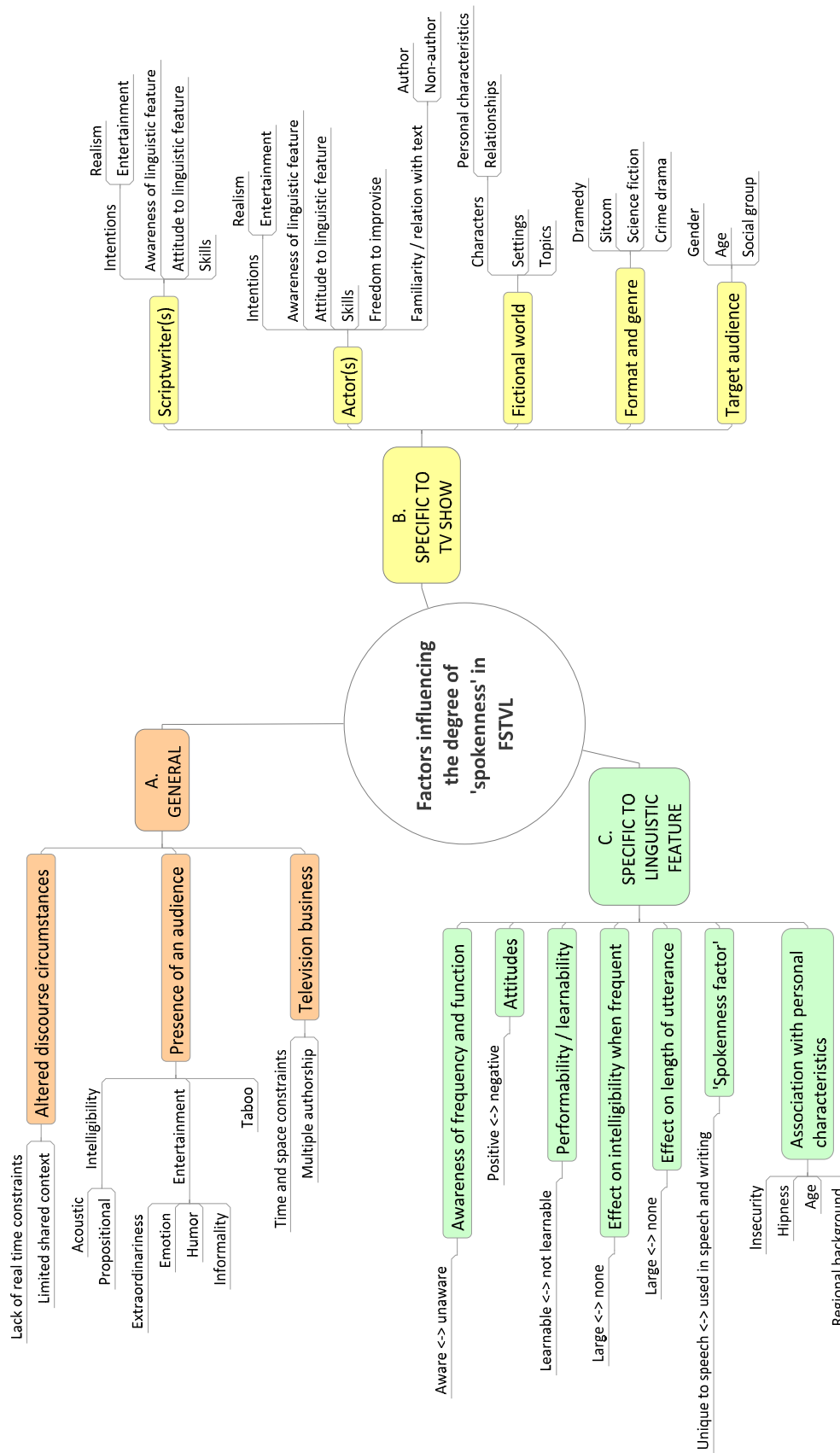


Abbildung 5: Taxonomie von Einflussfaktoren für den Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit in FSTVL

Sämtliche berücksichtigte Faktoren werden zum Abschluss des 4. Kapitels in einer Taxonomie in Form einer Mind Map visualisiert (vgl. Abbildung 5). Diese untergliedert die Einflussfaktoren in drei Gruppen, die jedoch auch eng miteinander verknüpft sind und sich wechselseitig beeinflussen: A. Allgemeine Faktoren, B. TV-Show-spezifische Faktoren und C. Merkmal-spezifische Faktoren. Diese Taxonomie sollte sich als ein nützliches Modell erweisen, wenn es darum geht, FSTVL zu analysieren, systematisch und detailliert zu beschreiben und Unterschiede zu NOC zu erklären bzw. auch vorherzusagen. Sie ist jedoch nicht als exhaustiv zu betrachten, und sie kann und soll zukünftig durchaus erweitert werden.

Grundsätzlich bleibt festzustellen, dass für die Zwecke der vorliegenden Studie eine korpusbasierte Analyse des für Unterrichtszwecke in Betracht gezogenen Film- und TV-Materials unabdingbar ist, da, wie oben bemerkt, mitunter sehr große Unterschiede zwischen verschiedenen FSTVL-Datensätzen gefunden wurden, was den Grad an Authentizität und die Frequenz einzelner sprachlicher Phänomene betrifft.

Kapitel 5

Methodologie: Zur Kompilation und Analyse von CATS (A Corpus of American Television Series)

Im 5. Kapitel beschreibe ich zunächst im Detail sämtliche Schritte bei der Kompilation des neuen FSTVL-Korpus. Der erste wichtige Schritt bestand in der Auswahl des FSTVL-Materials, das in dem Korpus repräsentiert sein sollte. Fernsehserien, besonders *comedy-drama series / domestic drama series / dramedies* wurden als besonders geeignet erachtet, da sie im Vergleich zu Spielfilmen besonders viel zusammenhängendes Material mit jeweils den gleichen Charakteren bieten und typischerweise eine Vielzahl von alltäglichen Settings und Themen beinhalten, die potentiell didaktisch nutzbar sind. Die Auswahl geeigneter TV-Serien wurde anhand einer Reihe an Kriterien getroffen, die die Sprache, die Inhalte und Themen, das Format/Genre, die Beliebtheit des Film-/TV-Produktes und die Verfügbarkeit der audiovisuellen Daten sowie entsprechender Transkripte betrafen.

Die US-amerikanischen TV-Serien, die aufgrund der Kriterien und mithilfe einer zusätzlichen Umfrage unter 20 US-Amerikanern für die Kompilation dieses Korpus ausgewählt wurde, sind *Gilmore Girls* (The WB, 2000-2006, und The CW, 2006-2007), *Monk* (USA Network, 2002-2009), *Six Feet Under* (HBO, 2001-2005) und *Veronica Mars* (UPN, 2004-2006). Jeweils 7 aufeinanderfolgende Folgen wurden ausgewählt. Eine Auflistung dieser Folgen sowie genauere Beschreibungen der Themen und Inhalte dieser Serien sind Appendix 1 zu entnehmen. Für die Transkription der insgesamt 28 Folgen (zwischen 40-55 Minuten Spielzeit) wurde auf im Internet verfügbare Fan-Transkripte zurückgegriffen, die

anschließend umfangreich korrigiert und editiert wurden, um einen einheitlichen Standard zu erreichen. Dieser Prozess wird in Kapitel 5.1.2 detailliert beschrieben. Wichtig ist hier, dass die Dialoge der Fernsehserien orthographisch transkribiert und somit auch für nicht-Linguisten praktikabel sind, und dass Kontextinformationen (z.B. Handlungen der Charaktere, Szeneninformationen) ausführlich repräsentiert sind. Besonderes Augenmerk galt auch der konsistenten Repräsentation von Performanzphänomenen wie gefüllten Pausen (*uh*, *uhm*), abgebrochenen Sätzen, *backchannels* (z.B. *uh-huh*, *mhm*), usw. Abbildung 6 zeigt einen Ausschnitt aus dem Korpus, der die Transkriptionskonventionen illustriert.

```
<ACT FIVE>
<SCENE ONE: Nate's Bedroom>
<We see another flashback of when NATE and DAVID were
young kids. They play in the front yard, as NATHANIEL,
SR. sprays them and the grass with a hose. RUTH sits on
the front porch steps and laughs. They seem to be a
happy family. NATE wakes up.>

<SCENE TWO: Fisher Kitchen>
<NATE enters the kitchen, where RUTH is washing dishes.>
<NATE:> Good morning.
<They hug.>
<RUTH:> Thank God you're here.
<NATE:> Yeah, well, uh, of course I'm here.
<RUTH:> What do you want for breakfast?
<NATE:> Uh, I'm gonna go for a run. I'll eat when I get
back.
<RUTH:> Nate?
<NATE:> Yeah?
<RUTH:> You don't have to go back to Seattle right away,
do you?
<NATE:> Uh... <pauses> I guess not. I - can make a few
calls.
<RUTH:> Thank you.
<NATE:> Yeah, sure.
<RUTH:> Just for a few days.
<NATE:> Okay.
```

Abbildung 6: Auszug aus CATS (Six Feet Under, Staffel 1, Folge 1, "Pilot")

Tabelle 1: Aufbau von CATS

	Words	% of CATS
<i>Gilmore Girls</i> 4 (GG)	53,806	33.6
<i>Monk</i> 1	38,124	23.8
<i>Six Feet Under</i> 1 (SFU)	36,786	23.0
<i>Veronica Mars</i> 1 (VM)	31,406	19.6
CATS (total)	160,122	100.0

Das Design von CATS reflektiert in großem Maße die von Braun (2005) skizzierten Charakteristika von *pedagogically relevant corpora*. Mit seinen 160,122 Wörtern (vgl. Tabelle 1) ist das Korpus groß genug für lexiko-grammatikalische Analysen, aber auch klein genug, um im Fremdsprachenunterricht überschaubar und handhabbar zu bleiben.

In Bezug auf die in CATS beinhalteten Themen und Inhalte ist festzuhalten, dass alle vier Serien vielzählige 'normale', tagtägliche Interaktionen zwischen Familienmitgliedern, Freunden, Partnern und Arbeitskollegen zeigen. Gleichzeitig sind natürlich auch einige nicht so alltägliche Inhalte vorhanden – schließlich machen gerade diese auch den Unterhaltungswert einer solchen Serie aus. Aktuell besteht das Korpus noch aus einer Kollektion von Text-Dateien, die jedoch im Zusammenspiel mit den jeweiligen offiziellen DVDs genutzt werden können, um den Zugang zu den audiovisuellen Daten auszunutzen. Informelle face-to-face Konversation ist die häufigste Sprachform in CATS, wobei auch ein paar formellere oder transaktionale Interaktionen vorhanden sind, wie z.B. Bestellungen in einem Restaurant, Kundengespräche und Interaktion zwischen Lehrer/innen und Schüler/innen. Die Frage, inwieweit die Fernsehdialoge Phänomene der gesprochenen Grammatik widerspiegeln, wird im Analyseteil der vorliegenden Arbeit behandelt.

In Kapitel 5.2 stelle ich die Indikatoren für mündlichen Sprachstil (*indicators of spoken style*) dar, die in der Analyse dazu dienen werden, *grosso modo* den Grad an sprachlicher Authentizität (hinsichtlich lexiko-grammatikalischer Phänomene) zu bewerten. Diese wurden anhand von mehreren Auswahlkriterien festgelegt und sind nach vier Kategorien geordnet, die an Biber et al.'s (1999) *discourse circumstances of conversation* orientiert sind.

I. Features related primarily to the real-time constraints of conversation

- 1) filled pauses (*uh, uhm*)
- 2) repeats (e.g. *you - you - you*)
- 3) *that*-deletion (e.g. *I thought _ he left already*)
- 4) contractions (e.g. *I'm, he's, we've*)

II. Features related primarily to the shared context of conversation

- 5) *do* as a pro-verb (e.g. *I wanna do it*)
- 6) demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *That's not true*)

III. Features related primarily to the interactivity of conversation

- 7) present tense verbs (e.g. *She says hello; We are having dinner at 6*)
- 8) second person pronouns (e.g. *you, your*)
- 9) analytic negation (e.g. *I don't like it; He is not in the mood*)

IV. Features related primarily to the expression of stance in conversation

- 10) private verbs (e.g. *think, mean*)

Die Kategorisierung wurde vorgenommen, da die spätere Dateninterpretation auch maßgeblich eben solche situationellen Umstände berücksichtigen wird. Zugleich ist es aber auch so, dass die einzelnen sprachlichen Phänomene sehr wohl mit mehreren Diskursumständen verbunden sind, so dass diese Kategorisierung nicht als fix angesehen werden sollte. Sämtliche dieser Indikatoren wurden in früheren korpuslinguistischen Studien (besonders Biber et al. 1999; Biber 1988) als besonders typisch für Konversation befunden, und viele dieser Indikatoren wurden bereits in früheren Studien als '*key conversational features*' (Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009) oder '*conversational diagnostics*' (Culpeper and Kytö 2000) genutzt, um '*speech-related registers*' mit NOC zu vergleichen.

Auch die didaktisch relevanten sprachlichen Merkmale (*pedagogically relevant features*) wurden anhand mehrerer Kriterien festgelegt (Kapitel 5.3). Sicherlich ist 'Relevanz' insofern relativ, als dass in jedem individuellen Lernkontext andere Aspekte relevant erscheinen. Dennoch gibt es einige Dinge, die besonders wichtig für die für diese Studie anvisierte Zielgruppe (10-13. Klasse am deutschen Gymnasium) erscheinen. Die sprachlichen Phänomene, die in der Analyse näher beleuchtet werden, sind die folgenden:

- 1) discourse markers (e.g. *you know*)
- 2) greetings and farewells: fixed expressions (e.g. *Hi*)
- 3) polite speech act formulae: fixed expressions which realize speech acts (e.g. *thanks, sorry*)
- 4) strong words: expletives, swearwords, etc. (e.g. *shit*)

Diese Merkmale stellen lediglich wenige von vielen für das Fremdsprachenlernen relevanten Phänomenen vor, die man prinzipiell untersuchen könnte, doch da sie teilweise auch qualitativ analysiert werden sollten, konnten in dieser Studie nur diese als exemplarisch fungieren. Wie an Merkmal 4 zu erkennen ist, beinhaltet meine Definition von 'didaktischer Relevanz' nicht nur Phänomene, deren Produktion oder Rezeption unbedingt unterrichtet werden sollte: Vielmehr wäre aus didaktischer Sicht gewünscht, dass Kraftausdrücke (Schimpfwörter, Tabuwörter) nur in begrenztem Umfang im Unterrichtsmaterial vorhanden sind. Zwar wurde diesem Anspruch schon durch die Auswahl der Serien (deutsche FSK: ab 12 Jahre) Rechnung getragen, aber dennoch sind diese 'kritischen' Aspekte von natürlich gesprochener Sprache bei der Bewertung der Eignung von Sprachmaterial für das Fremdsprachenlernen zu berücksichtigen.

Nach der Vorstellung der zu untersuchenden Variablen gehe ich zum Schluss des 5. Kapitels auf die Referenzdaten ein, die für den Vergleich von CATS mit NOC genutzt werden. So greife ich hauptsächlich auf Daten von Studien zurück, die das nicht-öffentliche,

ca. 5 Millionen Wörter umfassende *Longman Spoken American Corpus* genutzt haben (z.B. Mittmann 2004) bzw. frühere Versionen oder Samples davon wie z.B. Biber et al. (1999) und Quaglio (2009). Diese Referenzdaten werden genauer beschrieben und kritisch diskutiert sowie jeweils einem hochgestellten Buchstaben als Code zugewiesen, um die folgenden Vergleiche und Ergebnispräsentationen transparent zu machen. Dann gebe ich einen kurzen Überblick über die Tools, die für die computergestützte Analyse genutzt wurden. Hier sind besonders das Korpus-Analyse-Tool *WordsSmith Tools* (v. 5) (Scott 2008), dessen Wortlisten- und Konkordanzfunktionen genutzt wurden, sowie *Wmatrix* (v. 3) (Rayson 2008, 2009), dessen *POS-tagging* Funktionen (mit CLAWS4) und *Keyness-Analysis* Funktionen genutzt wurden, zu nennen. Schließlich stelle ich die in dieser Arbeit hauptsächlich genutzten statistischen Methoden vor. Für die folgende Darstellung der Analyseergebnisse ist zu bemerken, dass statistisch signifikante Häufigkeitsunterschiede in den Tabellen mit Asterisken gekennzeichnet sind: * steht für signifikante Unterschiede mit $p < 0.05$, ** entspricht $p < 0.01$ und *** entspricht $p < 0.001$. Signifikante Häufigkeitsunterschiede werden zudem auch als Übergebrauch/Überrepräsentation (E. *overuse/overrepresentation*), in der Tabelle mit "(+)" vermerkt, bzw. Untergebrauch/Unterrepräsentation (E. *underuse/underrepresentation*) (-) bezeichnet.

Kapitel 6

Analyse (I): Grad an sprachlicher Authentizität

In Kapitel 6 stelle ich die Ergebnisse der Analyse der Indikatoren für mündlichen Sprachstil, geordnet nach den o.g. vier Kategorien, vor. Dabei ist die Vorgehensweise für jede Kategorie so, dass zunächst ein Rückbezug auf die jeweiligen *discourse circumstances* stattfindet und Hypothesen zum Ausgang der einzelnen Analysen aufgestellt werden. Vor der Analyse eines jeden Indikators wird dieser kurz formal und funktional beschrieben und mit Beispielen aus CATS illustriert. Dann werden die Analyseergebnisse des Vergleichs zwischen CATS und NOC präsentiert – zunächst immer mit CATS als Gesamtkorpus, im Anschluss auch die einzelnen Subkorpora (d.h. die vier Serien) im Vergleich. Letztere Teilanalyse kann Hinweise darüber erbringen, ob das ermittelte Ergebnis potentiell ein generelles (FSTVL-typisches) Phänomen oder eher serien-spezifisch ist und das Ergebnis ggf. von beachtlichen Idiosynkrasien beeinflusst ist. Die Ergebnispräsentation ist jeweils von einer Diskussionsphase gefolgt, in der ich versuche, funktionale Erklärungen für die quantitativen Resultate zu finden und diese in Bezug zu der in Kapitel 4 konzipierten Taxonomie setze. Hier verfolge ich somit einen interpretativen Ansatz. Darüber hinaus vergleiche ich meine Ergebnisse mit den Ergebnissen aus vorherigen Studien zu FSTVL und schließe jede

Indikatorenkategorie mit einer Zusammenfassung ab. Im Folgenden werde ich exemplarisch nur auf einen Indikator etwas detaillierter eingehen und danach die Gesamtergebnisse und deren Implikationen zusammenfassen.

In Kategorie 1 ("Indicators of spoken style [I]: Related primarily to real-time constraints") werden große Unterschiede zwischen CATS und NOC erwartet, da die Sprache in CATS zum größten Teil geplant ist und daher Häsitationsphänomene (*uh/uhm, repeats*) eine deutlich geringere Rolle spielen sollten. Gleichzeitig sind in dieser Kategorie aber auch Phänomene inbegriffen, die zu einer ökonomischeren, dem Zeit- und Planungsdruck angepassten Sprachproduktion beitragen (z.B. *contractions, that-deletion*). Die zwei Facetten der Echtzeit-Restriktionen sind in Abbildung 7 dargestellt. Es ist zu erwarten, dass 'normal dysfluency' eine geringere Rolle in FSTVL spielt, während 'effort-reducing devices' durchaus authentisch repräsentiert sein könnten.

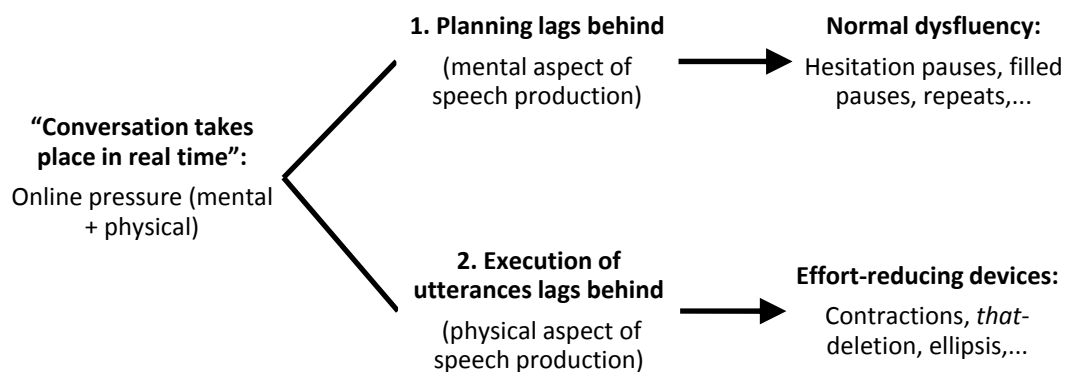


Abbildung 7: Die zwei Seiten der Echtzeit-Restriktionen in natürlicher Konversation

Die Analyse des Indikators *filled pauses (uh, uhm)* ergibt, dass gefüllte Pausen in CATS in der Tat signifikant unterrepräsentiert sind (hochgestelltes ^e = Vergleichsdaten für amerikanische [AmE] Konversation aus Mittmann 2004). Dieser Befund gilt für alle Serien, wie aus Tabelle 2 ersichtlich wird: Bei allen Serien zeigt sich ein signifikanter Unterschied im Vergleich zu natürlicher Konversation, auch wenn die allgemeine Unterrepräsentation unterschiedlich stark ausgeprägt ist.

Tabelle 2: Gefüllte Pausen (*uh*, *uhm*) in CATS im Vergleich zu natürlicher AmE Konversation^e

	n	pmw	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
AmE conv. ^e (4,884,960 words)	42,899	8,782			
CATS (total) (160,122 words)	801	5,002	300.48	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
GG (53,806 words)	226	4,200	158.26	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
Monk (38,124 words)	239	6,269	30.27	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
SFU (36,786 words)	208	5,654	46.65	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
VM (31,406 words)	128	4,076	98.58	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}

Die Ergebnisse entsprechen also durchaus den Vorüberlegungen, wobei möglicherweise ein noch größerer Unterschied zu NOC hätte angenommen werden können. Gerade Häsitationsphänomenen wird gemeinhin zugeschrieben, dass bei ihnen der größte Unterschied zwischen FSTVL und natürlicher Sprache zu finden ist. Immerhin besteht ein stark verminderter genuiner Planungsdruck bei den Sprechern, gefüllte Pausen sind grundsätzlich eher stigmatisiert und werden in Lehrbüchern zum Drehbuchschreiben kritisiert, und sie werden häufig als 'Störfaktoren' für Fernsehdialoge empfunden, die das Drehbuch verlängern, aber unwesentlich zum Inhalt beitragen. Darüber hinaus sind sie für Schauspieler vergleichsweise schwierig auf natürlich wirkende Weise zu imitieren. Diese Faktoren senken die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass gefüllte Pausen auch in FSTVL häufig vertreten sind. Wenn sie von Drehbuchschreibern und Schauspielern genutzt werden, dann ist das hauptsächlich ganz bewusst und zu ganz bestimmten Zwecken – zum einen wohl, um die Dialoge bewusst natürlich klingen zu lassen, und zum anderen, um gewisse Figuren der fiktionalen Welt zu charakterisieren.

Wenn man nun die Häufigkeiten für *uh* und *uhm* separat betrachtet, ergibt sich ein recht überraschendes Bild, dass die vorher angenommene Homogenität der Resultate für gefüllte Pausen etwas relativiert (vgl. Abbildung 8). Am auffälligsten ist, dass die Werte für *uh* in *Monk* (4721 pmw) und SFU (4812 pmw) natürlich gesprochener Sprache sehr stark ähneln. Der Unterschied zu NOC ist für beide Serien sogar nicht statistisch signifikant, d.h. die gefüllte Pause *uh* wird, was ihre Häufigkeit betrifft, sehr authentisch repräsentiert. Die Gründe für diese unterschiedliche Distribution innerhalb von CATS sind wohl im Bereich der B-Faktoren der Taxonomie zu suchen. Es liegt nahe, dass die Frequenz von *uh* in *Monk* besonders hoch ist, da der Protagonist (Adrian Monk) ein extrem unsicherer und zögerlicher Charakter ist und daher *uh* gezielt genutzt wird, um diese Unsicherheit zu betonen und zu dramatisieren. Diese Vermutung müsste jedoch mithilfe von zusätzlichen qualitativen

Analysen abgesichert werden, in der jedes Vorkommen von *uh* nach dem/r jeweiligen Sprecher/in kodiert ist.

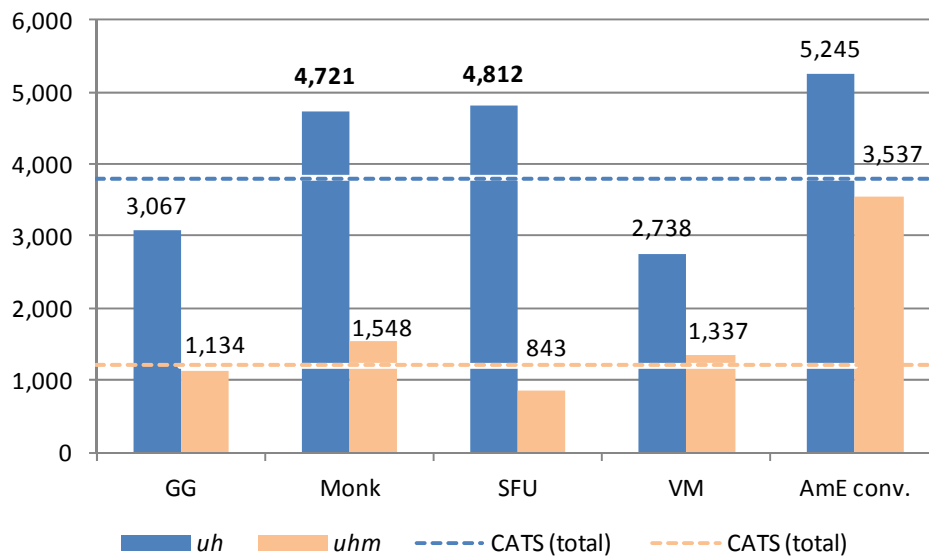


Abbildung 8: *Uh* und *uhm* in CATS Subkorpora im Vergleich zu natürlicher AmE Konversation^c

Die hohe Häufigkeit in SFU mag dem großen Bestreben der Drehbuchschreiber und Schauspieler, natürliche Sprache authentisch widerzuspiegeln, geschuldet sein. Doch auch dies bedürfte genauerer Folgeanalysen. Was jedoch bereits an dieser Stelle festgehalten werden kann, ist, dass FSTVL nicht zwangsläufig konzeptionell weniger mündlich ist (also weniger Merkmale aufweist, die mit konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit assoziiert sind), obwohl es ja so eng mit einem schriftlichen Dokument in Verbindung steht. Es kommt auf das genaue sprachliche Merkmal an, das untersucht wird, und selbst Merkmale, die zur gleichen Kategorie gehören (wie z.B. *uh* und *uhm*), können unterschiedliche Ergebnisse aufweisen. Auch können mitunter signifikante Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Serien zu finden sein, so dass gewisse Serien sich in Bezug auf die Häufigkeit eines Merkmals stark von NOC unterscheiden, wohingegen andere die natürliche Häufigkeit sehr authentisch widerspiegeln. Dies bekräftigt auch die Resultate früherer Studien (z.B. Bednarek 2011), die verschiedene FSTVL-Produkte miteinander vergleichen und große Heterogenität innerhalb von FSTVL feststellen.

Tabelle 3: Gesamtübersicht der Analyseergebnisse (I): Indikatoren für mündlichen Sprachstil im Vergleich zu natürlich vorkommender Konversation^{a,c,d,e}

Indicators of spoken style			
	LL	p	overuse (+) / underuse (-)
(I) Related primarily to real-time constraints			
1. filled pauses (<i>uh + uhm</i>)	300.48	<0.0001	(-) ^{***}
2. repeats	2.54	> 0.05	n.s.
3. <i>that</i> -deletion	0.00	> 0.05	n.s.
4. contractions	11.27	<0.001	(+) ^{***}
(II) Related primarily to shared context			
5. <i>do</i> as a pro-verb	6.54	<0.05	(-)*
6. demonstrative pronouns	8.63	<0.01	(+) ^{**}
(III) Related primarily to interactivity			
7. second person pronouns	1,286.22	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}
8. analytic negation	1.11	> 0.05	n.s.
(IV) Related primarily to expression of stance			
9. private verbs	31.90	<0.0001	(+) ^{***}

In Tabelle 3 werden nun die Analyseergebnisse in einer Gesamtübersicht dargestellt. Die Vergleichsdaten stammen aus Biber et al. (1999) sowie Mittmann (2004). Es sei hier angemerkt, dass die Analyse der *present tense verbs* aus der Wertung herausgenommen wurde, da sich herausstellte, dass die Komparabilität mit den Referenzdaten nicht gewährleistet werden konnte und die alternativen Ergebnisse, je nach Einbezug oder Ausschluss von Imperativverben, zwischen einer signifikanten Überrepräsentation und einer signifikanten Unterrepräsentation variierten. Aus der Tabelle wird ersichtlich, dass sich bei drei von neun Indikatoren keine signifikanten Unterschiede finden lassen ("n.s." bedeutet 'statistisch nicht signifikant'), vier Indikatoren signifikant häufiger in CATS auftreten und nur zwei Indikatoren signifikant seltener in CATS als in NOC auftreten.

Wenn man sich die als Titel von Kapitel 6.5 genutzte Frage stellt: "Wie ähnlich ist CATS natürlich vorkommender Sprache?", ist diese nicht ganz eindeutig zu beantworten. Verschiedene Aspekte, die zusammen das Gesamtbild von konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit ausmachen, sind in jeweils verschiedenem Maße in CATS repräsentiert. Dennoch deuten die Ergebnisse sehr stark darauf hin, dass CATS nicht weniger konzeptionell mündlich ist als NOC. Vielmehr kann man aufgrund der hier verwendeten Indikatoren feststellen, dass ähnlich viele oder sogar mehr Mündlichkeitsmerkmale in CATS auftreten. Konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit wird sicherlich anders konstruiert als in NOC, aber letztendlich zu einem vergleichbaren Grad. FSTVL ist somit *irreal*, was die Entstehungsumstände und Spontaneität der Sprachproduktion betrifft, doch kann es in Bezug auf die Häufigkeiten gewisser mit

konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit assoziierten Merkmale äußerst *realistisch* sein – unabhängig davon, aus welchen Gründen diese Merkmale so stark präsent sind. Es ist und wird schwierig bleiben, die Gründe für die jeweiligen Ergebnisse eindeutig und exhaustiv zu identifizieren, da viele diverse Faktoren eine Rolle spielen (vgl. Taxonomie).

Zum Schluss des 6. Kapitels diskutiere ich die Frage, inwieweit die Ergebnisse für CATS auch Rückschlüsse auf FSTVL im Allgemeinen zulassen – schließlich wurden zwischen den einzelnen Serien in CATS an mehreren Stellen beträchtliche Unterschiede beobachtet. Aus Tabelle 4 wird ersichtlich, dass die Serien jedoch auch einige grundsätzliche Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen. In Fettdruck (a-c) werden vier *wahrscheinliche* Trends in FSTVL markiert, wohingegen d) und e) vier *mögliche* Trends darstellen. Lediglich für den Indikator *repeats* lässt sich gar kein Trend feststellen.

Tabelle 4: Trends in CATS, die potentielle Trends in FSTVL indizieren

Probable trends in FSTVL	Evidence in CATS
a) Insignificant difference	
1. <i>that</i> -deletion	all TV shows "n.s."
2. analytic negation	all TV shows "n.s."
b) Clear underrepresentation	
1. filled pauses (<i>uh + uhm</i>)	all TV shows (-)
c) Clear overrepresentation	
1. second person pronouns	all TV shows (+)
d) Tendency to insignificant difference	
1. <i>do</i> as a pro-verb	3 "n.s.", 1 (-)
2. demonstrative pronouns	3 "n.s.", 1 (+)
e) Tendency to overrepresentation	
1. contractions	2 (+), 2 "n.s."; all display higher frequency
2. private verbs	2 (+), 2 "n.s."; all display higher frequency
f) No trend discernible	
1. repeats	2 "n.s.", 1 (-), 1 (+)

Die in Tabelle 4 zusammengestellten Ergebnisse und die während der Analyse angestellten interpretatorischen Überlegungen im Zusammenhang mit bisheriger Forschung zu FSTVL lassen mich zu folgenden Schlussfolgerungen kommen: Sprachliche Merkmale mit einem spezifischen Profil sind mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit in vergleichbarem Maße oder in höherem Maße in FSTVL repräsentiert, was ihre Auftretenshäufigkeit betrifft. Dazu gehören Merkmale, die

- zeiteffiziente Sprachproduktion unterstützen (oder den Produktionsprozess zumindest nicht verlängern),
- Dramatik, Emotionen und persönliche Haltungen/Einstellungen vermitteln,
- leicht zu 'performen' sind (d.h. leicht von Schauspielern gesprochen/imitiert werden können),
- nicht stigmatisiert sind, und

- keine Vagheit erzeugen, die die Verständlichkeit beeinträchtigen könnten.

Je mehr dieser Eigenschaften ein Merkmal besitzt, desto wahrscheinlicher ist also eine ähnliche oder höhere Frequenz in FSTVL.

Letztendlich bleibt zu betonen, dass es sicherlich immer schwierig bleiben wird, eine vollständige, allgemein gültige Beschreibung von FSTVL zu erreichen, da diese Kategorie sehr divers ist. Damit bestätige ich die Vermutungen, die Bednarek (2011: 72) aufstellt. Schon innerhalb eines Formats wie *domestic dramedies* können substantielle Unterschiede ausgemacht werden. Zu FSTVL gehören prinzipiell jedoch viele weitere Formate (z.B. auch: Sitcoms, Science-Fiction-Serien, Ärzte-Serien und auch Spielfilme), die vermutlich einige Eigenschaften mit *domestic dramedies* teilen, aber auch ihre Eigenheiten aufweisen werden. Auch die anvisierte Zielgruppe (z.B. Jugendliche vs. Erwachsene) wird Einfluss auf die sprachliche Ausgestaltung haben. Zukünftige Analysen zum Zwecke einer vollständigeren und umfangreicheren sprachlichen Beschreibung von FSTVL sollten noch größere Korpora zu ihrer Grundlage machen, die eine größere Menge an verschiedenen TV-Serien aus verschiedenen Genres berücksichtigen. Dies könnte die hier präsentierten Ergebnisse auf eine noch solidere Basis stellen. Aus sprachpädagogischer Perspektive sind die Ergebnisse von Analyse (I) allerdings sehr wohl zufriedenstellend, da sie klare Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich der sprachlichen Eignung von CATS für Unterrichtszwecke zulassen. Diese Aspekte werden eingehend in Kapitel 7 besprochen.

Kapitel 7

Analyse (II): Grad der sprachlichen Eignung

Kapitel 7 beginnt mit einer kurzen Diskussion über 'sprachliche Eignung.' Hier wird betont, dass sprachliche Authentizität sicherlich nur ein Aspekt ist, der zu beachten ist, wenn geeignetes Sprachmaterial für den Fremdsprachenunterricht ausgewählt wird – viele andere Aspekte, die mit dem konkreten Lernkontext, dem Profil der Lerner und den Lernzielen zu tun haben, spielen auch eine wichtige Rolle. Daher wird es nicht möglich sein, eine universelle Antwort auf die Frage zu geben, ob die Sprache in CATS geeignet und angemessen für Lerner des Englischen ist. Ich beziehe mich auch im Folgenden deswegen wieder vorrangig auf die Zielgruppe '10.-13. Stufe eines deutschen Gymnasiums.'

In Kapitel 7.2 werden die Ergebnisse aus Analyse (I) aus fremdsprachendidaktischer Sicht evaluiert. Ich stelle hier fest, dass die Sprache in CATS zwar deutliche Unterschiede zu NOC aufweist, die meisten Unterschiede jedoch nicht unmittelbar negativ auf die sprachliche Eignung auswirken. Beispielsweise ist eine geringere Häufigkeit an gefüllten

Pausen (und ggf. anderen Häsitationsphänomenen) für Unterrichtszwecke nicht störend, sondern in vielen Kontexten eher zuträglich: es ist eine leicht 'aufgeräumte' Art von Sprache (*'tidied-up/polished language'*), die die Lerner vermutlich weniger herausfordert (oder gar irritiert) als Transkripte natürlich gesprochener Sprache, gleichzeitig jedoch nicht zu künstlich wirkt. So gibt es auch noch ausreichend Beispiele, die im Unterricht genutzt werden können. Die meisten Unterschiede zwischen CATS und NOC bestehen darüber hinaus in einer *Überrepräsentation* der Indikatoren konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit, so dass dies für die Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik durchaus von Vorteil sein kann. Mögliche Bedenken, dass FSTVL zu sehr an schriftlichen Normen orientiert sei, können somit nicht bestätigt werden. Insgesamt wird die Sprache in CATS also trotz der ermittelten Diskrepanzen von NOC als für den Fremdsprachenunterricht geeignet betrachtet, was den Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit bzw. an sprachlicher Authentizität betrifft.

In Analyse (II) liegt der Fokus auf der Beschreibung von CATS hinsichtlich konkreter sprachlicher Phänomene, die für Unterrichtsszenarien relevant sind. Es wird untersucht, ob die Häufigkeiten dieser Auswahl an *pedagogically relevant features* für Unterrichtszwecke akzeptabel sind, so dass der Ansatz hier also wieder primär quantitativ ist. Allerdings steht außer Frage, dass reine Häufigkeiten gewisser Merkmale nur *einen* Aspekt einer natürlichen Darstellung von Sprache ausmachen. Für Unterrichtszwecke ist auch besonders wichtig, dass die Funktionen und Kontexte dieser sprachlichen Merkmale natürlich widergespiegelt sind. Daher werden exemplarisch im Falle von drei Diskursmarkern zusätzliche, qualitative Analysen durchgeführt. Sämtliche Merkmale werden auch durch zahlreiche Beispiele aus CATS illustriert. Einige zentrale Ergebnisse von Analyse (II) werden nun im Folgenden zusammengefasst.

Bei der ersten Gruppe didaktisch relevanter Merkmale handelt es sich um Kraftausdrücke. Zwar sind alle Serien in CATS von der deutschen FSK als "ab 12 Jahren geeignet" eingestuft werden, aber dennoch ist es aus pädagogischer Perspektive interessant, in welchem Umfang Kraftausdrücke vorhanden sind. Aus dem Balkendiagramm in Abbildung 9 wird deutlich, dass sich innerhalb von CATS ein sehr heterogenes Bild ergibt (Vergleichsdaten stammen aus Quaglio 2009). Zwar ist die Gesamtfrequenz in CATS, die durch die gestrichelte Trendlinie markiert ist, mit 2036 pmw signifikant höher ($p < 0,0001$) als die in natürlicher AmE Konversation (960 pmw), doch diese hohe Frequenz ist maßgeblich durch ein Subkorpus verursacht, nämlich SFU (6660 pmw). *Monk* und VM unterscheiden sich nicht signifikant von AmE, wohingegen für GG sogar eine hochsignifikante Unterrepräsentation festzustellen ist.

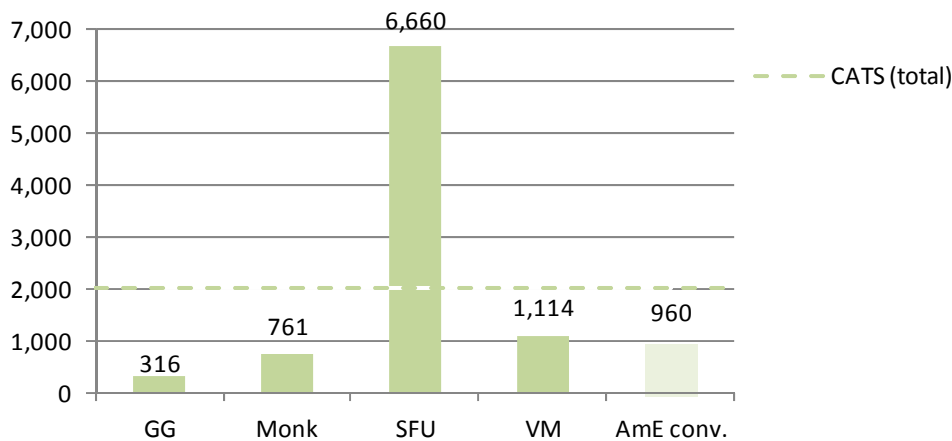


Abbildung 9: Kraftausdrücke in CATS Subkorpora im Vergleich zu natürlicher AmE Konversation²: *damn, damnit, fuck* (und Variationen), *shit(ty)*, *crap(py)*, *bitch(y)*, *ass, butt* (pmw)

Die wohl stärksten und tabuisiertesten Kraftausdrücke *fuck* (und sämtliche Variationen) und *shit(ty)* kommen ausschließlich in SFU vor, was wahrscheinlich daran liegt, dass diese Serie in den USA eine etwas andere Zielgruppe hat und aufgrund der Ausstrahlung über einen privaten Kabelsender weniger durch Auflagen eingeschränkt ist. GG, *Monk* und VM unterliegen weitaus strengeren Restriktionen. Mildere Ausrufe wie z.B. *oh(,) my God* oder *what the hell(s)* sind wiederum in allen vier Subkorpora deutlich häufiger vorhanden als in NOC. Diese Ausdrücke können auch starke Emotionalität übertragen, wie es in Fernsehproduktionen zum Zwecke der Unterhaltung gewünscht und üblich ist (vgl. Bednarek 2011, Quaglio 2009), aber unterliegen nicht dem gleichen Tabu wie z.B. *fuck* oder *shit*.

Die zweite Gruppe besteht aus Höflichkeitsausdrücken, die konventionelle Sprechakte (z.B. danken, bitten, entschuldigen) ausführen. Hier berücksichtige ich ausschließlich diejenigen Ausdrücke, die eine *insert*-Funktion haben und feste Wendungen darstellen, wie z.B. *thank you* und *excuse me*. Meine Analyse kann bisherige Befunde zu FSTVL (z.B. Mittmann 2006; Quaglio 2009) bestätigen: Solche Formeln sind hochsignifikant häufiger ($p < 0.0001$) in CATS (3529 pmw) als in NOC (950 pmw). Wie aus Abbildung 10 zu erkennen ist, gilt die Überrepräsentation für sämtliche Subkorpora, wobei *Monk* durch eine besonders hohe Frequenz heraussticht (Vergleichsdaten stammen aus Biber et al. 1999). Dieses Ergebnis mag durchaus als ein Vorteil gegenüber Korpora natürlich vorkommender Sprache gewertet werden, da CATS eine wesentlich größere Dichte dieser kommunikativ sehr relevanten Merkmale bietet, was darauf deutet, dass in CATS sehr viele höfliche Sprechakte repräsentiert sind.

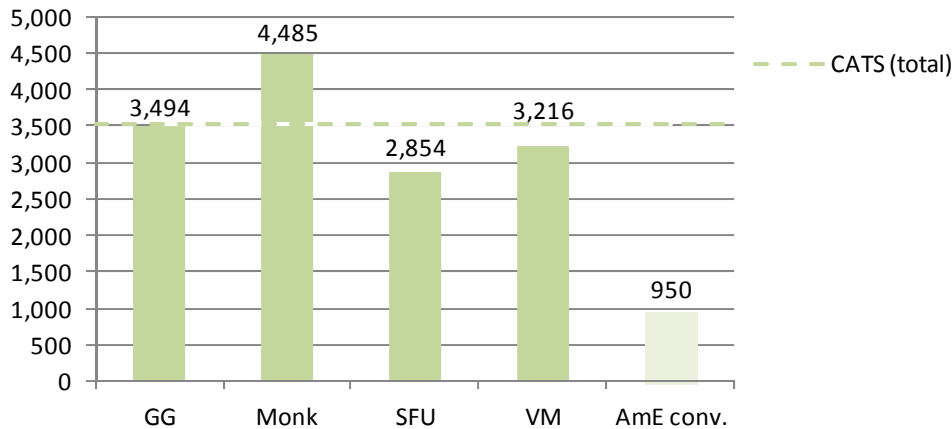


Abbildung 10: Höflichkeitsausdrücke in CATS Subkorpora im Vergleich zu natürlicher AmE Konversation^a: *thank you, thank you very much, thanks, sorry, excuse me, please* (pmw)

Darüber hinaus stehen durch die DVDs die dazugehörigen audiovisuellen Daten zur Verfügung, die wertvolle weitere Hinweise geben können. Bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch, dass die zwei Serien mit der geringsten Anzahl an Kraftausdrücken auch die mit der höchsten Anzahl an Höflichkeitsausdrücken sind: GG und *Monk* repräsentieren scheinbar den sprachlich 'anständigsten' und höflichsten Sprachgebrauch.

Die dritte Gruppe setzt sich aus festen Ausdrücken zusammen, die für Begrüßungen und Verabschiedungen genutzt werden, wie z.B. *hi, hey* und *bye*. Abbildung 11 visualisiert die Resultate (wiederum wurden nur Fälle mit *insert*-Funktion gezählt; Vergleichsdaten stammen aus Biber et al. 1999).

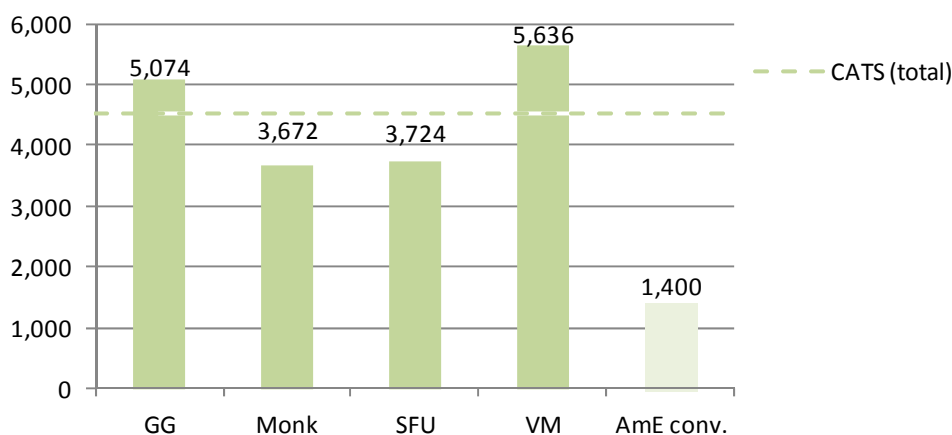


Abbildung 11: Begrüßungen und Verabschiedungen in CATS Subkorpora und in natürlicher AmE Konversation^a: *hi, hello, hey, bye, bye(-)bye* (pmw)

Das Bild ist dem der Höflichkeitsausdrücke recht ähnlich: CATS ist durch einen starken, höchst signifikanten Übergebrauch ($p < 0.0001$) charakterisiert mit 4540 pmw vs. 1400 pmw. Dieser Übergebrauch trifft auch auf alle vier Subkorpora von CATS zu, wobei zwischen den

Subkorpora eine große Spannweite zu verzeichnen ist. Auch weitere Ausdrücke wie *see you* (...) und *good(-)bye/goodbye* sind höherfrequent in CATS als in AmE. Dieses Ergebnis bekräftigt die sehr ähnlichen Befunde von Mittmann (2006) und Quaglio (2009).

Aus didaktischer Sicht ist dieses Resultat durchaus zu begrüßen, da es bedeutet, dass kommunikativ relevante Kontexte wie Begrüßungen und Verabschiedungen offenbar sehr viel häufiger in CATS auftreten, als sie es in Korpora natürlicher Sprache tun würden. Dies wäre somit ein weiterer Vorteil von CATS gegenüber herkömmlicher Korpora. Eine Frage, die ich an dieser Stelle auch thematisiere, ist, ob 'normale' Korpora im Falle von Begrüßungen und Verabschiedungen natürlich gesprochene Sprache tatsächlich akkurater repräsentieren als FSTVL-Korpora – meine Vermutung ist vielmehr, dass FSTVL-Korpora und natürliche Korpora zwei Endpunkte auf einem Kontinuum darstellen. In Fernsehserien sind Begrüßungen und Verabschiedungen oft ein Instrument, um eine Szene günstig 'einzuläuten' oder abzuschließen, außerdem tragen sie sehr zu einem Natürlich-Wirken bei, da sie mit leicht wiedererkennbaren Standardsituationen verbunden sind. Übliche Restriktionen beim Korpus-Sampling führen hingegen dazu, dass sämtliche aufgenommene Sprecher sich normalerweise bereits vor der Aufnahme bekannt gemacht haben, da heimliche Aufnahmen (mit nachheriger Einholung einer Aufnahmegenehmigung) in den meisten Fällen als unethisch betrachtet werden würden.

Der größte und detaillierteste Teil von Analyse (II) ist den Diskursmarkern *well* (7.3.4.1), *you know* (7.3.4.2) und *I mean* (7.3.4.3) gewidmet, die nach Biber et al. (1999) die drei häufigsten Diskursmarker in natürlicher Konversation sind. Ihre formalen und funktionalen Eigenschaften werden zu Beginn jedes entsprechenden Abschnitts erklärt und ihre didaktische Relevanz nochmals aufgezeigt. Dann werden in jedem Abschnitt die Resultate des Vergleichs CATS vs. AmE Konversation und im Anschluss die einzelnen Subkorpora genauer betrachtet. Dies ist jeweils gefolgt von einer qualitativen Analyse: Die in der Forschungsliteratur genannten mannigfaltigen Funktionen der drei Diskursmarker werden jeweils mit zahlreichen Beispielen aus CATS belegt und erläutert. Abschließend werden Implikationen und Umsetzungsvorschläge für den Unterricht angesprochen.

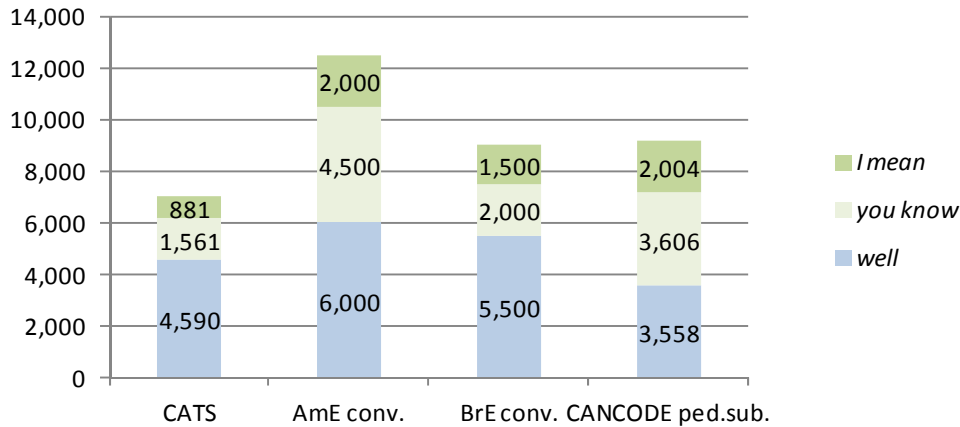


Abbildung 12: Diskursmarker *well*, *you know* und *I mean* in CATS im Vergleich zu natürlichem gesprochenen Englisch^{a,c,h} (pmw)

Abbildung 12 fasst die Ergebnisse für die drei Diskursmarker in einem Balkendiagramm zusammen. Im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen didaktisch relevanten Merkmalen werden hier auch zwei weitere Korpora zum Vergleich herangezogen, nämlich für BrE Konversation (mit Referenzdaten aus Biber et al. 1999) und das pädagogische Subkorpus von CANCODE für BrE Lehrer/Schüler-Interaktion (aus Fung und Carter 2007). Es ist festzustellen, dass die grundsätzliche Verteilung der drei Diskursmarker der von natürlicher Sprache insofern stark ähnelt, als dass in allen Korpora *well* am häufigsten gebraucht wird, gefolgt von *you know* und *I mean*. Dennoch ist ein zentrales Ergebnis auch, dass es in CATS insgesamt deutlich weniger Diskursmarker (zusammen 7032 pmw) gibt als in natürlicher Sprache – sowohl im Vergleich zu AmE Konversation (12500 pmw), BrE Konversation (9000 pmw) und BrE Lehrer/Schüler-Interaktion (9168 pmw). Dies gilt nicht nur für die Gesamtzahl an Diskursmarkern, sondern auch für jeden einzelnen Diskursmarker. Die einzige Ausnahme bildet *well*, welches häufiger in CATS auftritt als im CANCODE päd. Subkorpus. Insgesamt ist CATS natürlicher Sprache auch am ähnlichsten, was den Diskursmarker *well* betrifft: Im Verhältnis gesehen repräsentiert CATS die natürliche Häufigkeit in AmE Konversation zu 77%, in BrE Konversation zu 83%, und im Vergleich zu BrE Lehrer/Schüler-Interaktion zu 129%, wohingegen die Prozentzahlen der anderen zwei Diskursmarker deutlich geringer ausfallen. Auch ist zu beobachten, dass im Falle des Diskursmarkers *well* die größten Unterschiede zwischen den vier Subkorpora zu verzeichnen sind (vgl. Abbildung 13).

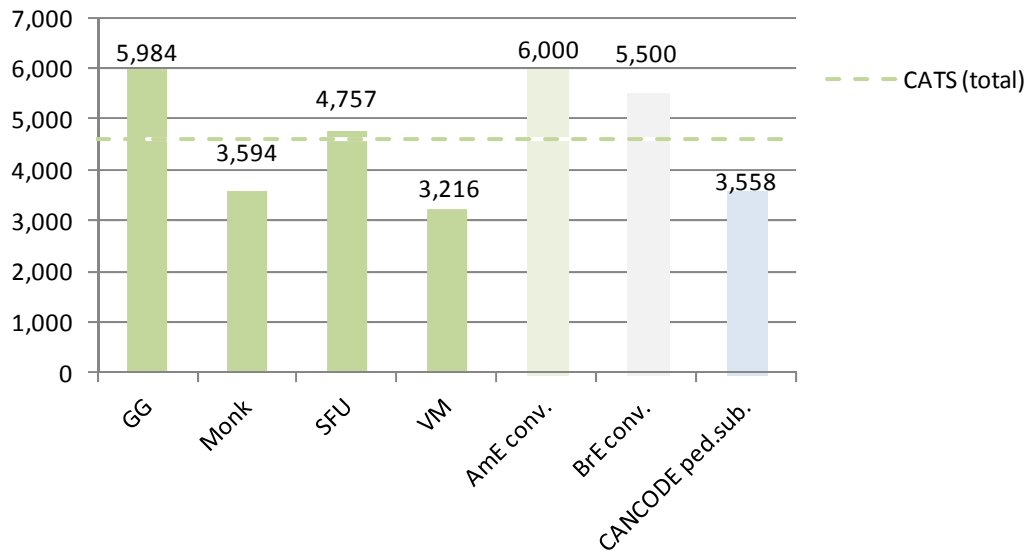


Abbildung 13: Diskursmarker *well* in CATS Subkorpora im Vergleich zu natürlichem gesprochenem Englisch^{a,c,h} (pmw)

Die Häufigkeit von *well* in GG (5984 pmw) – mit durchschnittlich 46 *well* pro Folge – ist nahezu identisch mit den Werten für natürliche AmE Konversation (6000 pmw) und sogar höher als in den zwei Korpora für gesprochenes BrE. Auch für SFU ist eine höhere Frequenz von *well* zu beobachten, allerdings sind die Unterschiede zu AmE Konversation (wie auch bei *Monk* und *VM*) noch statistisch signifikant.

Die naheliegendsten Gründe für die allgemein eher geringere Häufigkeit von Diskursmarkern liegt vermutlich, wie in Kapitel 4 thematisiert, in den negativen Einstellungen, die im Bereich des Drehbuchschreibens (als auch in der Gesellschaft allgemein) zu bemerken sind, und dies möglicherweise ganz besonders im Falle von *you know* und *I mean*. Außerdem wird eine spezielle Funktion von Diskursmarkern in FSTVL nicht so sehr gebraucht wie in natürlicher, spontaner Sprache: Sowohl *well* als auch *you know* und *I mean* werden in natürlicher Sprache unter anderem dazu genutzt, um Planungsschwierigkeiten zu überbrücken. Diese spielen in *scripted speech* eine stark verminderte Rolle. Dennoch sind zahlreiche Belege in CATS zu finden, die im Unterricht genutzt werden könnten. Für *well* sind es im Durchschnitt ca. 26 Belege pro Serien-Folge, für *you know* sind es ca. 9, und für *I mean* sind es ca. 5 pro Folge. In 27 von 28 Folgen, die in CATS vorhanden sind, tauchen alle drei Diskursmarker auf. Außerdem ist interessant, dass *you know* in CATS wie in natürlicher Sprache die insgesamt häufigste 2-Wort-Cluster ist.

Schließlich gehe ich kurz auf die Unterschiede zwischen den Daten für natürliche AmE und BrE Konversation ein. Wenn man sich die Gesamthäufigkeiten der Diskursmarker anschaut, fällt auf, dass die Daten für BrE (9000 pmw) dem FSTVL-Korpus CATS (7032

pmw) aus rein frequenzbasierter Perspektive ähnlicher sind als den Daten für AmE (12500 pmw). Wenn man also die Eignung gewisser Sprachdaten für den Englischunterricht bewertet und diese dabei hinsichtlich ihrer Ähnlichkeit zu natürlicher Sprache überprüft, lohnt es sich durchaus, auch andere 'große' Varietäten in den Vergleich einzubeziehen. Aus didaktischer Perspektive sollte sicherlich nicht nur eine Norm als die 'richtige' betrachtet werden.

In der qualitativen Analyse der Diskursmarker wurden sämtliche in der Forschungsliteratur benannten Funktionen von *well*, *you know* und *I mean* auch in CATS dokumentiert und folglich mit zahlreichen Beispielen erläutert. Dabei wurden auch Funktionen belegt, die primär mit den Echtzeitbedingungen von natürlicher Konversation zu tun haben, d.h. Gebrauche, die u.a. Wort- und Inhaltsfindungsschwierigkeiten oder sonstige Planungsphasen überbrücken, wie z.B. Beispiel (a) und (b). Beispiel (c) hingegen exemplifiziert den Gebrauch von *you know* als 'quotative'. Beispiel (d) illustriert einen Kontext, in denen der Diskursmarker primär zur Einleitung einer spezifizierenden Erklärung genutzt wird.

- a) <BRENDA:> [...] Manic depressive brother who always chooses the holidays to go off his medication. Oh, and an ancient Springer Spaniel who's completely blind, deaf and incontinent. What about you?
<NATE:> Uh, actually, we're pretty normal. My mom's a control freak. My brother, uhm, **well**, he's a control freak, too. And my sister, **well**, I left home right before she was born, so I never really knew her that well, but she's kind of wild like I was. (SFU_1)
- b) <MONK:> Yeah. Are you, uh, are you going to be seeing Mr. Goodman later?
<MIRANDA:> Jesse?
<MONK:> Jesse.
<MIRANDA:> Why do you ask?
<MONK:> Well, if you see him, **you know**, uh, just - just - would you tell him to call me? Because I - I would just - I'd love to talk to him and, **you know**, if you see him. <smiles knowingly at her> (Monk_1)
- c) <SHARONA:> Did he say anything?
<ANGIE:> Who?
<SHARONA:> The mugger.
<ANGIE:> Oh, jeez, that was twenty years ago. Uh, I think he said, **you know**, "Give me your money. Don't be a hero."
<SHARONA:> He said that? "Don't be a hero"? (Monk_6)
- d) <RORY:> I'm sorry. Uhm, I'm going. I'll call you later. <gets her stuff and gets ready to leave.>
<LANE:> Hey, are you mad?
<RORY:> No, I'm not, I promise. I'm just - I'm just a little surprised. **I mean**, Dean's wedding...
<LANE:> I know. (GG_4)

CATS bietet daher eine Vielzahl von Möglichkeiten, die vielfältigen natürlichen Funktionen von Diskursmarkern im Unterricht zu entdecken und auch eingehender zu thematisieren. Zum Ende von Kapitel 7.3 stelle ich daher ein paar Anregungen vor, wie z.B. der Diskursmarker

you know (mit dessen Gebrauch deutsche Lerner scheinbar starke Schwierigkeiten haben; vgl. z.B. Götz 2013; Müller 2005) im Unterricht behandelt werden könnte.

Abschließend halte ich in Kapitel 7.4 fest, dass ich aufgrund der Analysen (I) und (II) die Sprache in CATS als grundsätzlich sehr geeignet für den Fremdsprachenunterricht erachte. Dann biete ich rückblickend auf die letzten zwei Kapitel ein 'Profil' für jede der vier Serien, in dem ich die Besonderheiten der jeweiligen Serien benenne und Empfehlungen ausspreche hinsichtlich der Frage, welche Subkorpora sich aus sprachlicher, aber auch aus inhaltlicher Sicht besonders gut für welche Zielgruppen (d.h. Schülergruppen) eignen würden. CATS kann natürlich aber auch sinnvoll in seiner Gänze eingesetzt werden, insbesondere dann, wenn nur die Lehrkraft CATS direkt benutzt und entsprechende Materialien vorbereitet.

Kapitel 8

Anwendung: CATS im Englischunterricht

Nachdem es in den vorherigen zwei Kapiteln um die Eignung von CATS hinsichtlich der in diesem Korpus repräsentierten Sprache ging, geht es in Kapitel 8 um die konkrete Anwendung von CATS im Englischunterricht. In diesem Rahmen wurde in einer 12. Klasse eines allgemeinbildenden Gymnasiums in Karlsruhe, die kurz vor dem Abitur stand, ein dreiwöchiges Unterrichtsprojekt durchgeführt, um die Einsatzmöglichkeiten von CATS in einem Pilotprojekt in einem konkreten Unterrichtsetting zu testen und zu evaluieren. Die wichtigsten Fragen, die mithilfe dieses explorativen Unterrichtsprojekts beantwortet werden sollten, sind die folgenden:

- Ist es möglich, CATS im 'normalen' Englischunterricht an einem deutschen Gymnasium einzusetzen?
- Wie genau könnte CATS genutzt werden, um gesprochene Grammatik zu vermitteln? Welche konkreten Aktivitäten mit CATS sind möglich, um Lernern die Unterschiede zwischen geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache näherzubringen?
- Wie kann CATS mit anderen Lernzielen in Verbindung gebracht werden, wie z.B. der Entwicklung von Sprechfertigkeit und Hörverstehen?

Dabei wurde es als besonders wichtig angesehen, dass die speziellen Eigenschaften von CATS ausgenutzt werden (z.B. Zugang zu entsprechenden audiovisuellen Daten, kohärente und relevante Inhalte, Sprache im Kontext). Letztendlich sollte dieses Unterrichtsprojekt auch dazu dienen, sowohl die Stärken als auch die Schwächen von CATS als Unterrichtstool aufzuzeigen und zu möglichen Optimierungsmaßnahmen anzuregen.

In Kapitel 8.3 erkläre ich ausführlich die Schritte zur Vorbereitung des Projektes. Dazu gehört eine Beschreibung der 12. Klasse, in der das Projekt stattfand, hinsichtlich ihres

akademischen und sozialen Profils und eine Auflistung der konkreten Lehr- und Lernziele der Unterrichtsreihe (vgl. Tabelle 5).

Tabelle 5: Ziele der Unterrichtsreihe mit CATS

<i>Aims of the unit</i>	
I. PRIMARY AIMS	
1. Raise awareness of some basic differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation)	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know that speech and writing have similarities and differences • know reasons for these differences • recognize that speech is not 'incorrect' or 'deficient' • be aware of a number of features, e.g. incomplete utterances, ellipsis, hesitation (e.g. filled pauses, repeats, repairs), contractions, vagueness, discourse markers, backchannels, tag questions, informal language
2. Introduce the purposes, the typical structure, and the contents of an informal conversation/small talk	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know that conversations typically consist of a 'starting,' 'holding,' and 'ending' • know some typical fixed expressions (e.g. <i>Nice to meet you</i>) • know some typical conversation topics (e.g. 'weather,' 'sports,' 'food')
3. Introduce a selection of features which help communicate and interact fluently in conversation	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know a variety of features useful for smooth conversation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ e.g. typical speech acts (greeting, thanking, apologizing: fixed expressions) ○ e.g. for buying time: fixed expressions, discourse markers ○ e.g. for active listening: backchannels/response tokens such as <i>yeah, right, uh-huh, mhm, I see, OK</i> ○ e.g. for involving/recognizing the listener and structuring a conversation: fixed expressions, discourse markers
4. Provide students with opportunities to practice a selection of conversational features (i.e. support 'appropriation,' Thornbury 2005)	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • be able to use a variety of communicatively relevant spoken language features (see 2.+3.) in controlled settings
5. Provide students with opportunities to develop their spontaneous speaking skills (i.e. support 'autonomy,' Thornbury 2005)	<i>The students should...</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • be able to apply a variety of communicatively relevant spoken language features (see 2.+3.) in an unprepared situation
II. SECONDARY AIMS	
1. Provide students with opportunities to develop listening and viewing comprehension	
2. Foster the students' ability to describe and analyze characters and plot in fictional TV drama	
3. Motivate students to engage with English film and TV in their free time and recognize the potential of authentic audiovisual material for learning English	

Die Unterrichtsziele waren sicherlich recht hochgesteckt. Sie waren u.a. auch darauf abgestimmt, dass sowohl die Schulleiterin als auch die Lehrkraft sich explizit eine starke Berücksichtigung von Sprechfertigkeiten im Bereich der Konversation wünschten. Weiterhin werden in Abschnitt 8.3 einige organisatorische und methodologische Aspekte angesprochen. Zu letzteren gehören beispielsweise die Auswahl eines Subkorpus von CATS (hier: SFU),

meine Rolle als Forscherin (hier: hauptsächlich partizipierende Beobachterin), und die Auswahl der Art von DDL-Aktivitäten (hier: ausschließlich 'soft version' [Gabrielatos 2005] bzw. 'paper-based' DDL [Boulton 2010a, 2010b, 2012] mit einem Schwerpunkt auf 'whole-corpus reading' [Braun 2005]).

Kapitel 8.4 beschreibt im Detail die Durchführung der Unterrichtsreihe, die aus fünf Stunden à 90 min. bestand. Diese fünf Stunden werden jeweils nach dem gleichen Prozedere beschrieben. Jeder Abschnitt beginnt mit einem tabellarischen Überblick über die jeweilige Stundenplanung. Für jede Stunde werden hier systematisch konkrete Ziele formuliert, Themen genannt und dann jeder Unterrichtsschritt, d.h. Inhalte, Methoden und Materialien vorgestellt. Ein Beispiel findet sich in Tabelle 6.

Tabelle 6: Stundenplanung der 2. Sitzung: Ein Überblick

Lesson 2	
<i>Topics</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Characters and relationships in SFU • Differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation) • Features of conversation 	
<i>Aims</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Raise awareness of some basic differences between speech and writing (focus: conversation) and the reasons for and functions of these ➤ Develop listening and viewing comprehension 	
<i>Contents of the lesson</i>	<i>Methods and materials</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Revision</u>: SFU characters and relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual stimulus (pictures of characters) via PowerPoint (ppt) presentation; T-S-dialogue
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Re-evaluate characters and relationships in SFU</u>: <u>View subsequent scenes from SFU</u> (Ep. 5, Act I, Sc. 10-11, 13-16; ca. 11 min.); <u>Assignment (while-/post-viewing)</u>: "Describe the situations the characters are in. Mention any surprising/shocking elements." → Comparison 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers; Individual work (notes); T-S-dialogue (comparison)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>What speakers do in conversation</u>: <u>Activity</u>: Class is divided into 2 groups with 3-4 pairs each; Pairs of Group 1 discuss a controversial topic (choice of 4 topics; related to the SFU scenes) in German; Pairs of Group 2 get a secret assignment (→ observe the two conversationalists); 2 min. discussion/observation → Disclosure of secret assignment → Comparison: Collect observed features of conversation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Worksheet 2</i> (for Group 1): "Discussion topics"; <i>Worksheet 3</i> (for Group 2): "Secret observers..."; Blackboard (mind map); Group/partner work (activity); T-S-dialogue (comparison)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Reflection</u>: 1. "Do you prefer speaking or writing in German?" 2. "And in English? Why? What is easier for you?" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Living Statistics" for reflection; Class discussion
<p>[BREAK]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>View scenes from SFU a second time</u> (Ep. 5, Act I, Sc. 10-11, 13-16; c. 11 min.); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVD SFU, laptop, projector, speakers;

Activity (while-viewing): "Circle all the words and expressions that you think are typical of conversation and that would not appear in writing" (split class into 2 groups; 3 scenes for each group)
 → Comparison
 → Complete collection of features of conversation with English examples

- Dubbing TV: Translate select excerpts from the viewed scenes (Ep. 5, Act I, parts of Sc. 11, 16) into natural, idiomatic German and identify problematic items.
 - Homework: Finish *Worksheet 5*
-

Worksheet 4: Transcripts of scenes (CATS);
 Transparency with transcripts (CATS);
 Blackboard (mind map);
 Individual work (while-viewing);
 T-S-dialogue (comparison)

- *Worksheet 5*: "Dubbing TV dialogue" (CATS);
 Individual work

In einem nächsten Schritt wird diese Unterrichtsplanung rationalisiert und genauer erläutert, zudem werden exemplarisch die eingesetzten Arbeitsmaterialien abgebildet und beschrieben. Dann folgt jeweils ein Bericht über den tatsächlichen Verlauf der Unterrichtsstunde und eine Evaluation, die auf meinen Beobachtungen sowie der der Lehrerin als auch auf der Begutachtung verschiedener Unterrichts- bzw. Schülerprodukte basieren (z.B. ausgefüllte Arbeitsblätter, Tafelbilder, Tonaufnahmen von Schüleraktivitäten).

Das Unterrichtsprojekt wird insgesamt als erfolgreich evaluiert, sowohl in seiner Funktion für die vorliegende Studie als auch hinsichtlich der Lehr- und Lernziele, die für die Reihe formuliert wurden. Sicherlich war der Unterrichtskontext insofern speziell, als dass die Periode kurz vor dem Abitur der Lehrerin inhaltliche Freiräume schaffte, die mitten im Schuljahr nicht in gleicher Weise zur Verfügung stehen würden. Dennoch waren die sonstigen Unterrichtsbedingungen durchaus realistisch, so dass die hier gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen wohl auch auf andere Kontexte übertragbar sind. Das Thema 'Gesprochene Grammatik' war in dieser Unterrichtsreihe nur eines von vielen weiteren Themen und wurde nicht als Teil von 'Grammatik', sondern im Kontext von Sprech- und Hörfertigkeiten eingeführt. Im Verlaufe des 8. Kapitels habe ich eine Reihe an konkreten Aktivitäten vorgestellt, die sich der in CATS vorhandenen Transkripte und der entsprechenden audiovisuellen Daten bedienen. Analytische, korpusbasierte Aktivitäten waren inhaltsbezogener Arbeit immer nachgestellt. Somit waren die Sprecher/innen und der konkrete Kommunikationskontext der zu behandelnden TV-Dialoge den Schüler/innen stets bekannt, bevor spezifische sprachliche Merkmale, die mit Konversation und den Unterschieden zwischen geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache zu tun haben, thematisiert wurden. Dieses Vorgehen für die Einführung von gesprochener Grammatik ist somit im Einklang mit den Vorschlägen von Thornbury (2005: 47ff.) und Willis (2003: 203-210). Darüber hinaus wurden im Laufe der Reihe zahlreiche Sprechanlässe geboten, da die Inhalte von SFU viel Diskussionsstoff boten, und

durch den regelmäßigen Einsatz der audiovisuellen Materialien wurde zugleich das Hör- und Sehverständnis gefördert.

In diesem Projekt ging es nicht darum, den Lernzuwachs oder die Freude der Schüler/innen an der Unterrichtsreihe empirisch zu messen. Die Lehrerin beobachtete jedoch, dass die Schüler/innen deutlich motivierter und aktiver waren, als es in dieser Phase zu erwarten gewesen wäre. Die Quantität und Qualität der Unterrichtsbeteiligung als auch die Schülerprodukte ließen uns auch darauf schließen, dass die Ziele, die für jede Stunde formuliert wurden, mit ein paar wenigen Abstrichen erreicht wurden. Dieser Eindruck wurde auch während der informellen Feedback-Runde nach der letzten Stunde bestätigt, im Rahmen derer auch von einigen Schüler/innen ein freiwilliger Feedbackbogen ausgefüllt wurde. Hier betonten die Schüler/innen die 'Alltagstauglichkeit' und Relevanz der vermittelten Inhalte, besonders in Bezug auf die Einheiten zu 'small talk' und auf eine Aktivität in der letzten Sitzung, im Rahmen derer die Schüler/innen paarweise ein *business encounter* simulieren und unter beträchtlichem Planungsdruck spontan sprechen und interagieren mussten. Ein Verbesserungsvorschlag für die Unterrichtsreihe seitens der Schüler/innen war, doch eher auf populärere Serien wie *How I Met Your Mother* zurückzugreifen. Dies wäre allerdings angesichts des Korpusdesigns nicht möglich gewesen – abgesehen davon, dass Sitcoms für die spezifischen Zwecke dieser Studie von Anfang an ausgeschlossen waren (vgl. Kapitel 5).

Die Lehrerin der Klasse formulierte insgesamt auch sehr positives Feedback und gab an, dass sie die gleiche Unterrichtsreihe mit wenigen Anpassungen gerne wieder unterrichten würde. Die Vernetzung von inhaltlicher und metasprachlicher Diskussion sowie die damit zusammenhängenden sprachpraktischen Übungen bewertete sie als sehr ertragreich. Gerade auch die Tatsache, dass dazugehörige audiovisuelle Materialien zur Verfügung standen, beschrieb sie als "hochattraktiv".

Gleichzeitig hat dieses Unterrichtsprojekt jedoch auch ein paar Herausforderungen ans Licht gebracht. Dazu gehörte z.B. die doch sehr aufwendige Materialerstellung. Die Kompilation von CATS war sicherlich nur der erste Schritt. Damit ein regelmäßiger Einsatz von CATS eine realistische Option wird, müssten vielseitige fertig vorbereitete Unterrichtsmaterialien zusammen mit dem Korpus zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Zudem wäre eine direkte Verlinkung vom Korpus mit den audiovisuellen Daten wünschenswert, um die Praktikabilität des Korpus zu erhöhen. Ein weiterer, damit verbundener Punkt betrifft die technische Ausstattung in Schulen: Der Einsatz von CATS wäre noch attraktiver, wenn die Sprachklassenräume technisch besser ausgestattet wären. Dies ist natürlich ein Aspekt, der nicht nur auf CATS, sondern auch auf herkömmliche Korpora zutrifft.

Die primäre Frage, die dieses Unterrichtsprojekt im Rahmen der vorliegenden Studie beantworten sollte, beantworte ich mit einem "Ja": Die Ergebnisse des Unterrichtsprojekts deuten stark darauf hin, dass CATS sehr wohl in den normalen Englischunterricht einer Gymnasialklasse integriert werden kann. Sie komplettieren somit das Bild, um die Eignung von CATS als Instrumentarium für die Vermittlung von gesprochener Grammatik zu bewerten. Ich komme zu dem Schluss, dass CATS in der Tat eine willkommene Bereicherung für den Pool an bereits existierenden Unterrichtsmaterialien bzw. -tools sein kann, um Schüler/innen die Eigenheiten von gesprochenem Englisch näherzubringen und ihre Sprachkompetenz auf vielfältige Weise zu fördern.

Kapitel 9

Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

Im letzten Kapitel werden die wichtigsten aus der Studie gewonnenen Erkenntnisse für die Gesprochene-Sprache-Forschung, für die Korpuslinguistik, für die FSTVL-Forschung, und für die Fremdsprachenforschung zusammengefasst. So wurde z.B. ein Modell zur Illustration der komplexen Beziehung zwischen *spokenness* und *writtleness* entwickelt. Die bestehende Theorie zu FSTVL und seinem Verhältnis zu natürlich vorkommender Sprache wurde um eine Taxonomie erweitert, die die vielfältigen Faktoren, die den Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit in FSTVL beeinflussen, zusammenfasst und systematisiert. Mit CATS wurde zudem ein neues FSTVL-Korpus kompiliert, das für zukünftige Forschung eine geeignete Datenbasis darstellt. Eine Methode zur Bestimmung des Grads an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit, zugeschnitten auf FSTVL, wurde entworfen und die Beschreibung von FSTVL wurde durch die in dieser Studie durchgeführte Analyse weiter ausgebaut. Dabei wurden einige Befunde vorheriger Studien bekräftigt, andere jedoch auch widerlegt. Einige sprachliche Eigenschaften wurden identifiziert, die allgemeingültige Eigenschaften von FSTVL darstellen könnten. Ein wichtiger Schluss ist hier auch, dass konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit in FSTVL zwar auf andere Weise als in natürlich vorkommender Sprache konstruiert wird, doch dass im Gesamtbild der Grad an konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit sehr wohl gleich oder sogar höher als in NOC sein kann – so wurde es für CATS beobachtet.

Mit CATS wurde ein didaktisch relevantes Korpus entwickelt, das auch als 'Blueprint' für weitere pädagogisch motivierte Korpusprojekte fungieren kann. CATS an sich stellt bereits ein geeignetes und nützliches zusätzliches Tool dar, um fortgeschrittenen Lernen des Englischen die Eigenheiten gesprochener Sprache näherzubringen (vgl. Tabelle 7). Konkrete Anwendungsmöglichkeiten, die im Rahmen eines Schulprojektes vorgestellt und ausgewertet

wurden, lassen sich auch auf andere FSTVL-Korpora und andere Unterrichtsszenarien übertragen.

Tabelle 7: CATS als didaktisch relevantes Korpus: Besondere Eigenschaften im Vergleich zu herkömmlichen Korpora

Television as a data source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • popular medium • familiar to students • data easily accessible for corpus compilation (as first draft)
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • many everyday interactions in private, occupational, and educational contexts combined with rather extraordinary, entertaining elements • more relevant to students than contents of natural corpora • more coherent and homogeneous than contents of natural corpora (e.g. steady cast, complete storylines, consecutive episodes) → 'whole-corpus reading' conceivable, facilitation of authentication • exploration for other than linguistic purposes possible (content-based work)
Size	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 160,122 words • manageable in pedagogical settings • large enough for lexico-grammatical and pragmatic analyses
Transcription and annotation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • uniform transcription • simple annotation • inclusion of much contextual information (e.g. character actions, scene descriptions)
Data format	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • collection of text files • access to audiovisual material <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ provides further linguistic information (e.g. intonation) ○ provides further contextual information (e.g. character actions, settings) ○ facilitates authentication of transcribed dialogues ○ enables combination with the training of other skills (listening comprehension, viewing comprehension, media analysis)
Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sufficient degree of spokenness; similar enough to natural language • more polished language (e.g. fewer hesitation phenomena) → more 'digestible' for language learners • more frequent use of polite formulae and standard speech acts • restricted use of taboo language (with a few exceptions)

Schließlich formuliere ich einige Desiderata und rege zu weiteren Forschungsfragen und Methoden an, z.B. in Bezug auf das Korpusdesign und die Korpusanalyse. Ich empfehle allgemein die Entwicklung weiterer FSTVL-Korpora für Sprachwissenschaftler, aber besonders auch für den direkten Gebrauch von Lehrkräften und Lernern. Die vorliegende Studie wird abgeschlossen von ein paar Bemerkungen zur *Educational Linguistics*, die Bernard Spolsky, der Begründer dieses Gebiets, wie folgt beschreibt:

[E]ducational linguistics is a viable field, with a clear way of showing the relevance of linguistics and its many branches to education. Relevance rather than direct application, it has long been shown that educational linguistics is a problem-directed field, and not the enthusiastic search for areas to apply linguistic theories [...]. (Spolsky 2010: 24)

Ich ordne meine Studie in die *Educational Linguistics* ein, da sie ein konkretes Problem identifiziert und daraufhin durch die Verbindung verschiedener Disziplinen und die

Kombination von Theorie und Praxis auf holistische Art versucht, potentielle Lösungswege aufzuzeigen. In diesem Sinne hoffe ich, dass diese Arbeit in der Tat einen kleinen Teil zur Lösung des Problems beitragen konnte und sowohl für Sprachwissenschaftler, Fremdsprachendidaktiker als auch für praktizierende Englischlehrkräfte von Nutzen sein wird.

